

1198
THEOLOGIA REFORMATA:

OR, THE
BODY and SUBSTANCE
OF THE
Christian Religion,

Comprised in distinct
DISCOURSES or TREATISES
UPON

The *Apostles Creed*,
The *Lord's Prayer*, and
The *Ten Commandments*.

The Second VOLUME.

The Whole adjusted to the *Sacred Scriptures*,
and the Judgment of the *Protestant Reformed Churches*, Our
own more especially; and design'd as an Antidote in this
Corrupted Age against the dangerous Opinions of *Papists*,
Arians and *Socinians*, *Pelagians* and *Remonstrants*, *Anabaptists*,
Antinomians, *Deists*, *Atheists*, *Scepticks*, *Enthusiasts*, *Libertines*.

All endeavour'd to be so Fram'd as to be useful not only to
Profess'd Students in *Divinity*, but to all that are *Lovers* of
Divine Knowledge, and desire to make farther *Proficiency* in it.

With proper *Indexes* and *Tables*.

By JOHN EDWARDS, D. D.

LONDON:

Printed for John Lawrence, at the *Angel* in the *Poultry*; John Wylat,
at the *Rose*, and Banew Robinson, at the *Golden Lion* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard. 1713.

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Discourses of Treatises
upon

The Apostles Creed
The Lord's Prayer, and
The Ten Commandments.

The
MUSEUM
VOLUME

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and the Judgment of the Protestant Reformed Churches. Our
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Antinomians, Deists, Atheists, Sadducees, Fanatics, Libertines.

All endeavoured to be so framed as to be useful not only to
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true Knowledge, and desire to make further Progress in it.

With proper Indexes and Tables

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LONDON:

Printed for John Lawrence, at the Angel in the Passage, South Corner,
of the Hall, near Rotten Row, at the Old Swan, in St. James's
Street, 1719.

ARTICLE XI.

The Resurrection of the Body.]

A Discourse on ACTS XXIV. 15.

There shall be a Resurrection of the Dead, both of the Just and Unjust.

Here is Shewed,

How the *Same Individual Bodies* are said to Rise at the Last Day.

THE next Benefit and Privilege which the Church lays Claim to, is this, That tho' our Souls and Bodies are separated for a Time; yet they shall be united again at the Last Day; the former returning from the Places wherein they had been, during their Separation; and the latter being raised from the dead by the Almighty Power of God. Of This Resurrection I am now to speak: And I will 1st, Shew the Nature of it. 2^{dly}, Prove the Reality of it; and that, first from Scripture, and then from Reason. 3^{dly}, I will answer the Objections brought against it. 4^{thly}, I will conclude with the proper Deductions from the Whole.

I begin with the Nature of the Resurrection. When we say that the Body shall rise again, it is necessarily implied that the Body fell. And this Fall is Death; for this Word is used to express dying, 1 Sam. 31. 8. 2 Sam. 1: 10, 12. 3. 38. 17. 9. 2 Chron. 29. 9. Ezek. 32. 27. And the * Words in the Three Learned Languages for a dead Body, carry in them the signification of falling. It is not the Soul of Man that falls at Death, for that is of an Immortal Nature; therefore it is the Body that falls. And that which falls rises: and consequently, the Resurrection of the Body implies an individual Restitution of that Body that fell by Death. The Identity of the Body fallen and risen is hereby established. We shall rise with the very same Bodies that we lived and died with: For the Dying and Rising Body must needs be the same, because That only is said to Rise which Fell.

* Mappelch, à Nabal cecidit. Nebelah, à Nabal cecidit. καὶ τὸ πῶμα à τὸ πῶμα. cadaver à cadendo.

This is oppos'd by some; and they make use of what the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 15. 35, 36, 37. to confirm their Opinion. The Answer to that nice Query, *How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?* is this, taken from what is well known in Husbandry, That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain; but God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him. Whence they infer, that the Body which rises at the Last Day is not the same that was laid in the Grave many Years before: For the Apostle plainly asserts, that the Body that was sow'd, and that which shall be, are not the same, but far different. As God gives to the Blades of Corn, Grains quite different from that which was sown; so also at the Resurrection he will give the Soul a Body different from that which was buried.

But this is a mistaken and false Application of the Similitude, and much besides the Apostle's Meaning: For his Design was to shew the fit Resemblance between our Bodies buried, and the Husbandman's Seed cast into the Earth, and cover'd over with it. The Furrows are as 'twere Graves; and the Husbandman, when he sows and harrows, doth entomb his Corn: But this is necessary, in order to a happy Resurrection; for that which he sows is not quicken'd, except it dye and be

thus buried. But then in time it lives again, and flourishes, and appears in such a Body as God is pleas'd to bestow upon it. So also, saith he, is the Resurrection of the dead: It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption: It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory, &c. Which Application of the Apostle clearly evidences what he meant by the foregoing Comparison. It is manifest that all he intended is this, That as the Body of ~~Corn~~ that springs up is not the very same Body as to its *Quality* or *Quantity*, with that which was sown; for 'twas sown bare Corn, without Ear or Blade; but it rises otherwise, with a plentiful Increase: So the like shall be seen at the Resurrection. This Change, and fresh Life in the new Corn, fully sets forth the Alteration of our Bodies at the Resurrection; they shall then arise with new *Qualities*, far different from those they had before, ~~and~~ when they were buried: but they shall be the same in *Substance* with those that we had when we were alive, and which we died with.

This is all the Apostle intends by the Similitude of Corn or Seed sown: and it confirms the *Nature of the Resurrection*, which I am now discoursing of. It lets us know that the same Bodies shall rise: their *Nature* and *Substance* shall not be changed, tho' their *Qualities* are. They shall be the very same that they were; they shall rise *Flesh*, as they fell so. And therefore we may observe, that this Article both in *Greek* and *Latin* is, the *Resurrection of the Flesh*; and so it is in this Creed in the Office of Publick Baptism, to signify to us, that the same corporeal Kind and *Substance* which we now have, shall rise at the Last Day.

And tho' it be call'd a *Spiritual Body*, because it stands not in need of Natural Supports, and because in Believers it is wholly rul'd by the Spirit; yet it is *real Flesh*, the very same that we once were cloath'd with. And we shall be cloath'd with it for ever; for the Members and Parts of the Body whose Offices were only for this Life, shall still remain; because, as here they served our Necessities, so there they compleat our Composition, and are remaining for the Integrity of our Human Bodies.

Secondly, Having shew'd what is to be understood by the *Resurrection of the Body*, I proceed to demonstrate the *Truth and Reality* of it; and that, first from Scripture, and then from Reason. As to Scripture, that of the Old Testament, *Exod. 3. 6.* is alledg'd by our Saviour; *As touching the Resurrection of the Dead, have you not read that which is spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, Matth. 22. 31, 32.* And thence he argues thus, *God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living.* In which Words Christ proves to the Sadducees the *Soul's Immortality*, and the *Body's Resurrection*, from the Federal Promise made to the Fathers, wherein God said he was the God of *Abraham*, &c. The Covenant made with them, was concerning their Outward and Inward Man, concerning this Life and another; and therefore it is necessary that they should rise again, and enjoy the Benefit of that Promise. These Holy Patriarchs consisted of Bodies as well as Souls; therefore when 'tis said, *God was the God of these Persons*, i. e. he had great Favour for them, and was in Covenant with them, and design'd their Happiness; it follows, that he will some time raise their Bodies from the Dead. This is our Saviour's Arguing; and therefore there must be Force in it.

That is a very remarkable Attestation of the Truth of the Resurrection, which we meet with in the Book of *Job*, 19. 25. *For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And tho' after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for my self, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another: tho' my reins be consum'd within me.* There are * some indeed, that think these Words speak of *Job's* Restoration to a happy Condition in this World, after all his Afflictions: But I conceive it cannot be understood of this, because *Job* despair'd of this, *Job 7. 7.* Whereas he speaks with great Confidence and Assurance of this Restitution here: *I know, &c.* saith he. And besides, there are several Expressions used here by *Job*, which cannot be applied to his Temporary Restoration. Wherefore I take these Words in a higher Sense, namely, as spoken concerning his rising at the Last Day, at the coming of Christ to Judgment. I am induced to interpret the Place thus, on these following Considerations.

1. This Word *Redeemer* hath a signal Respect to Christ Jesus the Redeemer, who hath paid the Price of Redemption for us, and so Satisfaction is made, and we

Captives

* St. Jerom, Calvin, Bp. Patrick.

Captives are freed from Slavery and Bondage. Or *Redemption* is taken in a larger Sense, and signifies the purchasing of one thing by another, the obtaining a thing by a valuable Price and Consideration: And so Christ purchased our Salvation by his Blood. There is yet a larger Acception of *Redemption*; for it signifies a delivering from any great Evil and Calamity, a freeing one from Misery by doing or suffering something for him. This is the frequent Import of *Redimere* in good *Latin* Authors. Thus Christ is a *Redeemer* in the fullest and amplest Import of the Word, and therefore 'tis fitly applied here by *Job* to the *Messias*; whom he trusted in to be his Redeemer and Deliverer, not only as to his Soul, but as to his Body, when at the last Day he expected to be rais'd from the Dead by him. And this firm Faith and Hope are emphatically express'd in *Goeli*, *My Redeemer*. *I know*, saith he, and am fully persuaded that this *my Redeemer* and Deliverer *liveth*, and therefore I shall live; I shall be rais'd to Life again, tho' Worms destroy this Body.

2dly, Many of the *Ancient Fathers* interpret it of Christ, and there ought to be some Deference given to their Judgment. Yea, *St. Jerom*, who expounds the Words of a Temporal Restitution, yet acknowledges that a higher Sense is couched in them, and that they speak even concerning the Final Resurrection.

3dly, I find that most of the *Modern Expositors* (as well as the *Ancients*) give this Sense of the Place upon a thorough Examination of it.

4thly, A great Deference is due to our own Church, which applies these Words (in the Office for Burial) to the Resurrection of our Bodies out of the Grave.

5thly, This Text is understood of the *Messias* by the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, *R. Hacadosh*, and *Aben Ezra*. If the *Jews* could see this to be the Meaning of the Words, certainly the greater Sagacity of *Christians* should lead them to embrace this Exposition.

6thly, That there is a *more than ordinary Sense* in these Words, may be gather'd from the preceding ones that usher them in: *Oh, that my Words were now written! Oh, that they were printed in a Book! &c.* It is therefore some extraordinary thing that he is to deliver, and which he would have recorded, after such a solemn Preface; and it is this, His Hope and Expectation, his Faith and Confidence concerning the Future Resurrection. I profess and believe, saith he, that thro' the Merit of the *Messias*, my Redeemer, I shall after Death be restored to Life; and that the very self-same Body shall rise that now I lay down, and that in this my own Flesh I shall see God my Redeemer; and these Eyes shall behold him, and not another; that is, I shall appear in my own Person, and in this individual fleshy Body: *Tho' Worms shall destroy it, and my Reins shall be consumed within me, and my whole Corporeal Part be in a manner annihilated*, yet by Faith I am assur'd of this great and comfortable Truth. Thus we see what an Illustrious Testimony is here given of the *Resurrection*, and I have endeavour'd to set it in a true Light, and to vindicate it from the false Interpretations which are made of it.

Next I will mention the Royal Prophet, *Psal. 16. 10.* who thus professes his Belief of the Resurrection: *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in the Grave* (for so it should be rendred) *nor suffer thy Holy one to see Corruption*: For though this is applied to Christ and his rising from the dead, in *Acts 2. 31.* yet it is certain that *David* spoke this of himself primarily, and testifies his Trust in God to be retriev'd from the Grave, and after that both in Soul and Body to be advanced to endless Life and Glory; which he expresses thus in the next Words: *Thou wilt shew me the Path of Life: In thy Presence is Fulness of Joy, at thy right Hand are Pleasures for evermore.* It is not improbable that those Words of the same Holy King refer to the Resurrection of the Body, *Psal. 34. 20.* where after he had recounted several Privileges entail'd upon a godly and righteous Man, he adds this, *He* (that is, God) *keepeth all his Bones: not one of them is broken.* There shall be no Diminution of any Part of his Body; the whole shall rise entirely, as it was when it was laid in the Grave. For I give no Heed to the *Jewish* Fancy or Fable, that there is a little Bone in the *Spina dorsi* which never corrupts in the Grave, and by vertue of that all the rest shall be rais'd at the last Day: But the plain Sense is this, that none of the Bones or any other Parts of the Body shall totally perish, but at the last Day they shall every one of them be restored, and the Body shall not be deficient in any the least Member or Part whatsoever.

This Future Resurrection of Human Bodies was reveal'd to Daniel, as we may gather from his Words in Dan. 12. 2. *Many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall awake, some to Everlasting Life, and some to Shame and Everlasting Contempt.* Which is a brief Description of the general Resurrection of the Dead. And from this Doctrine mention'd in this and other Places of the Old Testament, the Pharisees, a considerable Party among the Jews, draw their Belief of the Resurrection. And generally the whole Jewish People (excepting the Sadducees) embraced this Truth. Whence that of the Apostle, Acts 26. 8. *Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead? With you King Agrippa, and the rest that I speak to at this time, who are Jews and believe the Scriptures, and therefore cannot be averse to this Doctrine.* On this Account the Resurrection is call'd * *the Hope of Israel*, because it was hoped for, as well as believed by that People; they having sufficient Foundation for it in the Old Testament, with which they were conversant.

But it is in the *New Testament* chiefly, that we must meet with Arguments for the Establishing our Belief of this Doctrine. Christ's assuming our Flesh (which is the first Thing the *New Testament* acquaints us with) is made Use of as a Proof of the Resurrection of our Flesh by Irenæus, who hath a whole † Chapter about it. The Argument which he advances is this, that Christ would not have assumed Flesh that is to perish: therefore his assuming our Flesh is an Assurance to us that our Flesh shall not perish, but that it shall be rais'd up entire before the Great and General Judgment. Thus Christ's Incarnation is a Pledge of our Resurrection. The like Argument is prosecuted by Tertullian, in his Excellent Treatise concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh. The Son of God, saith he, united our Flesh to his Divinity, and rose again in that Flesh; wherefore our Flesh must needs rise again after Death. Likewise, from our Bodies being call'd the Temples of the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. 6. 19. and from our Members being said to be the Members of Christ, 1 Cor. 6. || Irenæus argues for their rising again. For to say that the Temples in which the Holy Ghost inhabits shall be utterly destroy'd, and to say that the Members of Christ shall perish, is Blasphemy, saith he. Thus he argues from the Dignity of Believers Bodies to their Resurrection.

Further, from our Participation of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, * Irenæus and other Ancient † Fathers undertook to prove the Rising of our Bodies at the last Day; quoting for this Purpose John 6. 54. *Whoso eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, hath Eternal Life, and I will raise him up at the last Day.* Whence they argue for the Resurrection: For, say they, our Bodies are made Immortal by being nourish'd by the Immortal Body of Christ: From the Virtue of Christ's Flesh, which is eaten by us, our Flesh shall be rendred Incorruptible. Yea, some of the Moderns, even of the Reformed Religion, are not averse to this Opinion. Thus Hemingius (on St. Paul's Epistles) tells us, that This is to be inculcated on the Persons who lie on their Death-Beds, that by Vertue of Christ's Body they shall be rais'd up to Eternal Life. And Calvin (in one of his Epistles) hath these Words: *From the Use of the Sacraments the Resurrection of the Flesh is well proved.*

But I will produce Passages which are more direct and peremptory, as that in John 5. 28, 29. *All that are in the Graves shall hear his Voice, and shall come forth: They that have done Good, unto the Resurrection of Life; and they that have done Evil, unto the Resurrection of Damnation.* St. Paul preach'd the Resurrection, Acts 17. 18. And this he profess'd and maintain'd before Felix, that there shall be a Resurrection of the Dead, both of the Just and Unjust, Chap. 24. 15. The Apostle in his 15th Chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, uses an Argument that is proper to Christianity, namely, Christ's Rising, and thence strongly infers our Resurrection. *If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then is Christ not risen, 1 Cor. 15. 13. God rais'd not up Christ, if so be the Dead rise not, v. 15. For if the Dead rise not, then is not Christ raised, v. 16. But now is Christ risen from the Dead, and consequently is become the First-fruits of them that slept, v. 20. that is, he is the Beginning and Pledge of the Resurrection of all Believers, that shall die to the End of the World.* Christ's rising with the very same Body that he died with, is an Assurance to us, that our same individual Bodies, which we were buried with, shall be revived, and rise again. Thus we Christians have a greater Argument to prove the Resurrection of the same Body, than any others have; for we are assured that

* Acts 28.
20.

† Cap. 14.
Lib. 5. ad-
vers. Hæres.

|| Advers.
Hæres. L. 5.
C. 6.

* Advers.
Hæres. L. 5.
C. 2.
† Tertul.
Just. Mart.
Cyril of
Alexand.
Chrysost.

that our Saviour rose with the same Body with which he lived, and therefore we who are the Members are to be assimilated to our Head. *He that raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, 2 Cor. 4. 14.* The same Argument the Apostle uses in *1 Thess. 4. 14.* *If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, them also who sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.* Our Resurrection is founded on Christ's Resurrection. In Conformity to our Head, we that are his Members shall rise again, yea, with the Bodies we laid down, because he did so. Thus his Resurrection puts the general Resurrection out of all doubt.

That this was a generally received Article of the Faith in the Christian Churches, in the Apostolical Times, is evident from St. Paul's complaining against some of the *Corinthians*, for holding that *there is no Resurrection of the Dead, 1 Cor. 15. 12.*

And lastly, we have a notable Specimen of the Resurrection in those Persons who are recorded (both in the Old and New Testament) to have been raised from the Dead; as the Widow of *Sarepta's* Son by *Elijah*; the *Shunamite's* Son by *Elisha*; *Jairus's* Daughter, the Son of the Widow of *Naim*, and *Lazarus* by Christ; *Tabitha* by *Peter*. And 'tis remarkable, that immediately after our Saviour was risen, several Persons return'd from the Dead, and assum'd their Bodies. *The Graves were open'd*, namely, by the *Earthquake* that happen'd at Christ's Passion; and then soon after *many Bodies of Saints which slept, arose, and came out of the Graves after his Resurrection, Mat. 27. 52, 53.* Observe it, 'tis said, *after his Resurrection*; for tho' the Graves were open'd before, yet the Bodies did not rise till this time, to make it evident that our Saviour had overcome Death for us, as well as for himself; and to ascertain us of our Resurrection by Vertue of his: And moreover to let us know, that as he rose out of the Grave with the same Body which was deposited in it, so shall we likewise.

Thus I think I have sufficiently shew'd, that the *Sacred Writings* bear Testimony to the Doctrine that is now under our Consideration.

Which yet is confidently denied by a late * Writer, who tells us, that the *Scriptures* propose to us, that at the last Day the Dead shall be raised, without determining whether it shall be with the very same Bodies or no. Yea, he proceeds further, and avers with his usual Confidence, that the rising again of the Body is nowhere mention'd in the Scripture; tho' he grants that 'tis said, *there shall be a Resurrection of the Flesh.* But this Concession of his destroys that Notion which he intended to rear, namely, that the same Body shall not rise: For the Term *Flesh* is a more Emphatick Word than *Body*, because it imports the particular Kind and peculiar Substance that shall rise; and so confirms the Truth of the Resurrection, even with Respect to the Identity of the Body. Wherefore his alledging, that 'tis not said in Scripture, the Bodies shall rise again, but the *Flesh*, is very frivolous and idle; and shews, that that Writer will suggest any thing to support his own Opinion, tho' it be far from the Purpose.

But if we examine that foresaid Assertion of his, that the Scripture makes no Mention of the rising again of the Body, and that no such Expression is used in Scripture, (which he is so confident of, that he saith, instead of the Bodies shall rise, which he uses in his Essay, he intends in the next Impression of that Book to change it for these Words, *the Dead shall rise*) we shall find that he betrays his Ignorance of the Scripture, and that he hath no Ground for what he so boasts of. He had not look'd into, or else had wilfully overlook'd, that Place in the Evangelical Prophet, *Isa. 26. 19.* *Thy dead Men shall live, together with my dead Body shall they arise:* Which some Jewish Commentators, as well as Christian, have interpreted concerning the general Resurrection of the Dead: Or if we apply it (as others do) to the Restitution of the Jews, yet we know it is Metaphorically spoken, and borrow'd from the Rising of the Dead. However, here the Scripture makes express Mention of the Rising of the dead Body, which this Author peremptorily deny'd. Again, he is confuted from *Mat. 27. 52.* which I had Occasion to quote before on another Account: But now I produce it to shew how falsely 'tis said by this Writer, that the Scripture nowhere expressly mentions, that the Bodies of the Dead are rais'd. Behold here the Confutation in these Words, *Many Bodies of Saints arose.*

Further, there is express Mention of the Body, with Reference to the Resurrection, in *1 Cor. 15. 35.* *How are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they come?*
that

* Lock's
3d Letter
to the Bp.
of Wor-
cester.

that is, With what Body are they raised? And in Three Verses together, in the same Chapter, *It, i. e. the Body (as is express'd afterwards) is rais'd in Incorruption, v. 42. It is rais'd in Glory: It is rais'd in Power, v. 43. It is rais'd a Spiritual Body, v. 44.* Here it is no less than Four Times repeated, that the Body is rais'd, on Purpose to render the thing clear and unquestionable, and to confound the Rashness and Falshood of this Writer's Assertion. And I could shew further, that the Word *Body* is in other Places of Scripture mention'd with Relation to the Resurrection, as in *Rom. 8. 11. He that rais'd up Christ from the Dead, shall also quicken your mortal Bodies, or raise your Mortal Bodies; for quickening in this latter Clause answers to raising up in the former.* This raising of our Mortal Bodies at the last Day, is call'd the *Redemption of our Body, v. 23.* because by the Resurrection our Bodies are redeem'd and acquitted from the Power of Death. So in *Phil. 3. 21. 'tis said, that we look for the Saviour from Heaven, who shall change our vile Body, viz. by raising it then from the Dead, that it may be fashion'd like unto his glorious Body.* Who is there, that reads these Texts, will give Credit to what the foresaid Writer hath told the World in Print, that the Expression of *the Body's being rais'd* is no where to be found in Scripture? We see, that after all his Vaunting and Boasting, this proves a downright Falshood.

But the Doctrine of the Resurrection of our Bodies is vouch'd not only by Scripture, but Reason. First, the Natural Tendency of Human Souls prompts us to believe this. Upon serious Reflections and Remarks on the Nature of Things, we shall find that the Soul of Man cannot well act out of his Body; for it having had an intimate Union with it, we must conclude that it hath a strong Propension, or Essential Aptitude, always to join with some Body or other: And this Desire and Complacency being satisfied, must be a great Happiness, especially the Bodies being Heavenly, Æthereal, Cælestial. On this ground we may establish the Future Resurrection of Bodies: There is a natural Necessity of the Re-union of our Souls and Bodies at the last. The innate Tendency of Human Spirits requires this Revivification.

Again, I argue from God's Justice and his Mercy. The former requires, that the Wicked should be punish'd in the same Bodies that they sinn'd in; and the latter makes it necessary, that the Righteous should be rewarded in the same Bodies that they did their good Actions in; and therefore in Order to these different Ends, the Bodies of both of them must rise again; yea, the very same Bodies must rise again. *Athanasius* was so bold as to say, * *If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, God will be found unjust.* For (as he goes on) he then suffers many Pious and Holy Persons to be miserable here, and to have no Recompence hereafter: And he suffers likewise many wicked and ungodly Wretches to prosper here, and yet inflicts no Punishment on them in another State. Wherefore the Rising of the same Body is according to the Laws of Retributive Justice. To this Purpose is that of the Apostle, *We must all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, (and this we cannot do, unless there be a Resurrection) that every one may receive the things in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad, 2 Cor. 5. 10.* Where to receive the Things in the Body, is to receive the Reward or Punishment in the Body, which is due on the Account of our Works: For both the Justice and Mercy of God require that our Bodies, as well as our Souls, should be punish'd or rewarded hereafter, according to the Quality of our Actions in this Life. As the same Soul, so the same Body that sinned here, shall be recompensed or tormented in the other World. Therefore hence we see the Reasonableness of this Proposition, that the same Bodies which are deposited in the Grave, or any other Receptracle, will rise again at the last Day.

Another Argument for the Resuscitation of the same Bodies, may be taken from the embalming of them, and the great Care the very Pagans took about them: Which seems to signify that their Natural Light and Reason furnish'd them with Apprehensions of a Resurrection. Unless they had had this Notion, it will not be easy to give an Account of this their laborious Preserving of the Bodies of their Friends, and giving Order about their own. The knowing and thinking Men among the Gentiles began this Costly Ceremony and Practice on the Remains of the Dead, because they had a Sense that they must one Day appear again. And among the Christians this Usage was observ'd on the same Consideration. The costly Spices of the Sabæans and Arabians, as † *Tertullian* notes, were

* *Ei δὲ ἐν
τῇ ψυχῇ
ἐνδύσας,
ἐν τῷ
σώματι ἐπι-
τρέψας,*
See *Quest.*
ad Antioch.

† *Apel.*
c. 42.

spent with greater Prodigality on the Burials of *Christians*, than the Heathens used them to the Incense they burnt to their Gods. And there can no other Reason be given of those lavish Expenses, but their Belief of the Resurrection of the Body. But I shall under the next Article of the Creed more largely insist on this Subject of *Embalming*, as it hath respect to a Future State; and therefore I dismiss it at present.

Further, The Resurrection is taught by the most usual and obvious Works of Nature. All Fruits and Plants, and the Products of the Earth, rise from Death and Corruption. That which is sow'd is not quicken'd, except it dye, as the Apostle to this Purpose hath long since observ'd. The Seed must be corrupted and mortified, before it can live and multiply. We our selves commenced at first from a corrupt ferid Seed, and by Corruption we shall be restor'd again at last. The Concoction of Meat in the Stomach, whereby our Life is sustain'd, is no other than Putrefaction. 'Tis true, the Corruption is more in the Intestines than in the Stomach, but the Food is putrified in both. And as for our Drink, it is turn'd into Sowreness and mere Vinegar, before it contributes to the supporting of our Life. We live by Corruption and Rottenness, and we are reviv'd by dying. The constant Vicissitudes that are in the World, preach to us a Resurrection. The Revolutions of Nights and Days, of the Seasons of the Year, and the periodical Returns of Nature, inculcate this upon us. The continual wheeling about of the Universe reminds us of that great and famous Recuperation of Life which I have been speaking of, and doth in a manner attest it; as * *Tertullian* observ'd of old.

* *Totus hic ordo revolvibilis totum testatio est resurrectionis mortuorum.*
Lib. de Resur. carnis. cap. 12.

And not only Nature but Art holds forth a Resurrection. In Chymistry mixed Bodies are destroy'd, and lose their prime Qualities and Nature, to be produced again with other Virtues and Qualities more sublime and excellent. That there is no Revivification without Mortification, is the receiv'd Maxim. Plants by little and little are seen to Rise out of their Salts or Ashes, in their several proper Forms, fresh and gay, as they appear'd in the Fields or Gardens. From which and the like Operations, perhaps, the *Rosicrucians* vaunt that they can raise the dead. But this is certain, that the Resurrection is partly taught by the Works of Art. And surely the Chymistry of Heaven is much more efficacious, and can turn our Ashes into breathing and living Bodies, and give our dead Corps Life and Action again.

Furthermore, this seems to be no unreasonable Notion, because it was embraced by the most knowing and intelligent Heathens; I say, the most knowing; for among the Vulgar, the Resurrection of the Dead was wholly derided. *Minutius Felix* brings in one personating the Pagan, and laughing at the Christians, "because they † make up a great many old Wives Fables; and this among the rest is one, That they shall be born and live again, after they are dead, and reduced to Ashes; and such like Lies they fasten upon one another's Belief." And in the same Place this very thing is reckon'd as a gross Absurdity, and even as a Piece of Madness of the Christians. Yea, and among some of the Philosophers who were prejudiced Men, the Resurrection was reckon'd a new and a strange Doctrine, and they took advantage for some strange Deity that was newly risen up, *Acts* 17. 18, 19. But we read that these Athenian Philosophers were not all of a Piece; For when they heard of the Resurrection of the dead, some mocked; but others said, we will hear thee again of this matter, *Acts* 17. 32. Which shews that these latter were in a great measure wrought upon, and brought over to the Belief of this Doctrine, and therefore would be further entertain'd with a Discourse on that Subject.

† *Aniles fabulas astruunt & annuntiant, renasci se ferunt post mortem & cineres: & nescio quâ fiducia mendacis suis invicem credunt.*

And indeed the Learnedest and Wisest Men among the Gentiles own'd this Truth, as an Appendix to their Belief of the Soul's Immortality; for, holding of this, they were easily induced to give Credit to the Reunion of the Soul and Body after Death. Wherefore *Democritus* the Abderite acknowledged and expected it, as || *Pliny* testifies. And several of the Pagan Writers mention particular Instances of Persons that were raised from the dead. * *Plato* speaks of one *Erus*, and others that lived after they were dead. *Hercules* was restor'd to Life, saith *Atheniens*, 1. 9. c. 15. So was *Hippolytus*, saith *Pausanias* in his *Corinthiacs*. And several

|| *Nat. Hist.*
lib. 7. c. 55.
* *De Republica*
publica.

veral

veral other such Relations we have in *Classical Writers*; which shew we should suppose them to be false, yet they imply a great Truth in themselves, that the Resurrection is possible and credible; for some of the greatest Historians and Philosophers relate the Examples as such, and thereby do confess a future Restoration and Return to Life.

* Dr. Tillotson, Vol. 10. Sermon 6.

In the next and Third Place, I come to take Notice of an Objection or two that are wont to be started against this Restoration of Human Bodies, but especially against the Identity of them. How is it possible, say some, that the same Bodies should rise, as in the Case of those that are devour'd by Men-Eaters? Thus 'tis said, and generally believ'd, that the *Seytbians* were wont to eat all the dead Bodies they could come at, whether of Friends or Enemies. And we are told that a People in *Guiana* in *America*, eat those Enemies whom they take in Battel. And there are other *Anthropophagi*, that fall upon Men whether dead or alive. Now the Difficulty is, how these dead Bodies of Men which are devour'd by other Men, and the Bodies also of these Devourers, can both of them rise whole and compleat at the Last Day; seeing the Bodies of these that were fed upon, are turn'd into the Substance of the others: And if they be turn'd into the others Substance, they cannot still continue distinct Bodies; and consequently they cannot distinctly rise. * One gives this Solution of the Problem, "That Man's Body is a Successive Thing, continually spending and wasting, and continually renewing it self: So that we have new Bodies very often. The Body which a Man hath at any Time of his Life, is as much his own Body as that which he hath at his Death. So that a Man cannot want a Body at the Resurrection; for he had several when he was alive, one after another. If he rises with any of these, 'tis sufficient: For they are all equally his own Bodies". This is a pretty plausible way of solving the Difficulty; but it hath no Solidity in it, and touches not the grand Concern: For tho' 'tis most true, that the Body of Man may be said to be a successive thing, because it is continually wasting and recruiting; yet there is a fix'd determin'd Body which a Man hath when he leaves the World, and is without Doubt the Body which is meant, when we say that a *Man rises with the same Body*. We understand by *the same Body*, the Body which he had when his Soul took its Farewel of the World. And no Man could have imagin'd any other Body, but this Author, who fancies a Variety of Bodies belonging to Man. But this is a great Mistake, and misrepresents the Truth of the Matter: For tho' there be several Recruitings and Renewings of a Man's Body; yet he never had many Bodies, but one only: To assert otherwise is to make him a Monster, not a Man.

The most satisfactory Reply to the Objection, is, I conceive, comprised in these Three Particulars.

1st, The Instance of *Cannibals* and *Man-Eaters*, makes not against the Rising of the same Body; because they that make Use of this Instance must first prove, that all that is taken in the Stomach is turn'd into *Aliment*, and becomes a Part of the Person who receives it into his Stomach: Which the *Objectors* will never be able to prove; and consequently they cannot alledge, that the Flesh of one Man eaten by another is incorporated into this latter. It may be, it is ejected out of the Body, and never enters into those Vessels, which are design'd by Nature to convey the Nourishment. Perhaps Nature will not do its Office in digesting Human Flesh, and the nourishing Faculty recoils, and Parts of Human Bodies will not mix with the nutritious Juices, and so never come to such a Coalescence as to make Flesh. There is a great Probability of this, because it is so unnatural and improper a Food. Wherefore I give this as the First Answer to the Objection, that it is likely that that Part of another Man, which the *Anthropophagi* devour, is of that Nature that it cannot go into the Nourishment of them, and so is no Part of them, and therefore is not to rise at the general Resurrection.

2^{dly}, Supposing that the Flesh, which these Man-Eaters devour, is turn'd into Nourishment, yet it is a very small Part of it: As indeed it is but a very little Portion of whatever is eaten, that is transmitted into those Vessels that serve for Nutrition, the main and gross Part of it being disposed of otherwise. Now, granting that this little Part of Flesh devour'd by the *Cannibal*, is join'd to his Body,

dy, and this will not hinder the Body of the devoured from being the *same Body* at the Resurrection. For as it is not necessary that a Man should rise with all the Flesh he ever had from the Beginning to the End of his Life, for then his Body would be ten times bigger than it is, and consequently he would not rise in his own Proportion, but in that of a Giant; so it is not necessary that a Man should rise with every Particle of his Body which he had at his Death: For it may be the *same Body*, tho' it was not the same exact Mass of Matter. Thus it is granted, that the Bodies of Adult Persons are the same which they had when they were young; and the healthful and sickly Bodies of the same Persons are the same; and yet none of these have the same precise Number of Parts. We may, with the same Reason, pronounce the same concerning the Bodies of Men that were devoured by Man-Eaters, and concerning the Bodies of the Man-Eaters themselves, *they shall arise the same that they were*: For it was but a little Part of the Body which was devoured, that could be incorporated into the Devourer's Body; so little, that the Loss on one side, and the Accession of the other, will not hinder the Bodies from being the same at the Resurrection. There is not such a Diminution of Flesh on the Part of the Person that is eaten, nor such an Augmentation on the Part of him that was the Eater, that the *Identity* of their Bodies is destroyed.

For we must know, that it is an *Essential Change* that causes a Thing not to be the *SAME* that it was: But an *Accidental Change* doth not destroy the Identity of a Thing. Thus a Man is the same Man, tho' he grows taller and taller, and many Parts of him evaporate daily, and new ones come in their room by a Supply of Food. So it is here in the present Case, tho' one Man be eaten by another, yet they both rise with their own Bodies, because here is no Essential Alteration, but a Partial and Accidental only; that is, some small Loss on one side, and as small and inconsiderable an Addition, on the other side, of Quantity. Notwithstanding this, the respective Bodies of him that was eaten, and him that was the Eater, shall rise the same and entire; for, tho' there is a Change as to some few Parts, the same Numerical Bodies remain. Which is undeniably evident from this, that they have all remaining that constitutes them such *Individual Men*. This, I conceive, sufficiently proves against the Objectors, that it is possible for the Bodies which were devoured by Men, as well as the Bodies of the Devourers, to rise whole and the same Bodies that they were before, seeing they have all that is requisite to make them the same Bodies. But,

3dly, If it be urged (tho' I see no Necessity for it) that every Numerical Particle of all dead Bodies must be raised, to make their Resurrection entire; Then the Answer is, We know that this is possible with God; and so the Objection vanishes. The Flesh of Man, devoured by another and become (as we now suppose) his Flesh, can be restored by God to him whose Flesh it was at first: God can repair the Man-Eater's Body either by creating new Matter, or by taking something from other Bodies that are not Humane. This latter Way would solve the Difficulty, if it could be made out that the Body is the *same* after it is repaired by that which was borrowed from another Body: And truly it seems somewhat reasonable to admit of this, because it is the same in Way of *Equivalency*, for from thence arises a kind of *Identity*. But I shall not insist on this, because some Nice Thinkers will boggle at it. But we are certain that the other Way of Solution is unanswerable, that is, supposing some Part of a dead Body must be made use of to supply another, the Almighty Being can easily make it the self-same again which it formerly was by *Creation* of new Matter out of nothing. Yea tho' not only that Part, but the Whole were utterly annihilated, yet he is able to restore it to the Numerical State which it had. It is not to be doubted but that he can create Men the self-same Men they were before; tho' there may be Two Creations, yet but one Individual Substance.

Some form another distinct *Objection* after this manner: We know, say they, that in the Sea Humane Bodies are devoured by Fishes, after great Shipwracks; and in Times of War, after a great Slaughter, the dead Bodies are a Prey to the Fowls of the Air and the Beasts of the Earth. Now these Bodies being devoured by Fishes and other Animals, become Part of them, and afterwards these Fishes and Beasts are eaten by Men, and incorporated into them, and become

Parts of them, and so the Members which belonged to one Man are now another Man's, and how then can the same Members rise with different Bodies? The same Answer, as to the main, satisfies this Objection, that was used before. For perhaps it is a Mistake that Humane Flesh nourishes, and then the Objection falls to the Ground. Again, if we should grant that it doth nourish, yet there is so little of it, that it cannot possibly alter the Individuation of the Person that eats it: Especially when (as this Objection supposes) he eats it at the Second-hand. However, if any Scruple about this remains, the Power of God is able to remove it. He can raise up that Flesh which Fishes or Beasts devoured, by subtracting the Matter from those Animals which belonged to the Persons devoured: And though Men devour those Animals together with some Part of Humane Flesh mixed with them, yet the Almighty can return that Flesh to the first Owner and Possessor, and supply the Eater of it with new Matter, to render it an entire Body.

* Eccl. Hist.
lib. 5.

Or suppose in what manner you please, that the Bodies are disposed of, whether being devoured by other Men (as in the forementioned Case of the *Anthrophagi*) or by wild Beasts preying upon them, and afterwards eaten by Men (as in the other Case last mentioned), or whether their Bodies be burnt, and the Ashes of them be scattered in Rivers (as * *Eusebius* tells us the Christians were used in the Persecution under *Antoninus Verus* by the Pagans, boasting thereby to prevent the Resurrection which the Christians used to speak of, and comfort themselves with): Whether they perish in the Sea, or on the Land, or the Dust of them be dispersed in the Air, or whether they be consumed with Worms and Rottenness, God is able to rally and reunite all the Parts, and to recollect every Atom; which is thus expressed in *Rev. 20. 13. The Sea gave up the dead which were in it; and Death and Hell (or the Grave) delivered up the dead which were in them; in whatsoever Way Men die, whether they come to their Ends by unusual Kinds of Death, or whether they are deposited in the Grave after the usual manner, they shall rise again: For the Waters and the Earth shall disgorge all that are in their Bowels, and none shall be able to withstand the Summons of the Last Trumpet.*

It is then finally to be resolved into God's Omnipotency, that all Human Bodies shall rise the very same that they were. We are able in some Measure to give an Account of this Matter by Reason, even so far as to stop the Mouths of Atheists

† Ο ὁ Θεός ἐκ ἐμμελεῶν ἔχει τὸ δῶμα μὴ ὡς νόμος καὶ μέτρον φύσεως ἐργάζεται ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' αὐθιγὰ βουλῆς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ σπέρματος πρὸς ποιήσιν ὧν βούλεται ποιεῖν. *Quest. & Resp. ad Orthodox.*

and Prophane Men; but our best Sanctuary is the Power of God. † *Justin Martyr*, speaking of the Resurrection, ascribes it to this, God, saith he, hath an unlimited Power, and brings this to pass, not according to Natural Laws and Measures, but the Efficacy of his own Will, which doth not stand in need of any thing to accomplish what he pleases. He that gave Being to our Bodies, and produced all things out of nothing,

can restore them though they were reduced to nothing. God can make that to be again which once hath been, who made that to be which before was not.

|| *Idoneus est Reficere carnem, qui Fecit: quanto plus est Fecisse quam Refecisse, initium dedisse quam reddidisse. Ita Restitutionem carnis faciliorem credas Institutione. De Resur. carnis.*

* Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ δῶμα μὴ ὡς ἐστὶν ἀρμύρα πρὸς τὸ σωματικὸν ἀνάστασιν, δέκνυσιν ἢ τέτων αὐτῶν γένεσις. *Athenag. de resur. mort.*

† Παῖον γὰρ πολλὰ τὸ παλαιωθὲν καὶ νεωγῆσαι, ἢ τὰ μὴ ὄντα διχῶς ὕλης ποιῆσαι. *Orai. 9. de Provident.*

This is frequently inculcated by the Ancient Fathers; among whom *Tertullian* tells us, That || He, who made our Flesh, is able to recover it and make it again; in as much as it is more to make than to recover, to give Being than restore it. So we may believe that the Restitution of our Flesh is easier than the making of it. And that Ancient and Learned Apologist for Christianity goes this Way,

* That God's Power, saith he, is sufficient to raise the Bodies, is clear from his first producing them; for if he produced them, when they were not, he can restore them, whatsoever Dissolution happens to them. And *Theodoret* uses the like Argument, He that made all things, saith he, with a Word, can easily restore Man's Body; † For it is much easier to renew what was consumed by Time, than to make those things, which are not, without Matter.

Thus they all agree in this, that the Omnipotency of God makes the Resurrection credible and possible. If he be Infinite in Power, he can retrieve and recover our Bodies by gathering together all the scattered Parts and Fragments which go to the Constitution of them, or by the Improvement

ment and Multiplication of some one or few principal Portions that remain of the Body, or by some other Way which is best known to himself. Thus the Almighty Power of God solves the Difficulty with Ease: And there is nothing solves it so well as this. For though (as we have observed already) Nature and Reason do something towards it, and a * Great Man hath attempted to prove the Possibility of the Resurrection of the same Body even from Principles of Philosophy, yet after all, this must be said, that Reason gives us but an imperfect Account of this Truth. The Light of Nature makes but a poor and mean Discovery of it, and it is Scripture alone and the Power of God that can fully satisfy us about it. And accordingly Christ's Reply to the Sadducees, who denied the Resurrection, was this, *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Power of God*, Matt. 22. 29.

* Mr Boyle's Treatise of the Resurrection of the same Body.

The 4th and last thing I am to do, is to shew the Influence of this Doctrine upon our Practice. And First, We are obliged to Assert and Vindicate this great Fundamental Point of Religion: And the rather, because it hath been so often undermined, and even flatly denied by Men of lewd Principles and Lives. The Sadducees said, *there is no Resurrection*, Matt. 22. 23. Acts 23. 8. And among the Corinthians there were some that held, *That there is no Resurrection of the dead*, 1 Cor. 15. 12. And Hymenæus and Philetus and others asserted, that *the Resurrection is past already*, 2 Tim. 2. 18. They held no other Resurrection than a Spiritual one; the Conversion of the Gentiles, and that was accomplished by the preaching of the Gospel in the Apostles Time, and therefore was now partly pass'd. We are told by Clement of Alexandria in the 3d Book of his *Stromata*, and by Tertullian and Irenæus, that the Gnostics inclin'd to the like Opinion: They were Mystical Interpreters of the Resurrection: They turn'd it into an Allegory, and acknowledged only a Moral Resurrection, a Change of Life. Which is the very thing that the Disciples of H. Nicholas, or the Family of Love, profess'd in the last Age; the Resurrection with them was only a New Life. Epiphanius, in his Book against Heresies, mentions some that maintain'd that the Soul, but not the Body, should rise at the last Day. † Theodoret reckons Marcion and Manes, and some of the Gnostics among those that denied the General Resurrection of Bodies.

† Heret. fab. l. 1. c. 4. 24, 26.

Among the Modern Jews an Universal Resurrection of the dead is not admitted; || it is held by some of their Rabbins, that the Jews only shall rise at the last Day, but no Gentiles. Others hold, that only the Just among the Jews shall rise; and they add, that if the Just die and are buried out of their own Country, Canaan, they must be rolled through the Earth, till their Bodies arrive there: All the Rabbins affirm this. But as for the Unjust, there is no Resurrection for them: Which the Rabbies would prove from Psal. 1. 5. *The Ungodly shall not stand in Judgment*. But this is a mere perverting of the Words, to give some Authority to their groundless Opinion: The plain Meaning of the Place being this, that wicked Men cannot endure the Test; when they come to be tried at the Tribunal of the Righteous (that is, the Judgment here spoken of) they shall be condemned by them; for the next Words explain it, *nor Sinners in the Congregation of the Righteous*: They shall not stand, but shall be found guilty in the Judgment or Congregation of the Righteous, when they are assembled to judge of the Actions and Behaviour of the Wicked. Or, they shall not stand in the Judgment of the Last Day; that is, they shall not be acquitted then by the Judge of all the Earth.

|| See Buxtorf in his Synag.

* Socinus and some of his Followers question whether the Wicked shall rise again. Which, as † Limborch confesses, is an impious thing. As for the Godly, the || Socinians generally hold, that they shall not rise with the same Body that they had. A Writer among our selves, who endeavours to evade the Imputation of Socinianism, is as to this very Matter found guilty of it: For * he not only argues against the rising of the same Body, but ridicules it in several Pages together. And 'tis not questioned but that many others have sucked in the same Infection.

* In Ep. 6. ad Volkel.

† Institut. Theolog. l. 6. c. 11.

|| Slickting. contr. Meisner. Smalc. disp. 6. contr. Frantz. Volkel de Ver. Relig. l. 8. c. 35.

* 3d Letter to the Bishop of Worcester.

The greater Reason is there that we should assert and defend the Article of the Resurrection against the whole Herd of Atheists, and Deists, and Liber-

tines. Especially if we consider of what great and weighty Concern this Article is. It is reckoned, by the Apostle, one of the *Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, Heb. 6. 1. one of the first and Fundamental Truths of Religion. And the same Apostle more fully, and yet briefly, sets forth the mighty Importance of it in those few Words, 1 Cor. 15. 13, 14, 17. *If there be no Resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen, and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain; and, afterwards he adds, ye are yet in your Sins, i. e. you are under the Guilt of them, from which you can be acquitted only by Christ's Resurrection, Rom. 4. 25. This (if any thing) may powerfully invite us to assert and defend this Doctrine.*

Secondly, This is an Article that ought to have a very great Influence on our *Lives and Manners*. As in these ensuing Particulars.

1st, We are to have a care how we use our Bodies: For with these we must appear before Christ: We are to take heed that we do not pollute and defile them with Sin, as there are some Sins especially which defile the Body. To prevent which, let us remember that our Bodies shall rise and stand at the last Tribunal, and we must give an Account of the things done in our Bodies.

2^{dly}, The Consideration of our rising again should inspire our Minds with invincible Courage and Magnanimity, and embolden us to submit our Bodies and Lives to the Malice of our most bloody Persecutors in the Defence of a good Cause, when we are lawfully call'd to it. Thus the pious Sufferers and Martyrs of old submitted to be tortured, *not accepting Deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection*, Heb. 11. 35. i. e. a Resurrection to a better Life than that they were to lose. Though the Saints suffer for Christ in their Bodies, yet they know that their torn and shattered Limbs shall rise again out of their Disorders, and become beautiful and lovely. And therefore the Question of *Cacilius* the Pagan, of the Torments, Punishments, and Crosses of the Christians, was very vain and trifling, *Can God, * faith he, raise them up, as they say, after Death, and yet is he not able to keep them now from Suffering and Death?* Yes, he is able to do both, and this latter he frequently doth in a signal and remarkable manner. But he doth not do it always, because he designs by the other Method to keep up in his Servants the lively Sense of the future Resurrection, when the Bodies of the Saints, wherein they suffered for his sake, shall be restored to them with Advantage, and their Happiness and Glory shall be enhanced by the Torments and Cruelties they were exposed to here.

* *Ubi Deus ille, qui subvenire reviviscentibus potest, viventibus non potest? Minut. Felix.*

And, in all the outward Troubles and Bodily Crosses of this Life, this is a mighty Support and Relief, that we shall appear again in these Bodies free from all those Grievances. *I should utterly have fainted (saith the sorrowful Psalmist) but that I believed verily to see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living*, Psal. 27. 13. which some good Expositors have applied to the Future State; and the Context favours the Exposition: And we may more particularly apply it to the Resurrection, when our Bodies shall stand again upon this Earth, emphatically called by the Psalmist, *the Land of the Living*. The firm Persuasion of the Truth of this Article yields us Peace and Satisfaction in the midst of the greatest Difficulties and Distresses. Therefore *Tertullian* begins his Book of the Resurrection thus, *Fiducia Christianorum Resurrectio Mortuorum*, The great Prop of the Christian's Trust and Confidence is the Resurrection of the Dead: And truly it is the great Basis of all Christianity.

3^{dly}, We are to make use of this Article, to comfort our selves at the approach of Death. *RESURGAM* was all the Inscription which *J. King* the Worthy Bishop of *London* order'd in his Last Will should be writ on his Grave-stone: And it was a full and just Epitaph, because it contained this comfortable Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead. *We shall rise*, is sufficient to animate and revive us under the Thoughts of leaving this World, and descending into the Grave, the Place of Stench and Rottenness. A Christian, in sure and certain Hope of a Blessed Resurrection to Eternal Life, may despise Death, and look on it as an *Enemy* that lies disarmed and bleeding, and gasping at his Feet; and he may dare him now to do his worst, though he presents himself in the most horrid Shapes. Rejoycing in Hope of the Glory of God, he may Triumph over Death, even whilst he is in daily Expectation of it. Though the ven-

mous

mous Viper fastens on him, he shakes it off without Harm, as St. Paul did that at *Mekita*. The Holy Spirit of Life and Grace, which now dwells in him, shall one Day raise his Body out of the Dust. Wherefore he comforts himself with the Thoughts of his Entrance into that Life which shall never have an End, a Life of perpetual Joy and Felicity, a Life of undisturbed Rest and Tranquillity, of which we can scarcely find the Shadow or Resemblance in this World. We shall not always take up our Abode in the Grave: By the Power and Efficacy of Christ's Resurrection we lift up our Heads, and rise fresh and active out of our Beds of Dust. But even there we are safely lodged for a time, and our Bodies are locked up as in a Treasury, and are as it were Hermetically sealed up against the last Day. At which time they shall be raised up much better than when they were laid down. They shall rise again void of all Diseases and Sickneses, all Maladies and Imperfections. A lame Man and a blind Man (in Q. Mary's Days) being brought to the Stake, where they were to be burnt, the former threw away his Crutch, comforting his Fellow-sufferer, saying, *Be of good Comfort, my Brother, for my Lord of London is our good Physician, he will heal us both shortly, thee of thy Blindness, and me of my Lameness.* This is certain, that the Resurrection will cure us of all Deformities and Blemishes, all Infirmities and Defects, and all the Saints of God shall rise in a Juvenile or Manly State, Childhood and Old Age being Defects. I appeal to any considering Person, whether this be not implied, and much more, in what the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 15. 42, 43. *So is the Resurrection of the dead: (that is, the Body of the dead) it is sown in Corruption, it is raised in Incorruption: It is sown in Dishonour, it is raised in Glory: It is sown in Weakness, it is raised in Power: It is sown a Natural Body, it is raised a Spiritual Body.*

4thly, This also administers Solace at the Death of our Friends; though by the Laws of an Eternal Destiny they are forced to leave us, and we are forced to part with them, yet this is to be remembered, that at the last Day there shall be a general Discharge from Death, and our dearest Relations (with the rest) shall be restored to us again, and so we shall for ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these Words.

Lastly, In the whole Course of our Christian Warfare we are to be preparing our selves for that Day, when we shall appear in our Bodies before the Great Tribunal. To which purpose let it be remembered that St. John in *Rev.* mentions a double Resurrection, the *First* and the *Second*, and the one fits us for the other. The former is the Resurrection of the Soul, which is then said to *arise*, when it passes from the Death of Sin to the Life of Grace. The latter is the Life and Rising of the Body at the last Day to Life and Happiness. We must look after the *First*, as we desire to partake of the other. We must mortify our Lusts, and rise unto Newness and Holiness of Life: And then (and no otherwise) we shall be sure of rising to everlasting Glory.

ARTICLE · XII.

The Life Everlasting.]

M A T T H. XXV. 46.

These shall go into everlasting Punishment: but the righteous into life Eternal.

The Discourses under this Head treat of a *Life to come*, of the *Immortality of Human Souls*, of the *Celestial Happiness*, of the *Torments of Hell*; with a Rational Account of the *Eternity of both*.

WE are now come to the *End of our Faith*, as the Apostle speaks, *1 Pet. 1. 9.* the *Salvation of our Souls*, call'd here the *Life everlasting*. But I will treat of it not only in the *restrain'd* Sense of those Terms, as they denote an *Endless Life of Happiness*, but I will consider them in their *largest Extent*, as they comprise in them a *Future Duration*, not only of *Happiness*, but of *Misery*. They ascertain us, that our *Souls* shall survive the *Funeral of our Bodies*; that there shall be another *Life* after this, of *Rewards and Punishments*; and that this *Life* shall be *Eternal*. So that this Article comprehends in it these Five Propositions, 1. (Which is more General) There is a *Future State or Life* after this. 2. That this State may be enjoy'd and undergone, we must assert that the *Soul of Man is made Immortal*. 3. There is a *Heaven*, wherein the *Righteous* shall be rewarded. 4. There is a *Hell*, wherein the *Unrighteous* shall be punished. 5. This *Reward* and this *Punishment* shall be *Eternal*. Of these I shall distinctly discourse. And first,

Of a FUTURE STATE.

THE First Proposition is this, That there is a *Future State*, another *Life* after this. Where, 1. I will propound what the *Scriptures* say for the Confirmation of this Truth. 2. I will shew what other *Reasons and Arguments* (besides those in *Scripture*) may be brought. 3. Whence it is, that notwithstanding this Evidence, this Truth is denied by some. 4. I will briefly shew what is the Improvement of this part of the Article.

First, It is manifest that the *Scriptures* furnish us with many Passages that attest the Certainty of a *Future State*. There we read, that before the Word was writ, God gave visible Tokens of this Truth. In the Time before the Flood, when the World grew very wicked, God took *Enoch*, Gen. 5. 24. that is, he took him up alive into Heaven. And this he did, not only to take him from an Evil World, but to teach Men that there is another *Life*: for it is expressly said that *he did not see Death*, Heb. 11. 5. As much as to say, he still Lives, and is in Paradise, as * *Athanasius* and other Fathers used to term it. And therefore *Enoch*, on the account of his being translated hence to another World, is rightly call'd by one of the Ancients, † *the Hostage and Witness of both Lives*, this and the other. And more especially he is a *Witness and Pledge* of that *Life* which is reserv'd for the Godly; for that is the Reason which is assign'd of his being removed hence, because *he walk'd with God*, Gen. 5. 24. (or, as the Apostle explains it) *he pleased God*, Heb. 11. 5. So that this is a most remarkable Proof of the Certainty of a *Future State* of Happiness, and of the Rewards laid up for Holy Men, such as strove to please God.

* Orat. de
Patrib. &
Prophet.
† Obsec.
testis utri-
usq; vite.
Te. tull.

God. Therefore the *Ethiopian* Christians * keep yearly, as a Solemn Festival, the Day of *Enoch's* Ascension into Heaven, which they think was the 25th of July. So of *Elijah* it is recorded that he was taken, 2 Kings 2. 3, 5, 9, 10. (the same Word that *Enoch's* Assumption was express'd by) that is, he was taken up to Heaven, which is expressly said of him in verse 11. he went up into Heaven. Which is an Assurance to us of another World, and a Life of Happiness and Glory for those that truly fear God, and are zealous for his Glory, and the Cause of Religion. Such was this Prophet, and such was *Enoch* before-mention'd: the One lived before the Law, the Other under it, and both were taken up by God, that in these Examples the Faithful might have a certain Pledge of their Future Existence.

This also is clear from what God professed to *Moses*, *Exod.* 3. 6. *I am the God of thy Father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*: For tho' this was quoted by our Saviour to prove the Resurrection (and to that end I have made use of it before) yet it holds as firmly for a Future State; for these holy Patriarchs who have left this World, have a Being in another; for God is not the God of that which hath no Being. Besides, when God saith, *He is the God of Abraham, &c.* the meaning is, that He is their Friend and Benefactor, and bountifully performs his Promises to them. Now we know that they had not the Promises fully made good to them upon Earth, and therefore they must survive in some other Place and State where these Promises shall be perfectly accomplished. And this is that Inheritance which God gave to *Abraham* by Promise, *Gal.* 3. 18. of which the Land of *Canaan* was but a Type. Therefore it is said, that *Abraham* looked for a City which had Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God, *Heb.* 11. 10. the Unchangeable State above, the Inheritance of all true Believers. So our Saviour interpreted the words, *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*, *Matt.* 22. 32. God being the God and Friend of the Ancient Holy Patriarchs, we may assuredly infer thence, that these Persons are Alive, they enjoy their Being in another World. And all these Places of the Old Testament, which I shall produce afterwards, to prove that the Life to come is Everlasting, do likewise prove this Future State.

Notwithstanding this, there are several Parties of Men that will not own this Life to come to have been a Discovery made in the Old Testament. There is a great Consent among the *Papists* and *Socinians* as to this: and some *Remonstrants* and *Arminians* take to their side. Thus *Grotius* tells us, that all * the Rewards that are plainly propounded in the Law of *Moses*, have respect to this Life only. With whom concurs the late Archbishop, † In the Law of *Moses*, saith he, there was no particular and express Revelation of the Life of the World to come. And we shall see afterwards that he holds there is no express Revelation of it in the New Testament. And another declares, that ‖ the Promises of the Law consist all of outward and temporal Blessings. But I have shew'd before, that even under the Law there were other Promises besides those that are Temporal, and respect this Life.

And now I will from one Passage which we meet with in the New Testament, irrefragably prove that they had notice under the Old Testament of a State of Future Punishment in the Life to come. The *Rich Man*, mention'd in the 16th Chapter of *St. Luke*, being justly thrust down to Hell for his Luxury and Unmercifulness, earnestly begged for some Relief from his Torments; but when he was told that That could not be granted, he desired that a Messenger might be sent to his Father's House, to acquaint his Brethren that there really is a Future State of Punishment, and that he knows it by sad and deplorable Experience; that his Brethren being certified of this, might not augment his Torments by coming to that place. But mark what Answer was returned, *They have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them*, v. 29. As much as to say, In the Writings of *Moses*, and in some other Books of the Old Testament, there is a Discovery of the Life to come, and of Rewards and Punishments inflicted on Men, according to their Behaviour in this World: therefore there is no need of sending *Lazarus*, or any other Messenger to any Persons to inform them concerning this great Truth. And when the poor tormented Wretch urged his Request again, that one might be sent from the Dead, the Answer was to the same purpose that it was before, but more full, *If they*

* *Ludolph. Hist. Æthi- op. cap. 5.*
† *Lakach.*

* *Premia Legis Moſis aperte propoſita, ad hanc vitam mortalem ſpectant omnia. De Ver. Relig. Chriſtian. l. 5.*

† *Dr. Tillotſon, Sermon. 2. on Rom. i. 18, 19.*

‖ *Dr. Scot, Chriſtian Life, Vol. 5. p. 242.*

they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the Dead, and appear'd to them, and gave them a particular Account of the Torments of the Damned. This Text then I look upon as a plain and convincing Proof, that a Future State, even that of Punishment, was discovered in the Writings of Moses and the Prophets: or else this Rich Man's Kindred and Relations would not have been referred to these, to inform themselves there of the Truth and Certainty of that Future State: and they would not have been told, that thence they might be as assured of it as if one came from the Damned. Wherefore I reckon this Passage in St. Luke to be an undeniable Evidence and Testimony of the Point before us; and I must needs say, I wonder that it hath not been taken notice of by any Writers that I have met with on this Subject, to prove that under the Old Testament they had a Sense of a Future State.

But to return to what I was speaking of, namely, that there are other Promises in the Old Testament besides those that have regard to this Present Life. I grant indeed that *Temporal Blessings* were chiefly propounded and promised under the Old Testament: and thence it was unlawful to part with the *Inheritance* which fell to them; which gives an Account of Naboth's Carriage. Some may think it was a great Oversight and Imprudence in him, that he so obstinately denied to part with his Vineyard to King Ahab; but they will think otherwise when they consider, that God straightly forbid his People the Alienation of their Inheritance, these Temporal good Things being the chief Allurements and Motives to Obedience at that time. Accordingly in those Places where we meet with a great Confluence of Blessings promised to that People, as in *Exod. 23. 26, &c. Lev. 26, 3, &c. Deut. 7. 12, &c. 28. 21, &c.* there is no mention of any thing but what is worldly and temporal. But it doth not follow hence, that there were no Promises at all of future and heavenly Things, and no clear Intimations of another Life after this. The Dispensation that then was, required that Present and Earthly Things should be chiefly propounded to that People, but it did not exclude Future ones, as hath been shew'd before.

Further, I grant that another Life was not revealed and promised under the Old Testament so openly and clearly as under the Gospel. There was a great deal of Shadow mixt with the Light: but yet the Thing itself was so far discovered and brought to light, that it may be said to be plain and exprefs. The shadow of good things to come (*Heb. 10. 1.*) led them to the very Substance: and Heavenly Things were assured to them by those that were Terrene and Corporal.

Again, I grant that the Generality of the Jews looked no further than this Present Life: those that were Carnal, fixed on Earthly Promises only: but it was otherwise with those of a better sort, those that were Spiritual among them. The Good Patriarchs and the Prophetical Men, and all the Eminent Believers among the Jews, had a Knowledge of another Life. And afterwards, this was the constant and received Belief of the Jewish Masters and Doctors. Whence is that known Saying, *All Israelites are partakers of the future World.* And the Rabbins distinguish between *Olam Hazah* and *Olam Habba*, the Present World and that which is to come; which latter is designed, they say, for the Reward of the Righteous. And this without doubt they had from what they found written in the Old Testament concerning this Other State, and from the Examples there Recorded of those who were visibly and solemnly removed hence to another Place above.

I pass now to the New Testament, where are more ample Discoveries of this Truth. That there is another State after this, is clear from *1 Cor. 15. 19.* *If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable; nay, we are of all other Creatures, as well as Men, most miserable.* The Condition of Brutes would be more eligible than that of Men, if there were no other Life besides this: for Brutes excel us in their Senses, and some of them in the Duration of their Lives. They are not so weak and infirm as Mankind; they are not so liable to Sicknes and Diseases. Besides, Men are subject to the Miseries of the Mind, Discontent, Grief, Fear, Cares, Distractions and Despair, especially after the commission of gross Sins: but Brutes reflect not on Things, and make no Remarks to hurt them, and feel no inward Disturbances, but are always easy when they can satiate their Appetites and Lusts. Wherefore on these Accounts (I do

do not say on all) this Condition of Men is worse than that of Beasts, if there be not a Life after this. But especially, if we understand the Apostle's Words concerning *Christians* (as we ought to do,) their Condition is far worse than that of all Men, as well as Beasts, because they are (and at that time more particularly when the Apostle wrote this) exposed to Dangers, to Tribulation and Persecution more than others. Wherefore the Apostle most solidly argues hence, that there is an Assurance of *another Life* after this; and on that account Believers and Godly Men are so far from being most Miserable; that they are of all Men in the World most Happy.

This Future State is again positively asserted by the Apostle in 2 Cor. 5. 1, &c. *We know that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, a House not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens: For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our House which is from Heaven. Not that we would be unclothed (as if that were the thing we principally longed for) but clothed upon (to have this Life changed into a Heavenly one), that so Mortality might be swallowed up of Life.* In which Words the Apostle sets forth in a Figurative and Metaphorical Stile our Present and Future State: In this Present Life we groan under the Burden of the Body, which is here compared to a *House*, a House with many Rooms, Apartments, Offices, which God leases out to the Soul, for that is the Tenant that dwells in it. And to denote to us the Instability of this House, the Apostle calls it a *Tabernacle* or *Tent*, a slight Habitation, pitched for a while, and soon taken down. Which is the next Thing he mentions, to wit, that the House of this Tabernacle must be *dissolved*. This Bodily Frame of Nature will not continue long, yea, in a short time it will decay. But the next Thing the Apostle assures us of, is, That we shall change this Earthly Tabernacle for a Heavenly Being. When this crazy Tenement is pulled down, a new and lasting one shall be erected in its stead, a Building of God, Eternal in the Heavens. When this moveable Tabernacle is decayed, a durable Temple shall be erected. When this *Cloathing* of our Bodies (for that is a Comparison which the Apostle here uses, and it was used afterwards by other Writers) is grown old, and worn out, the Soul is to be *cloathed upon*, another Attire is to be put upon it. The Sum of all which, as thus Metaphorically delivered, is no other than this in plain Terms, That when our Souls shall be separated from our Bodies by Death, they immediately enter into another State, that is, a State of Life which is Immortal. And the Apostle intimates that this is an Undeniable Truth, for we have a Certain Knowledge of it; *We know*, saith he, *that if our Earthly House, &c.* As much as to say, we have abundant Evidence of this; and he that calls this in question, questions all Religion.

That is another irrefragable Text, *Phil. 1. 23.* where the Apostle saith, *He hath a desire to depart*, that is, to die, *and to be with Christ*. Therefore after Death he and all holy Men have an Existence and Life, and a present Enjoyment of Jesus. On which Account he saith, *v. 21. To me to die, is gain*. But if he did not exist after Death, he could not have said this, for he had been a *Looser* rather than a *Gainer*. Whence we rationally gather, that there is another Life after this, when Good Men shall be recompensed for what they did and suffered here. This also is evident from *Col. 3. 3.* *Ye are dead*, that is, to Earthly Things, *and your Life is hid with Christ in God*; your Spiritual Eternal Life which you are most to be concerned for, is hid from the Eyes of the World, and secured to you by the Purchase of Christ, and the Promise of the Father. *When Christ, who is our Life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory*; though ye have here been *bidden*, ye shall appear at Christ's Coming, and your Appearing shall be Glorious, as *his* will be. The Best part of a Christian is yet to come.

Which Truth is further confirm'd by *1 Tim. 4. 8.* *Godliness hath a promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* Here is a plain Distinction between this Present Life, and that which we shall live hereafter: and this latter is as certain as the other. We are as sure that we shall exist hereafter, as that we are now. I will add one Text more, which is very plain and peremptory, *Heb. 13. 14.* *Here have we no continuing City, but seek one to come.* As if the Apostle had said, Our Present State is uncertain; but there is a better one after this, which shall be lasting and permanent. The same Apostle calls it a *City which hath Foundations, in another Place.*

Lastly, The New Testament affords us an unanswerable Conviction of a Future Life from the Resurrection of Christ, which it so expressly records. Therefore we may observe that after these words before quoted, *If in this life only we have hope, &c.* it is immediately subjoined, *But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept.* As much as to say, Christ by his rising hath given us an Assurance of our Resurrection, and of another Life after this. Which I take to be the Meaning of the Apostle's words, in 2 Tim. i. 10. *He hath abolished death, namely, by his rising from the Dead, and so hath brought Life and Immortality to light by the Gospel,* by this great Gospel-discovery of his Rising again. And if we add also his visible Ascending to Heaven, we must conclude that the Evangelical Writings afford us undeniable Demonstrations of another World, and the Certainty of a Future Existence. Insomuch that one would wonder at what that known Prelate saith, that * *he doth not find that a Future State is expressly revealed in the Bible,* whether Old or New Testament. One would wonder, I say, at this, if he did not observe what this Writer saith in the same place, namely, that † *We do not find it any where revealed in all the Scripture, that there is a God.* But he might have found both this and the other, if he had been willing, and had called to mind what Article he subscribed to; which runs thus: || "The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and New Testament Everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard who feign that the Old Fathers did look only for Transitory Promises. This Writer therefore is not to be heard.

* Tillotson's
Vol. 12.
Serm. 2.
p. 36.
† Page 35.

|| Artic. 7.
of the Ch.
of England.

* Dr. Calamy,
Serm.
11. p. 358.

Secondly, Besides Scripture, there are Other Evidences of a Future Life. For I am not of his Opinion who saith, that * *from the Scriptures alone we have all we know of a Future State.* (Where by the way, observe how our Doctors agree among themselves: One saith, a Future State is not revealed in the Bible; and Another tells us, the Bible alone hath revealed to us all that we know of a Future State: which are both equally false.) I will shew that this Doctrine is attested by Reason, as well as by the Word of God, and that we may attain to some competent Knowledge of it by such Arguments as these that follow.

The first and chiefest whereof is taken from *the Nature of God.* For it is impossible to give an account of the Wisdom, Justice, Goodness and Providence of God in the managing of some things in the World, without the asserting of another Life. As for Example; here the worst of Men are least punished, yea generally they escape Punishment; and we see that the wickedest Persons thrive and flourish upon the Earth: Whereas the Wise and Just Government of the World requires that the Wicked should be severely punished here; I say, it requires it, if there be no other Life after this. But it is plain that there is, because we frequently see that the Wicked go unpunished. It is an Argument of a Future World that Delinquents are not punished here. It is not necessary they should, seeing they shall suffer in another World. And then on the other side, Good Men are seldom rewarded according to what they have done or suffered, yea, for the most part they continue to be hated, reproached, abused, persecuted, oppressed, and sometimes put to Death: Wherefore God's Remunerative Justice, Goodness and Mercy require that these Persons should be rewarded in another World, seeing they were so evilly treated in this. There must be a Retribution in another Life, to clear and vindicate these Attributes of the Deity. Thus we see the Reasonableness of believing a Future State is grounded on the Inequality of God's Dispensations in this Life towards Good and Bad Men. The Manner of his dealing with them is a plain Evident of another Life. The Course of this World points out a Future Existence; for the Righteous are seldom rewarded here, and the worst Men prosper: Piety and Honesty oftentimes prove disadvantageous to Men, yea very dangerous and fatal. It is necessary therefore that there be another Life to come: for 'tis certain that God would not make us Unhappy by our Obedience, and Miserable for Living well. His Justice and Goodness would be impeached, if Vertue and Godliness were to Men's Loss and Ruin, and if at length there were no difference made between the Good and Bad. Whence I conclude, that a Future Life is agreeable to God's Goodness and Justice. And the Objection against Providence, that Good Men fare ill, and the Wicked well in this Life, is retorted on the Objectors, to prove a Future State, and the Certainty of another Life after this.

Again,

Again, I argue from the Wisdom, and Providence, and Goodness of God on another Account. It was from the Divine Favour and Bounty that Mankind came into Being; but it would be inconsistent with this Bounty and Goodness, having created such Excellent Beings, and so many of them, to let them perish so soon. Can we think it becoming the Great God of Heaven, and suitable to his All-seeing Wisdom to create so Noble a Being as Man, who is so capable of serving and praising his Creator to all Eternity, only to tread this Stage of Earth a few Days, and to pass off, and never appear again? No intelligent and sober Person can suffer so absurd a Notion as this to lodge in his Mind. Especially, we must own a Future Existence and Duration, when we consider the Nature or our present State; a great Part of which is consumed in Infancy and Childhood, which are but half-living. Great Portions of Time are spent in Sleep, a kind of Death, and yet it would be an Unhappiness to be deprived of that Cessation of Life. Troubles, Crosses, Pains imbitter our Lives, and at the same time shorten them. And on sundry other Accounts we have but an inconsiderable Share of Existence in this World, a very scant and straitned Measure of Life. If this were all we are to expect, this World would seem to be a Mockery, and a fond Shew, and not worthy of God and his Wisdom. And the making of Man would appear to be but a mean Design, if Life were of no longer Duration, if we expired so soon. 'Tis absurd and ridiculous therefore to imagine that we were made only for this Life, that we were brought into a restless World to have our Being only for a few Days, and to return again to nothing. It would be to little Purpose, and unbecoming the Divine Wisdom and Conduct, that Man should be born only to die, and never to live again. If therefore we consult the Honour of the Divine Being, we must needs hold that Man was made for a longer time, and that his Soul lives and acts after this Life, and that he shall enjoy a lasting Existence in another World. Thus much of the First Argument, taken from the Nature of God. I shall be briefer in the rest.

Secondly, I argue from the Testimony of Conscience not wholly debauched by Sensuality. This tells us, that there is a State of Reward and Punishment after this Life, that we shall be Happy or Miserable as to our Behaviour in this World. These Impressions of Hope and Fear are on all Mens Minds, being naturally implanted there by God. Where the Excellent Tully long since observed, That ** the Soul of Man hath in it a certain Presage of another World.* The Natural Instinct of Men suggests a Future Life: Every Man's Conscience witnesses this, and even proclaims it with a loud Voice, and God himself speaks in it.

Thirdly, The Restless Motions and Sallies of the Soul are a Proof of this. The Perfection of our Faculties is not attained in this Life: We are capable of higher Things, we have strong Inclinations to them, which shews that we are made for the enjoying of them. This World cannot satisfy the rational Desires and Appetites of Man: Therefore another State is prepared for him, wherein he shall have his full Satisfaction. We have in our Thoughts boundless Researches after Happiness: We really feel in us a strong Tendency towards a more perfect State: And 'tis unreasonable to think that this is put into us to no purpose, and to have no End and Effect at all. Certainly these enlarged Desires of our Minds are not given us to delude us (for that were unworthy of our Maker) but that we may enjoy what we so earnestly long for. Wherefore I infer from the Natural Propension of our Souls, and their Disquiet and Dissatisfaction in the Things that are here below, that there shall be another Life after this, wherein the vehement Appetites and Breathings of our Minds shall be satisfied.

Fourthly, A Future State is proved from the Universal Suffrage and Acknowledgment which it hath. Jews and Gentiles, as well as Christians, and all Nations and People discover more or less, their Sense of another Life, and of the Rewards and Punishments that are there. This is the common Cry of the World, and both the Wise and Vulgar agree in this. Yea, some of the Rudest People express in some manner their Belief of this; among some of them, when their King dies, several of his Servants are immediately killed, that they may attend him in the other World. In the Kingdom of Loango, in the Upper Ethiopia, the Inhabitants of Malembra set apart a Fifth Day for Publick Worship; at which

* Adeo nescio quomodo inheret in mentibus quasi seculorum quoddam augurium futurorum. Tusc. Qu. I. I.

time one in a solemn Speech exhorts them to the Practice of Vertue, by propounding to them the Certainty of Rewards and Punishments in a Future State, affrighting them with the Consideration of the miserable State in the Society of *Benimbe*, that is, the Devil; and solacing their Minds with the Hopes of enjoying *Zaampoango*, that is, God, or the Maker of the World. The Natives of *Newfoundland* (an Island in *America*) generally hold that the Dead go into a far Country, and there have the Fruition of their Friends. The Inhabitants of *Paraguay* in *America* talk of a Tradition among them, that certain Priests shall arrive in their Country, and teach them the Principles of a New Religion, whereby they shall attain to Happiness in another World. And many other Instances might be brought of the same Nature. Seeing then this Notion hath Universally prevailed, and is of the same Date with Mankind, we cannot think that it is a Cheat and Delusion: But we must be persuaded that it is even the Voice of God.

Lastly, I might prove a Future State from the Soul's Immortality. If it is a Being that survives the Body, and exists hereafter, then it will be most rational to infer, that there is a State of Enjoyment after this Life. But that will be a Discourse by it self, and ought to be so: For I will not (as I see many have done in their Treatises) confound the Notion of a Future State, and the Immortality of the Soul, and treat of them promiscuously. If we would be exact, we must handle them singly: For there are Arguments that are proper and peculiar to each of them.

Now I pass to the *Third General* propounded, namely, Whence it is that this Doctrine of a Future State (tho' so well grounded on *Scripture* and *Reason*) is doubted of, and sometimes flatly denied. For though this be a Truth that hath the general Suffrage of Mankind (as was lately said) yet it is not so to be understood, as if none did oppose it. Thus, notwithstanding the Being of a God is the Voice of the World, yet there have been some in all Ages that have favoured *Atheism*. So it is in the Doctrine of a Future Life, notwithstanding its being generally acknowledged by Mankind, yet there are some deluded or perverse Spirits that contradict it. And according to the Difference of their Genius and Inclinations, the Grounds and Occasions of their Contradiction differ.

* *Tzemach*
David in
Chronic.

First, Some oppugn this Doctrine out of mere *Enthusiasm*. So *David George*, and others of his Fraternity, concluded the Mytery of Christianity within the Compass of this Life. And *H. Nicolas* denied the Immortality of Souls and a Life to come, on Enthusiastic Principles. Wherefore their Way is, when they meet with Texts that assert a Future State, to turn them into Allegory, and thereby to evade the Force of them. Besides, these *Enthusiasts* pretend to a Divine Life, which they tell us is sufficient of it self without any Reward: And they count it base and mercenary to look for a future Recompense. This was the Foundation of the *Sadducees* denying the Resurrection and a Life to come, if we may credit * one of the *Jewish Rabbies*; for he tells us, that that Sect arose from a Mistake of a Saying of their Master, who said, *That no Man ought to obey God with a respect to an Eternal Reward*. Whereupon they shut up all their Religion and their Hopes with this present Life. But any Man of sober Thoughts cannot but apprehend how vain such Pretences are; for Men of the most consummate Vertue have Respect unto the Recompense of Reward, *Heb. 11. 26.* and even Christ himself had regard to the Joy that was set before him, *Chap. 12. Ver. 2.* which may convince us that this is no mercenary thing. And as for the *Allegorizing* Enthusiast, he is justly condemned by all Men in their Wits; for he that gives way to this in Matters of this Nature, which we are treating of, will allegorize away not only a Future State, but all the other great Doctrines which the Scriptures have revealed to us.

Secondly, There is another sort of Men who are prompted from an Exuberance of Wit (as they and their Party reckon it) to renounce and ridicule a Life to come, and all Truths of the like Importance. For they profess it to be a dull thing to take up other Mens Notions, and to think with the Generality of Mankind. This is below a Man of Parts and Invention: And therefore they resolve to contradict the rest of the World, and to laugh at the present Maxims

Maxims of Truth and Piety, and to run them down with Raillery and bold Jestings. I believe the Reader doth not expect I should return any Answer to this; for those that take Blasphemy for Wit, and Prophaneness for Ingenuity, are not to be attended to, but call only for Pity or Scorn.

Thirdly, Others pretend this to be a sufficient Ground of their disbelieving a Future State, because none ever came from the other World, to assure us that there is such a thing as a Future Existence. The Answer to which is, 1. That separate Souls *have appeared*, and have brought Notice of the Reality of the Future State. Several Instances of which the Reader will find in my next Discourse, which is on the *Immortality of the Soul*, where I largely handle this Subject, and produce Testimonies both from Sacred and Prophane Writers: Therefore I omit them at present. 2. Though we produce nothing of this kind, yet it is sufficient that Scripture assures us of the surviving of Souls in another World. Nay, Scripture is more sure and convincing than the Visible Return and Appearance of any Person from the Dead, as our Saviour himself acquaints us in his Parable, *Luke 16. 31. If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the Dead.* And the Reason is plain, because the Holy Scriptures are infallibly true, and we cannot be deceived and imposed upon by them: But oftentimes those which we take to be real *Apparitions*, are no other than Delusions: And the Devils may appear in the Shape of the Dead, and deceive us.

Fourthly, Others talk after this manner: We cannot be absolutely sure of another State, for there is no Proof it by *Mathematical Demonstration*. Perhaps it may be otherwise than hath been represented, and therefore there is no Reason why we should quit our present Pleasures and Delights (which some are pleased to call *sinful*) for the Expectation of something Future, which we have no *Certainty* of. The Answer to this, which they reckon to be a good Ground of questioning a Future Existence, is, 1. That though we cannot Mathematically demonstrate this Existence, yet we have no Reason on that Account to doubt of it; for there are many other things, which are undoubtedly true, and yet are not capable of this kind of Proof. There is no Mathematic Demonstration of the Being of a God, or of the Truth of the Scriptures, and several other unquestionable Verities, and yet there is no intelligent and sober Person refuses to believe them, because they are destitute of this Proof. For all things are not to be proved alike, but some in one Way, and some in another. And it is sufficient that we have such a Proof of any Proposition as it is capable of. This is satisfactory to any wise Man. 2. These Men who tell us, that it cannot be Mathematically proved that *there is a World to come*, ought to remember this likewise, that they cannot Mathematically demonstrate that *there is none*. It is impossible that any Man should know, and be certain that there is no Future State, unless he can prove that such a State is *Impossible* and implies a Contradiction, which I never heard that any pretended to. There may then be another Life for ought he knows; wherefore it concerns him to be cautious and circumspect. Suppose this could not be proved absolutely, yet 'tis best to act and live as if there were a Life to come. For as a * Learned Man said, not long before he died, *If the Opinion of another World be false, yet the sweetest Life in this World is Piety, Virtue and Honesty: If it be true, there are none so wretched and miserable, as loose, carnal and prophane Persons.* 3. These Men cannot but see, if they will give their Minds to it, that it is far more probable there should be a Future Life, than that there shall be none. And the bare *Probability* that there is such, doth in Reason oblige all Men to prepare themselves for it, that is, to live Holy and Religious Lives. A Wise Man will not run the Hazard of perishing everlastingly. A Prudent and Considerate Man will secure his Future Happiness before all things whatsoever. 4. These Men cannot but see, if they blind not themselves by Prejudice, that there is not only a Probability, but a *Certainty* of a Future Life, for 'tis founded on Scripture and Reason (as hath been shew'd) it is evident from Divine Revelation, and from the Light of Nature: And who would desire a firmer Ground of Certainty? Wherefore away with the idle Objection about *Demonstration*.

Fifthly and Lastly, The most common and general Reason why a Future State is disbelieved, is because Men would have no Check to their Vices. They are unwilling

* Lord
Bacon.

unwilling to make a Future State the Matter of their Belief, because they are loth to regulate their Lives according to that Persuasion. It is well known that the Doctrine of a Life to come is the greatest Rampart of Religion, and therefore wicked Livers endeavour to demolish this. It is no Wonder that the *Epicureans* of old, with great Confidence and Earnestness, maintain'd that there is no Life after this, for their Vicious and Lewd Courses engaged them to do this. And so it is with others since; in every Age there are those profligate Offenders who cry down a State to come, because it is their Interest that there should be no such thing. And so afterwards, the more wicked and debauched the World grows, the less will the Sense of another Life be upon the Minds of Men. They that live not like Rational Creatures, will easily persuade themselves that they shall die like Brutes. Whatever is pretended, this is the true and most general Account why so many labour to expunge a Life to come out of their Creed.

The *Fourth* and *Last* thing I am to do is, to shew what *Improvement* we are to make of the Doctrine of a Future State. 1. We are to have it always in our Eye. 2. We are to govern our selves by it.

The *First* Thing we are obliged to do, is to have the Future Life always in our Eye. The *Brain* of most *Insects*, we are told, lies in their *Eyes*: They know and perceive no more than what they see. It is so with the Generality of Men; they know nothing, they are concerned for nothing but what is before their Eyes. They are wholly taken up with the present View, but look not to Futurity. We ought to be careful that we be not guilty of this great Folly. It concerns us whilst we are in this World to take a Prospect of another. Let us have a lively Sense and Apprehension of the Future. The World rolls on, and our Years are shortning and decaying; but there is another Scene after this, the Consideration of which should continually possess our Minds. We should be so Wise as to look forward, and think with our selves what shall become of us in another World.

Secondly, We are to govern our Lives by the Thoughts of Futurity. Our serious Prospect of another State should have an Influence on all our Actions. We must make our firm Belief of another Life serviceable to Religion and Holiness. And we must the rather do this, because we daily see how dangerous and pernicious the Disbelief of a Future State proves to be in the Lives of Men. For as I have shewed before, that Mens indulging themselves in their Sins is one main Cause of their Disbelief of a Life hereafter, so it is as true that this Disbelief is the grand Cause of a Wild and Dissolute Life. That Atheistical and *Epicurean* Principle of no Future State, hurries Men into all wild and extravagant Actions; as those Wanton and Luxurious *Israelites* argued, *Let us eat and drink, for To-Morrow we shall die*, Isa. 22. 13. And in the same Language the Apostle represents the lewd Opinion and Practice of some in his time, 1 Cor. 15. 32. *Let us eat and drink*, said they, let us make it our Business to wallow in

* *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, &c.*
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Catull.

all sensual Pleasures, *for to Morrow we die*, and * never live again: There is no Future State of Being after we are once out of this World: Wherefore let us enjoy our selves here. But what saith the Apostle? *Evil Communications corrupt good Manners*. He quotes a Heathen Poet (for he borrowed the

Saying from such an Author) to baffle this Heathenish and Atheistical Doctrine. Your false Principles, saith he, infect and corrupt your Lives; your Speculative Infidelity makes way for that which is Practical, which is the worse of the two. The *Apocryphal* Writer hath expressed this very well, and hath shewed that the Ungodly being arrived to this Persuasion, that there is no other

† *Wisd. 2.*
2, 3, &c.

Life after this, thereupon encourage themselves in all Wickedness. † *We shall*, say they, *be hereafter as though we had never been*: Our Bodies shall be turned into Ashes, and our Spirits shall vanish as the soft Air. Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present, let us fill our selves with costly Wine and Ointments: Let none of us go without his Part of our Voluptuousness: Let us oppress the poor righteous Man, &c. And this is the Language of our Epicures and Libertines at this Day; There is no other World, therefore we will take our fill of this, and nothing shall check us in our greedy Pursuits of it. We must shortly be gone hence, and then we shall be

be Poor Nothings. When this World is done, all is done. We must die, and there is an End of us. Nothing we do now hath Relation to the Future. The short is, these Men (if I may call them so) do not believe a Future State, and therefore they care not how they behave themselves in This.

But on the contrary, the firm Persuasion of a Life to come is the most powerful Motive imaginable to a strict and Holy Conversation. This Life is but in order to another, therefore it is highly reasonable that the Belief of that should influence whatever we undertake or do now. And this is it which I now come to urge, that the Consideration of Futurity should direct a Man's Life for the present, that we should live as those that expect another Life after this, that we should be solicitous to do things agreeable to this Persuasion. Which I comprehend in these Three Particulars: 1. To think meanly of the present. 2. To bear the Evils of this Life contentedly. 3. To make Provision for the Future State.

First, We are to entertain mean Thoughts and Affections for the things of this present Life. This World is but for a while. It is a Stage set up for us to act upon a little time. Therefore here we are not to fix our Desires or our Passions. Our Minds are not to be taken up with what is in present View. Yea, we are to disregard our present Ease and Delight, our Gain and Profit, in Comparison of what we expect afterwards. It is a received Maxim of Reason that a present Good is to be passed by on a probable Expectation of a Future Good, infinitely exceeding in Value the present one, much more upon Certainty and Assurance of that Future Good. This is our Case; we are to despise and undervalue the things of this Life, and if there be Occasion, relinquish them, in respect of those certain Pleasures and Advantages which the other World will furnish us with. The contrary Practice for the most part prevails, such is the evil and corrupted Nature of Mankind. But we must endeavour to correct this gross Miscarriage, and to make it our daily Business to disengage our Thoughts from the Transitory Enjoyments of this Earth, and to say as our Saviour, *We are no more in the World*, John 17. 11. and to look upon another World as our great Concern.

Secondly, We are obliged to undergo the Evils of this Life with Patience and Contentment. He that lives in Hopes of another World, and a better, will not be much discomposed for the Disappointments and Crosses of this. Having another Life in his Eye, he submissively bears the Affronts, Injuries and Persecutions he meets with here. It was rightly said by that Excellent Platonist, * *If you take away the Hope of Future Good, you take away the patient bearing of present Evils.* But on the contrary, when there is a Belief and Expectation of a better Life, the greatest Miseries of this present World are easily born. Many of the Pagan Philosophers, who had but a confused Notion of the Life to come, endured their Afflictions patiently, in Expectation of some better things afterwards. Shall *We* then, who are blessed with the clear Discovery of a Future State, be dejected under the Sense of our present Calamities? Or, rather, shall we not consider that this Life is a State of Perplexity and Darkness, but there is a Day approaching which will bring Light and Joy along with it? And in Assurance of that let us possess our Souls in Patience.

Thirdly, We are concern'd to provide for another World. This is that which our Saviour commends to us in the Parable of the *Unjust Steward*, telling us that *he had done wisely* in forecasting for his Future Safety, when he should be put out of his Office. We are to learn that Point of Wisdom, with regard to another Life. We ought to make sure of our Future Felicity; to fit and prepare our selves, so as to be always ready to enter into another State. The Belief of Future Rewards should bribe us to Holy Actions: and the Belief of Future Punishments should curb our Vicious Appetites. And let us always have this upon our Minds, that Living well is the only way to a Blessed Futurity.

* *Εἰ δὲ ἀφελοῖς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μελλούσης ἀγαθῆς, ἀφαιρήσεις καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς παρόντων κακῶν.* Max. Tyr. Dissert. 33.

Of the Immortality of Human Souls.

I Am now to treat of the Second Proposition contained in the Article of *Everlasting Life*; and that is this, That *the Soul of Man is Immortal*, or, that in order to the enjoying or undergoing of the Future State, the Soul of Man must be capable of Immortality. And because we live in a very degenerate and corrupted Age, wherein the Grand Principles of Religion are called in question; and among the rest, the Future Subsistence of our Souls in Another World, (which yet is a Doctrine of vast and indispensable Concernment even in This,) I will largely handle this Subject, and amply establish this Grand Truth; and in order to it, I will make use of such Topicks as I apprehend to be most Convincing and Forcible, such as are not founded on mere Suppositions and Probabilities, or upon Nice and Disputable Disquisitions, but such as have a sure and firm Bottom, and carry their Light and Conviction along with them. I will begin, First, with those Unanswerable Arguments which *Natural Reason* dictates to us. Secondly, I will argue from the Narratives concerning the *Apparitions of the deceased*. Thirdly, I will Reason from several *Received Opinions* and *Practices* which we meet with in the World. Fourthly, I will ground this weighty Doctrine upon what the *Inspired Scriptures* suggest to us.

I. I will insist upon the Natural Reason of the Thing it self; that is, I will prove the Soul of Man to be Immortal from the Make and Frame of it, from the *Spiritual* and *Immaterial* Nature of it. Here is a double Task, 1. To enquire into the true Nature of a *Spirit*. 2. To shew that the Human Soul being such, is not obnoxious to Mortality. The First of these I have perform'd already, when I shew'd the *Difference between the Spirit of a Man and of a Beast*, in an *Exercitation* on *Eccl. 3. 21.* and therefore I will not repeat what I said there: But I shall now proceed to the Second Thing I propounded, *viz.* To shew that our *Souls* being *Spirits*, properly so called, (*i. e.* Substances *Immaterial* and *Incorporeal*) they are on that account *Immortal*.

It is true, One or two of the Ancient Writers among the *Christians* fault here, and question the *Spirituality* of the Soul. † *Hilary* seems to say, that even this Better part of Man is Corporeal. 'Tis certain that *Tertullian*, before him, was of that Judgment. Some endeavour to excuse this latter Father thus, *viz.* That Men's Souls (and so Angelick Spirits) are called *Bodies* by him in comparison of *God*, whose Nature infinitely transcends them: but it must be acknowledged by those that have read his *Treatise of the Soul*, that he asserts it to be made of Body or Matter; yea, he is positive, that when the Soul is separated from the Body, it retains the Shape of it, it hath the very Lines and Proportions which that had. The *Stoicks*, who busied themselves more about Moral Points than Natural Philosophy or Metaphysics, held that the Soul is a subtile, tenuous, ethereal Body.

* Ψυχὴν πνεῦμα εἶναι, διὸ καὶ σώμα εἶναι.

† Οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ματαιόλογον. In *Epicuro*.

Whence we may understand that Saying of theirs mentioned by **Diogenes Laertius*, The Soul is a Spirit, therefore a Body. *Epicurus*, as the said *Laertius* relates, would by no means allow it to be Incorporeal: † *They that say the Soul is such, talk vainly and idly*, saith he. He hath lately been outdone by a

Gentleman of our own Country, who holds that a Man is nothing but Carkase. And indeed having asserted *God* to be nothing but Matter, it is no wonder that he holds the *Soul* to be no better. The most he saith is, that it is the Temperament of the Body. He would scarcely have gone so far as he in *Tully*, that said the Soul consists in *Harmony*. And yet the result of that is, that there is no more Soul in a *Man* than in a *Fiddle*. All that I will say concerning this Writer is, that though he hath pleased the wildest Part of the Nation; yet it hath been his Lot to be confuted by the Soberest and Wisest, and so he hath but little Reason to brag of his Adventures.

† Essay of Hum. Under-stand. Book 4. Ch. 3.

A late Author, who is a great Stickler for *Clear Ideas*, intimates, that a mere *Material Being* may think, and that *Omnipotency* may give to some *Systems of Matter*, fitly disposed, a Power to perceive or think; and more to the same Purpose he hath in the † same Place. And in another he tells us, that *the Way of Ideas* (which is

is the way that he takes) will not afford us a Demonstration that the Thinking Substance in us is Immaterial. A Letter to the Bp. of Worcester, p. 82. So that though this Writer hath laudably in another place asserted *Spiritual Substances*, nay, he distinguishes between the *Idea* of Spirit and of Matter, yet now he throws all down again, and confounds the *Ideas* of *Spiritual* and *Corporeal Things*, of *Matter* and *Thinking*. Nay, tho' he had said in another Part of his Book, that we have as clear a *Notion* of a Spirit, as we have of a Body, and proceeds to set down the difference between them, yet now he holds there is no considerable difference between the *Notions* we have of the one and the other; as appears from what I have alleged. If this be true, and *Matter* be able to solve all the *Phænomena* of the *Soul* and *Religion*, then *Matter* is capable of *Virtue* and *Vice*, and then the *Distinction* between *Natural* and *Moral Philosophy* is destroy'd. Besides, if *Matter* hath a *Power* to perceive and think, (and it hath, for ought we know, he saith) then we can never distinguish between a *Material* and *Thinking Being*; for we cannot tell whether *Matter* alone be not able to perform this *Operation*, and whether it may not be the *Result* of mere *Material Substances*. So that upon this *Author's Principle* we cannot possibly know whether we have *Souls*, i. e. *Immaterial Beings*; for if *Matter* be capable of *Thinking*, then we have no *Certainty* of such *Beings*.

I could mention an Ecclesiastical Person of some Figure lately, who maintain'd that *Materiality* doth not prejudice the *Soul* in the least; and that *Understanding* and *Reason* are something infused into the *Soul*, and not of its intrinsic Nature; and that any *Matter* whatsoever can by *Divine Power* be made capable of this *Infusion*; and consequently he thought it not absurd or impossible with *God* to make a *Soul* of an *Oyster-shell*. But this was like some other of his extravagant *Whimsies*, which this long-winded Man troubled his *Auditors* with. This is the *Effect* of not distinguishing between *Body* and *Spirit*, between those *Beings* which are *Material*, and those that are *Matterless* and *Spiritual*. The *Souls* of *Men* are of this latter sort; on which *Consideration* we have *Reason* to believe that they are of a never-failing *Duration*; that they shall not, yea, that they cannot *Die* with the *Body*. To this Purpose I will mention *Three* of the *Chiefest Properties* of a *Spiritual Being*, and shew how they agree to *Human Souls*, and thence evince them to be of an *Immortal Nature*.

1. The *Soul* of *Man*, as it is a *Spirit*, is an *Inquantitative* and *Unextended Substance*, and consequently hath no *Parts*, and (as the Consequence of that) is *Indivisible* and *Indiscernible*. By being a *Spirit* it is safe and secure from all harmful *Attacks*; for its *Indivisible Nature* cannot be rifled and shatter'd by pulling its *Parts* asunder, because it hath none. It being *Bodiless*, and absolutely free from *Quantity*, it is impossible it should be set upon and invaded. It is not confined to *Place*, as *Bodies*, and therefore cannot be crushed and bruised, be there never so many *Bodies* or *Spirits* about it. So that from the *Immateriality* of the *Soul* it follows that nothing can be prejudicial to its *Substance*, nothing can hurt it. The *Accidents* and *Casualties* that render other things perishable, concern it not. The short is, The *Souls* of *Men* are not liable to be corrupted; for *Corruption* implies *Division* and *Dissolution*, which are immediate and formal *Acts* of *Quantity*; and this is nothing else but a *Mode* of *Corporeity*; so that *Corruptibility* in the *Notion* of it includes *Corporeity*; whatsoever therefore is *Incorporeal* is *Incorruptible*. It is plain then that the *Immortality* of the *Soul* is to be inferr'd from this *Essential Property* of its *Spirituality*. This renders it wholly incapable of being *Mortal* (I speak as to its own *Nature*, not what *God* can do) it hath no *Parts*, because it is not *Material*; and having no *Parts*, it is not in a *Capacity* of being dissolved, as *Bodies* are; and that *Being* which is not liable to *Dissolution*, is *Immortal*. A *Spirit* then, as *Spirit*, is always durable. It cannot perish, having this *Excellent Nature*. And thus there is a sure *Foundation* laid for the *Soul's Immortality*, in the *First Comprehensive Property* which I have mention'd of *Spirits*.

2. This is another inseparable *Quality* of them, that they are *Simple* and *Uncompounded Beings*. Which indeed naturally follows from what hath been said; for seeing they are void of all *Parts*, they admit not of any *Mixture* or *Composition*.

* Nihil est in Animis mistum atque concretum, aut quod ex terra natum atque factum esse videatur, aut quod humidum, aut flabile, aut igneum. *Tuse. Q. L. 1.*

sition. Human Souls therefore being Immaterial Substances, are of this Simple and Pure Nature, and consequently are not subject to Mortality. * "There is nothing in

"Souls, saith the Great *Latin* Philosopher, that is mixt and "concrete, and that may seem to be made and composed of

"Earth, or that partakes of the Watery and Humid Nature, or hath any Cognation with Wind, or with Fire. They have none of the Qualities of the Four Elements, they have no Material Principle or Ingredient, and consequently they are Impassible Beings, and nothing in the Nature of Created Things is able to work their Decay or Corruption. And from the Simplicity and Purity of their Substance it follows that they stand not in need of a Supply or Recruit, as Corporeal and Mixt Beings do, and indeed cannot subsist without this, which is an Argument of their decaying and mortal Nature. But the Souls and Minds of Men, being wholly devoid of all Matter and Mixture, want no Reparation, and therefore cannot dye. These Spiritual Substances hold themselves together, and are all of a Piece, and admit not of any Alteration or Period, as *Bodies* are wont to do, because they are by their Make obnoxious to a Change in their Figure, Motion, and Temperament, by reason of the Separation and Division of their Parts. Thus we see what proves the Soul to be *Spiritual*, proves it to be *Incorruptible*. Which was the Apprehension of the Old Father of the *Peripateticks*; as appears from that Account which he

* Χωριστὸς ὁ ψυχή, καὶ ἀμείκτῃ τῇ φύσιν αὐτὴ ἐνέσπρηται, καὶ ἀφθάρτου. *Aristot. de Animâ. L. 3. C. 5.*

gives of the Soul or Mind. * It is, saith he, capable of existing Separate from the Body; in regard of its Substance it is such an Energetical Principle as is free from all Mixture and Passion, and consequently it is Immortal and Incorruptible. He with good Reason thought, that from its Im-

material and Unmix'd Nature we might infer and demonstrate the Eternity of its Subsistence. Whereas the Body and all Corporeal Things are subject to Dissolution, by reason of the Parts they are compounded of, (for Corruption is an Alteration and Dissolution of the Parts and Composition of a Thing,) the Soul must needs be free from Dissolution, because it hath no Parts and no Composition.

* Mr. Norris's Philosophical Discourse of the Natural Immortality of the Soul.

A * late Writer is very willing to grant, that the *Immateriality* and *Uncompound- edness* of the Soul prove its *Incorruptibility*; but he holds that this is no Proof of its *Perpetual Subsistence*. For, saith he, the Soul is *Immortal*, as that Term signifies *Incorruptible*, but not as it signifies *Unperishable*, or that which hath naturally a Perpetuity of Subsistence. But as Philosophical as this Author pretends to be, there is no Foundation in Reason for this nice Distinction: For if a Being be not liable to Corruption and Dissolution, it is *Unperishable*. The Idea of the one is included and implied in the other; because that which makes a Thing perishable, and liable to cease to Be, is its *Corruptibility*. If therefore the Soul cannot be destroyed or annihilated by any Creature or Finite Agent (which this Writer grants) it must necessarily be of a Perpetual Duration. If he allows one *Immortality*, he must allow the other. The *Immortality of Being* (as he calls it) must accompany the *Immortality of Incorruption*. The contrary is a wild Notion, and irreconcilable to common Sense; for the Soul cannot be *Immortal* as to *Incorruption* (which he frankly owns) without its *Being*; for *Being* or *Existence* is inseparable from *Incorruption*; and it is unphilosophical and absurd to hold otherwise. Yet he mightily glories in this Distinction, and talks of the *Mortality of Corruption*, and the *Mortality of Being*. At last he concludes very wisely and philosophically, that the Soul is *naturally Mortal*, and *naturally Immortal*; it is *naturally Mortal* as to *Being*, but it is *naturally Immortal* as to *Corruption*. It hath no *Principle of Being* in it, he saith, but it hath in it a *Principle of Incorruption*; as if what is *Incorruptible*, doth not necessarily include *Being* in it. This is poor Entertainment from a great Metaphysician: He had better have stuck to plain Reason, and acknowledged that the *Immortality of the Soul* flows from its very Nature and Essence, and consequently is a *Natural Immortality*, and hath nothing of *Mortality* mixed with it, which yet this Gentleman strongly fancies. From the Soul's Natural Make and Frame it follows that it is *Indefectible* as to its *Being*, for that will never cease to be, but will ever continue in *Being*, which cannot be dissolved: But the Soul, being *Immaterial*, is not liable to Disso-

Diffolution. This then is an irrefragable Argument for the *Absolute Immortality* of the Soul. Its *Immateriality* proves its *Incorruptibility*, and this latter proves its *Perpetuity*.

3. *Self-Activity* being of the Nature of a Spirit, we may gather thence the Soul's Perpetual Duration. It is proper and peculiar to a Spiritual Substance to move and actuate it self; whereas Bodies are sluggish, Matter is dull and unactive, and must be set on work by some other. The Soul is of the former sort, it is such a Being as hath a Self-moving Principle; as was observ'd by † Plato of old, and thence was call'd by him *ἄνθρωπος*, and by *Thales*, *ψῆσις ἀνθρώπου*. It is, saith *Maximus of Tyre**, the nimblest, the quickest and swiftest of all Beings, namely, because it acts of it self, and stands not in need of an extrin-sick Motion and Impulse. It is this Self-Agility and Activity which shews it to be *Immortal*. There is no fear that such an Active Essence should sink into nothing, and slide out of its Being.

Now because this Inward Principle of *Life* and *Activity* is of so great Importance, especially when we speak of the *Rational Souls* of Men, I will demonstrate this *Self-active Principle*, First, From the *Independency of the Soul upon Matter*: Secondly, From the *wonderful Operations* of it: And from both these I will prove the Endless Duration and Permanency of the Soul.

First, The Self-moving Faculty of the *Mind* is evident from this, that it is able to act from within, without any Assistance of, or Dependence upon Matter. The Excellent *Des Cartes*, in his *Method*, hath as solidly as wittily proved the Soul's subsisting independently on the Body, by shewing, that after a long Contemplation, and abstracting from all that is Corporeal belonging to us, Reason assures us that there remains a Spiritual Substance, a Thinking Essence. When all other Things are doubted of, our Thinking and Dubitation cannot be doubted of: So that the Mind is ascertain'd of its own Being, when it calls all other Things in question. Which shews that the Soul is known more certainly than the Body, and that it is of a far different Nature from Matter, and is a Thing entire by it self. Which plainly evinces the Perpetuity of the Soul; for if it be such a Spiritual Principle of Life and Motion as can act and subsist without the Body, then we have no Reason to think that it expires with it, and hath the same Perishing Fate with it.

Again, This is evident from what * *Marcilius Ficinus* hath urged, namely, That the Soul of Man hath no need of any Organ in sundry of its Acts and Operations. Which irrefragably proves that it is such an Immaterial Substance, whose Nature depends not on the State of the Mortal Body. It discharges the Office of Thinking, its Great and Noblest Property, when we might be apt to conceive that it operates not at all, that is, when all the Avenues of Sense and Ways of Communication with Matter, are intercepted, as in profound Sleep; for then the Soul is active, as our *Dreams* shew, which are no other than the Waking of the Understanding, Memory, and Fancy, especially the latter, when Sleep hath seiz'd the Body. Then the Soul, tho' it hath little or no Commerce with the Body, and is in a manner separated from it, operates freely, and exercises its Faculty of Thinking. Which we find particularly taken Notice of by an Ancient Christian Writer of great Learning*;

"There is
"no Quiet in Sleep, saith he; for, tho' the Body rests
"whilst we are sleeping, yet the Soul is restless, and forms
"to it self Images of those Things which it conceives,
"thereby exerting that Motion which is Natural to it, and
"inseparable from it. Whilst the Bodily Members are re-
"fresh'd and invigorated by Sleep, the Mind is busied about
"Variety of Objects, and can distinguish one from another,
"and discern the true from the false. So † another of the
"Ancients mentions the Activity of the Soul in time of Sleep,
"and thence infers its Immaterial and Durable Nature. Thus
"Dreams are useful to instruct us about the Future Subsistence

of our Souls, and to assure us that Sleep is not able to stifle their Operations; yea, sometimes the Soul is then most Active, and exerts it self most freely. For when the Body is awake, the Soul hath enough to do to perform its Offices that respect the Body alone, namely, the several Senses, Motions, and Actions,

† In Phæ-
dro.

* H τῶ
ἀνθρώπου
ψυχῇ τὸ
ἐκκινῆσαι
τὰ πάντα
τὰ ὄντα καὶ
ἐξυπατάει.
Dissertat.
4^o.

* De Im-
mortal.
Anim.
Lib. 9.

* Nec somnus habet quietem,
nam dum saporati sumus, corpus
quiescit, animus autem irre-
quiescit, agitur, imagines sibi,
quas cernit, effingit, ut naturalem
suum motum exerceat: varietate
visorum avocatur se à falsis, dum
membra sacrentur, ac vigorem
capiant de quiete. *Lactant. de
ira Dei. cap. 17.*

† *Tertullian. de Animâ. cap. 43.*

which are all from the Soul, and therefore she is sufficiently employed; yea, sometimes she is divided and distracted: But when the Body is at rest, the Soul is at leisure to Think and Imagine: And a *Dream* may be said to be the Soul's watching whilst the Body sleeps: On which Account Dreams are an Argument of the future Permanency of Souls; namely, when they are separated from the Bodies.

* Quum est somno sevocatus animus à societate et contagione corporis, tam meminit præteritorum, præsentia cernit, futura prævidet: jacet enim corpus dormientis, ut mortui; viget autem & vivit animus, quod multò magis faciet post mortem, cum omnino ex corpore excesserit. *Cic. de Divinat. L. 1.*

To which Purpose, *Tully* hath a very remarkable Passage, "When by Sleep (saith he) the Soul is call'd away from the Society and Contagion of the Body, even then it remembers things that are past, it beholds things that are present, and it foresees things to come; for tho' the Body of him that sleeps lies like that of a dead Man, yet his Soul lives and acts vigorously, which it will much more do after Death, when it hath wholly left the Body. Thus the sleeping of the Body proves that the Soul is not liable to any such thing; for we find that abstractly from the Body it acts

and moves; tho' it be closely blocked up and hindred from all Communication with Sensual Objects, yet it is able to live and operate upon its own Stock. If the Reader hath a mind to consult a Modern Author on this Head, who comes

not behind the *Roman Orator* either in his *Latin* or his *Sense*, he may find in the † Margin a choice Passage or Two.

† Quid quòd dormiendo non tantum se circumagit Anima, & versat, sed multa utilia concipit, de multis ratiocinatur, futura etiam divinat. Quid hinc dicendum est nisi deleri non posse quæ in homine impressa sunt Immortalitatis Signa? *Calvin Institut. Lib. 1. cap. 5.* And again, Somnus ipse, qui hominem obstupefaciens, vitæ etiam exuere videtur, non obscurus est Immortalitatis testis, quando non modò earum rerum quæ nunquam factæ sunt, cogitationes suggerit, sed etiam in futurum tempus præfagia. *Idem, cap. 15.*

This Activity of the Soul, and its Self-motion, may be proved from this Consideration, that the indulging and pampering the Material Part is noxious to the Soul, and renders it unfit for Action, especially for the more refined Exercises of the Mind. But on the contrary, the more the Soul is freed from Matter, and the less it hath any cognation with that Part, the more Active and Brisk it is, and the more lively are all its Exertments. Nay, the very Bulk of Matter seems to be no Friend to the Soul, but rather an Impediment; which may be gathered from this, that some of the Greatest and Bravest Minds are in Bodies of a small or a middle Size, in Bodies that are very mean and contemptible, and not

|| *Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. c. 37.*

* *Chrysost. Tom. 6. Orat. 13.*

clogged with Matter. It was observed, concerning the most Eminent of all the Apostles, that his Bodily Presence was weak, 2 Cor. 10. 10. || *Nicephorus* describes him as one of a very mean Stature. He was so short and low a Man, that the * Golden-mouthed Father calls him a Man of Three Cubits height: And perhaps this his Littleness was denoted in the Name *Paul*. Some of the most Valiant Soldiers, and Wisest Statesmen, have been Persons of a very ordinary Size, as *Alexander the Great*, (who it is certain had not that Epithet from his Body) *Ulysses*, *Agésilas*, *Augustus Cæsar* (as *Ovid* represents him). *William* surnam'd the Conqueror, was of a Low Stature, though corpulent towards the latter end of his Days. *Pepin*, Father of King *Charles* the Great, was so little that he had the Name of *Puillus* given him. The like Observation might be made concerning the Greatest Philosophers and Wits. *Plato* was of no great Stature, though Broad Shouldered (whence 'tis said he had his Name.) *Tully* was a Lean Meagre Man. *Horace* was of a small Proportion, as he describes himself in his *Satyrs*. *Philetas* the Heroick Poet was so little, that he was forced to fasten Lead to his Feet, that the Wind might not throw him down, or lift him up from the Ground. *Marcilius* the Great Platonist, *Melancthon* the Glory of the Reformation, *Bellarmino* the Champion of the Church of *Rome*, and *Des Cartes* the great and prodigious Reformer in Philosophy, were of a mean Stature: And a great Number of Instances of the like Nature are to be produced; whence we infer, that it is not Matter that makes the Man; yea, generally where there is least of Body, there is most of the Soul. And from this another Inference is deducible; namely, that Human Souls are independent on the Body.

Lastly, Though the Unaptness and Indisposition of the Vessels, and the Deficiency of Spirits are generally prejudicial and give a Stop to the Vital Congruity, yet there are abundant Instances which may convince us, that the Soul is lively and quick, even when the Body withers and decays. We see that Old Age

Age frequently ripens Men's Parts ; and whilst their Bodies are declining and sinking, their Minds are elevated and grow more refined. Yea, even at the Point of Death, we see sometimes that Persons have the full Exertment of their Wit and Reason, and dictate things very surprizing and wonderful ; which shews, that the Soul is brisk and vigorous when the Body is at the lowest. Whence we may conclude, that its Actions are independent on the Body, and that it can subsist when the other perishes. Thence we advance higher, and make this Rational Deduction, that the Soul can, yea, and doth exist separate from the Body, and that for ever. For what should be a hindrance to this, seeing it depends not on the Corporeal Part to which it was before joyned, nor on any thing whatsoever that is Material and Bodily ?

This was the Notion which the Sober Heathens had of departed Souls, and particularly of their Heroes.

* ——— ὁ σῆμα ἔδωκε, ὁ πνεῦσ' αἰθέρα διέειπε,
Τὴν δ' ἀναιμόνεσσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι χελεύονται.

* Homer
Il. ε.

i. e. They neither Eat nor Drink, they have no Dependance upon Matter; therefore we may conclude they are not Flesh and Blood (as Men on Earth are) but are deservedly stiled *Immortal*. The Souls Union with the Terrestrial Body, is destroyed by Death ; but that is all that is destroyed : The Intellectual and Nobler Part of Man survives. Though the Dull and Heavy Life of Sense be stifled, yet the Purer and Diviner One of the Rational Mind is invigorated. And thus the Immortality of the Soul is proved from the *Independence of it on the Body*.

Secondly, The Self-Activity of the Soul, together with its Immateriality and Immortality, are evinced from the known *Operations* of it. These are either Intellectual, or Voluntary. To the Former belong *Reflection* and *Ratiocination*.

As to the First, We collect the Souls Spirituality and Inward Power of Acting from it self, from the *Reflex* Acts of it. The Understanding hath not only an Ability of Apprehending and Discerning in a simple and direct manner, but likewise of *taking notice* of what it apprehends and discerns, and of being *conscious* to it self of all its Actions. The Essence of *Matter* is such that it is not capable of any such thing : nay, our Bodily Eyes that can see all other Things, cannot see themselves : but Rational Souls are able to turn themselves inwards, and both to see and be seen by themselves. The Mind is both Face and Mirror, and Eye too. It is proper to this sort of Beings to Think, and moreover to know that they do so. It is their peculiar Nature to be Self-Conscious, and to look back upon themselves. This is no small Argument of the Spiritual Nature of the Soul : This demonstrates it to be no *Body* ; for Quantity and Extension include and imply nothing of Thinking in them, much less of Re-thinking and Re-reflecting. This then may convince us of the excellent Nature of Human Minds or Souls : this may induce us to believe, that they were calculated for another State after this, and that these Cogitative and Self-Conscious Beings, are not only in themselves fitted, but designed by God for Eternal Contemplations and Reflections.

The other Intellectual Operation of the Soul is *Ratiocination* or *Arguing* : For it not only reflects on it self and on all other things, but it hath a Discoursing Faculty, a Power of Reasoning and Deducing ; and from those things which it knows, it infers and knows other things. Tully, speaking of the great Power and Energy of Man's Mind, calls him a † *Manifold Creature*, because he deals with so many and various Objects, and argues from them all, and collects many and divers things from them. Which is thus briefly, but fully expressed by the Apocryphal Author, † *Wisdom is more moving than any Motion : She passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her Pureness*. The Soul endued with Understanding, Reason and Judgment, Memory and Imagination, runs with incredible

† *Animal*
multiplex.
De Legib.
Lib. 1.
† *Wisd. 7.*
24.

Swiftness

|| Multiplex sanè Animæ agilitas quæ cælum & terram perlustrat, præterita futuris conjungit, retinet memoriter quæ pridem audiuit, imò quidlibet sibi figurat : solertiâ etiam quæ res incredibiles excogitat, & quæ tam mirabilium artium mater est, certè sunt Divinitatis insignia in homine. Calvin. *Instit. lib. I. cap. 5.*

Swiftneſs from one thing to another, never ſtaying, unleſs when it pleaſeth. || It traverses the World, and flies from one Pole to another, ransacking and pervading all, and fathoming the very Universe. And ſhall we think this to be the Work of mere *Matter*? Can we perſuade our ſelves that this Activity of Souls, and all the aſtoniſhing Sallies of them, are the fortuitous Strokes of ſubtle Bodies, and the Playings of Frisking Matter?

Nay, can we imagine that *Spiritual* and *Abstract* Notions, *General Propositions*, *Ideas of Universals*, as *Truth*, *Goodneſs*, and the like; *Mathematical* and *Metaphysical* Conceptions, which are Immaterial and purely Intellectual, proceed from a mere Corporeal Being? Is it not plain that the Soul underſtands ſeveral things by Reasoning, which are not communicated to the Senſes, are not conveyed by any Images or Phantaſms made from Senſe? And may we not thence gather, that the Soul (wherein theſe Notions are, but not derived from Bodily Senſe) is of a different Nature from Corporeal things which are Objects of Senſe? We find that our Minds have Apprehenſions and Ideas that are diſtant from all Matter: They draw Conſequences that have nothing to do with outward Objects, nay are often againſt Senſe. For Bodily Senſe is confined to its proper Objects, and judgeth of them only; all that it is capable of diſcerning, is Extension or Quantity, or (which is the ſame) Diviſibility: Theſe are its proper Province. But then, after the Senſes have given their Verdict, the Soul's Office is to judge, to reaſon, to argue, and order and frame the Notions of things aright, and to correct the Miſtakes of Senſe, and accordingly it acquaints us, that Senſe repreſents not to us the true Proportion of the *Sun* and *Stars*, but that they are many Thouſand times bigger than they appear to be. Which ſhews that the Soul is a higher Principle of Knowledge than Bodily Senſe, and conſequently that it is an Immaterial Agent; and that it is above what is Senſible and Material.

And beſides, the Tranſcendent Nature of our Minds is demonſtrable from the general Way of our Apprehenſion, even of Senſible and Corporeal Objects; for the Perception and Senſe of theſe are not repreſented or made in the outward Organ or Member of the Body. Before things are conveyed to the Brain, all the Corporeal Similitude is quite loſt; and that Motion which is made in the Brain when we do apprehend them, hath no Reſemblance and Cognation with the Apprehenſion which we have of them. All that is done by the Bodies, namely, the Object and Subject, is utterly different from the *Conception* which is begotten in us by them. Conſequently the Nature of the Soul, which conceives theſe things, tranſcends that of the Body; and the Acts of Judging and Reasoning (which are peculiar to the former) are Spiritual, and argue an Incorporeal Mind, and ſuch whoſe Eſſence is wholly abſtract from Matter.

And ſo, if I ſhould, in the next Place, inſiſt upon the *Other* Noble Faculty of the Rational Spirit of Man, viz. his *Will*, it would eaſily appear, that the Soul is Immaterial and Self-active, and deſigned for Immortality. It is evident, that it hath an Elective Power, it can freely and without Reſtraint make Choice of whatever is ſet before it, it can ſpontaneouſly and voluntarily ſally forth, and incline it to what Object it pleaſeth. Yea, it hath that rational Sway and Command that it can controul the Sensitive Appetites, it can divert and prevent the diſorderly Motions and Propenſions of the Body, it cannot only chaſtiſe theſe but vanquiſh them. Which is an evident Argument that the Mind is a diſtinct Being from the Body, that the Rational Principle hath its peculiar Operations, quite different from Senſe, yea of a contrary Nature. This *ἡγεμονικόν* which is the Aſcendant over all our Actions, that whereby we can correct our Paſſions and curb our unruly Deſires, is ſomething that is above thoſe lower Inclinations. It muſt needs be a Power in Men ſuperior to the Corporeal and Senſual Part; for otherwiſe there is no Difference between that which hath the Dominion, and that which is in Subjection. From the Whole then we gather, that neither the *Underſtanding* nor *Will* are the Reſult of Matter; that the Divine Spirits which actuate our Bodies are not of a Corporeal Nature; for the utmoſt Extent and largeſt Sphere of Matter, though never ſo fine and pure, cannot reach ſo far as *Reflection* and *Reasoning* and *Chuiſing*. Theſe are Operations that

that are impossible to be performed by the Power of Bodies. Lastly, we gather that these wonderful Operations and Productions of the Mind are sufficient to confirm us in the Belief of its Eternal Existence hereafter. This is so manifest a Truth, and founded upon so evident Reason and Light, that the Philosophers could not miss of it; and accordingly Tully thus professes to the World, *I am clearly of this Opinion, saith he, that seeing the Soul of Man is indued with such wonderful Faculties, and is thereby capable of such excellent Arts, it is impossible it should be mortal.* The Acts and Exertments of our Incarnate Minds, of our Incorporated Spirits, proclaim their Duration to be without Period.

* De Senectute.

If after all, it be *Objected* that the Souls of *Brutes* are *Immaterial* and *Spiritual*, for Sensation and Perception (with which they are endued) shew that they have a Principle that is of an Incorporeal Nature, and consequently, according to the Reasoning which I have made use of, are *Immortal*, no less than the Souls of Men: I answer, 1. It is granted, That so far as the Souls of Brutes are exalted above Matter, and are endued with a Spiritual Nature, they are in themselves free from Corruption and Mortality. This is not to be denied; for it naturally follows from what I have before said concerning the Nature of a Spirit. But,

Secondly, This must be remembred, That though the Souls of *Men* and *Beasts* agree in this general Attribute of *Immateriality*, yet there is a vast Difference between them on the other Accounts; and this spoils the Arguing which is made by some, namely, That the Souls of Brutes are *Immaterial*; therefore Brutes are *Immortal*. The former, that is, Human Souls, are naturally furnished with *Cogitation, Reason, Foresight, Free Choice*, and are receptive of *Religion, of Vertue and Vice*: And thereby are capable of Future Happiness or Misery, according to the Quality of their Actions in this Life. But none of these things can be said concerning *Bestial Souls*, and therefore we justly infer thence, that they differ from the Souls of Men in Respect of an *Immortal State* hereafter. We plainly see, from the *Nature and Contrivance* of these Inferior Souls, that they were not made for those Noble and Excellent Purposes that the Spirits of Men were made for. Without any laborious Search we find, that these Spirits of a lower Rank and Classis were not designed for a Life after this, for a State of Reward or Punishment.

It is true (as was said before) as *Beasts* have *Immaterial Souls*, on that Account they *might* live for ever; but there being not that *Reason and Ground* for it which is for the perpetual living of *Men*, therefore we rationally conclude, that when their Bodies die, their Souls are annihilated, or transmitted to other Animals of their Kind. For the Case is this, *Men* are capable of doing Good or Evil, being Free Agents, and consequently are capable of being Eternally Rewarded or Punished: But it is not so with *Brutes*, for they have not a Rational Nature in them, and therefore they are wholly incapable of doing any Good or Evil properly so called: And as the Consequent of that, they are not to receive a Reward or Punishment after this Life; but their Spirits either cease to be, or are translated to others of their own Species.

Let me more particularly and distinctly search into this Matter, and satisfy the Reader concerning the vast Disparity between *Human* and *Brutish Souls*, and thence he will be convinced that the Argument holds not from the one to the other. We must know then, that *Perception* is of the Essential Nature of all Spirits, as they are Spirits; for this is one of the great things that distinguishes them from mere Corporeal or Material Substances, which are insensible: But according to the Degrees of this *Perception*, there are Three Sorts of Spiritual Beings or Souls, namely, those of *Beasts*, of *Men*, and of *Angels*. The First have the lowest sort of *Perception*, such as serve only to the Sensitive Life. The Second have a higher Degree, namely, of Understanding and Reasoning, which may be expressed by one single Term, *Cogitation*. The Third Rank of Souls is yet more exalted, and their Knowledge is not by Collection but by Intuition. Now, these different Classes of Spirits or Souls must not be confounded, but their particular Difference ought to be upheld and maintained. And if we do so, we shall plainly apprehend, that the *Immateriality* of the Souls of *Brutes* doth not in the least argue that they shall subsist for ever, although the *Immateriality*

teriality of the Souls of Men and Angels is an Argument of their existing in that Manner of Duration. For Brutes, notwithstanding the Spirituality of their Souls, are endued with a low and mean Degree of Perception: Tho' they have an Immaterial Part, yet it is not Intellectual and Rational, and Reflective, and therefore not capable of that Happiness or that Unhappiness which other Higher Beings are capable of. This shews that they are made only for the *Animal* and *Sensitive* Life. The low and inferior Frame of their Souls acquaints us that they were not intended for that Future State, which Human and Angelical Souls are advanced to, and honour'd with. I question not that this which I have said is Satisfactory to any intelligent and unprejudiced Person, and fully removes the *Objection* which was before started. The Reader may be pleased to consult further what I have suggested on this Head in * another Place.

* Exer-
citations
on several
Places of
Scripture,
p. 125,
126, &c.

Before I dismiss this *First General Head*, I might frame another Argument, out of what hath been lately suggested. If the Souls of Men be of so Excellent a Make, of so peculiar a Nature, it is unworthy of their Author that we should think that they were made but for a few Days, and that they shall not survive the Body. The Soul of Man is his Better and Choicer Part, of a far nobler Nature than the Body, and therefore it is most agreeable to Reason that it should fare otherwise than that inferior Moiety doth, and consequently must not perish with that. And it is to be consider'd, that this Excellent Being attains not in this Life to the full Improvement of its Powers and Faculties; its Operations and Exertments are weak and deficient, and have not arrived to their Consummation, to the End they were ordained for, and therefore hence we gather that it shall be advanced to a perfect State. Truth and Goodness, which are the proper Nourishment of the Soul, and are themselves of a Spiritual Nature (whence we may also argue the Immaterial Nature of our Minds) are not taken in here with that full Gust and Relish which the Soul is capable of. The Mind is receptive of much more Knowledge than it hath; and capable of willing more regularly and steadily than it doth: Wherefore these Attainments are to be the Acquisition of another Life. And thus hitherto I have endeavour'd to prove the Immortality of Human Spirits from the Intrinsic Nature of them. Their very Make and Constitution, their Acts and Operations assure us, that they are not subject to any Assaults, whereby their Essence can be shocked, and whereby they shall cease to be for ever.

II. The *Apparition* of the Spirits or Souls of the Departed, and the *Return* of some Souls to their Bodies after Death, are another Proof of their *Immortal Subsistence*. Besides the Examples recorded in the Bible (which I shall mention when I come to consider distinctly the Arguments which the Canonical Scriptures afford us) besides these, I say, there are Instances which other Writings furnish us with. Not to mention the Appearing of † *Jeremiah's* and *Onias's* Souls to *Judab* the High-Priest, which perhaps some will reckon only a Vision; nor to quote any of the *Poets* (who talk of such things very freely; and they have made Songs of some that have been redeem'd from the Shades below) I will produce some Examples out of other Authors who had the Repute of serious Writers. || *Plato* mentions one *Erus* a Soldier, who about twelve Days after the Battel, in which he was kill'd, was seen Alive again. * *Herodotus* tells us of one *Aristaeus* that return'd to Life. † *Plutarch* relates how one *Enarchus* came from the other World: And in the same Place (his *Treatise of the Soul*) he hath several other Instances of this. This Author, and other substantial and credible Writers, report, That *Nero* was continually haunted with his Mother's Ghost.

|| De Re-
pub. l. 10.
* Lib. 4.
cap. 15.
† De A-
nima.

|| *Plutarch*. vit. *Dionis & Bruti*.
Florus in lib. 4. cap. 7. *Appian*.
Civil. lib. 4.
* *Annal*. lib. 11.
† *Lib*. 1. cap. 8.
|| *De Animar*. immortal. Lib. 2.

Some of this sort were not only seen, but heard to speak, as that of *Brutus*, mention'd by || three sufficient Authors. * *Tacitus* relates, that the Ghost of *Curtius Rufus* appear'd. See Examples in † *Valerius Maximus*, and in || *Numerius*.

Nor do we want Confirmation of the like from *Christian* Writers. If it were needful we might produce the Testimony of *Eusebius*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Basil*, *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, *Augustin*, and some other Fathers of the Church, who mention the appearing of several Saints and good Men after their Death. Here I may allege

allege the known Story of *Marcellus Ficinus* the *Platonist*, and *Michael Mercatus* another of the *Platonick* Perswasion, who agreed and mutually promised, that he of them that died first should appear to the other, and give Notice of his Death, and acquaint him whether the Things were true of which they had disputed. *Ficinus* died first, and accordingly came and told his Friend *Michael*, that those Matters were true. Those that would satisfy themselves further about such Instances as these, may consult *Bodinus*, *Gaspar Schottus*, *Dr. More*, *Glanvil* in his *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, and *Aubrey* in his *Miscellanies*, and others more lately. And some have particularly recounted those Historical Passages, which refer to the Discovery of strange Murthers, by the appearing of the Ghosts of the murdered Persons.

But these Stories of *Spirits* and *Apparitions* are voted by many to be Cheats and Delusions, and therefore unworthy to be cited.

To which I answer, 1. By way of Concession, I doubt not but there have been many false Reports and Representations of Things of this Nature. I am not very forward to give Credit to what * *Nicephorus* relates, That *Chrysantus* and *Mu-* *Hist. 1. 8.
sonius, Two Bishops at the *Nicene Council*, dying before they subscribed to the c. 23.
Canons of it, came and did it after they were dead, the Writing being left over-Night on their Monuments, and found the next Day with their Hands set to it. And so the † Story of *Evagrius's* signing an Acquittance or Bill of Re- † In So-
ceipt for a certain Sum of Money after he was dead, looks like a Monkish In- phronius's
vention, or (if I may so say) a Pious Fiction. I question not but there have Pratum
been many downright Cheats and Impostures since that time; especially when Spirituale.
Ignorance and Popery most prevailed, for those were found serviceable to uphold both these. In short, we may reckon some of the Stories of *Spirits* among the Devices of the *Roman Priests*, to advance Purgatory and praying for the Dead, and other Superstitious Practices which are known to be advantageous to them.

But I answer, 2dly, Though some of these Relations are the Forgeries of the Priests and Monks, yet they are grounded on a certain Bottom, as oftentimes we see a Lye is founded on some Truth. If there had not been *real Apparitions* of the departed, those Men would not have imposed upon the People by Counterfeit ones: But those gave Occasion for these, and seeing the Dead did sometimes really appear, thence these Deceivers attempted to work upon the ignorant and vulgar by their own Inventions, that is, by feigning of particular Apparitions; but they knew that unless there had been some *real* ones, they would not have been attended to.

Thirdly then I say, as we must not yield too easy Credit to every Story of *Spirits*, so neither must we wholly reject all. It is unreasonable to disbelieve all Reports for the sake of some, yea many false ones. It is a mad Logick which some use, namely, seeing *some* of these Narratives prove to be Impostures, therefore *all* the rest are so too. This rather should be said, There is Reason to question the Truth of some, because upon Search we find there is little or no ground for them; but then, it is as reasonable to believe others, because they are so well attested, *i. e.* they are not only built upon common Fame and general Report (which though they may falsify sometimes, yet it is past Belief that they do so always) but the things themselves are proved, as all Matters of Fact should be, by good Witnesses, by the Testimony of Persons of Credit. When so many Relations of Apparitions, in order to the discovering of Murder, are produced, it is unpardonable Sottishness to deny them all to be true. Seeing the Records of so many Ages testify the Truth of several of them, seeing such a plentiful Number of Writers acquaint us that there have been such Apparitions, it is obstinate Folly to reject them; utterly to disbelieve them all, is to be rude to Histories and Chronicles.

But it will be said, These Discoveries were not made by the Ghosts of dead Men, but by *Angels*, either Good or Bad. To which I reply, 1. Suppose that it is so, then this plainly evinces the Being of *Spirits*, Immaterial and Incorporeal Substances, which many of late are loth to acknowledge: And particularly this is an Argument to prove that there are *Demons* or *Devils*, which is a thing that some of the Objectors care not to hear of. But 2dly, If it proves *Spirits*, then it is as fair an Argument for *Souls* separated, and existing in that State, as any other

* Discourse
of Provi-
dence.

Spirits. And therefore the Objectors have no Reason to exclude the Spirits of deceased Men from appearing and acting in the way before-mentioned. 3dly, Therefore it is most probable that both *Angelical* and *Human Spirits* are employed in that Work. As it is certain that oftentimes the Heavenly Ministers (as is clear from the Sacred Records) and sometimes the Infernal *Demons* (which I have particularly proved in another * place) make their Appearance upon Earth, so 'tis not to be doubted that the *Souls* of the *deceased Saints* and of *wicked Men* departed appear on some special Occasions, as for the extraordinary Detection of Murders, the discovering of falsified and unfulfilled Requests, the signifying some great things to be undertaken, the comforting or tormenting of some particular Persons, &c.

First, As to *Good Souls*, there is no Impossibility of the Thing, there is no Man pretends that it cannot be done. Nay, on the contrary, it is highly probable and reasonable that it is done: For if Angels, whose proper Place and Station is Heaven, are commissioned by God sometimes to visit the Earth, why may not Blessed Souls descend from Heaven hither, when they are appointed by God to make this Descent? Nor are we to think that this doth in the least disturb their Rest and Quiet; for then on the same Account it would be a Disturbance to the Glorified Angels to appear here below; which we never find asserted, or so much as hinted by any. Those Celestial Spirits lose not, impair not their Happiness, by visiting the Terrestrial Regions; neither do the Departed Souls of the Godly; for it is their Happiness to do what God commands them, and to be employ'd (above or below) in his Service. Though therefore their Residence be in the Superior Regions, yet they are not unwilling to come thence when they are sent. From this it may rationally be infer'd, that the Souls even of Departed Saints may sometimes appear after Death.

Then Secondly, As to the Souls of *Evil Men* (which indeed are they that most commonly appear) it is reasonable to believe the like concerning them; For though it is true, the Condition of these Separate Souls is much hid from us, yet this we know, That as the Devils are tormented in Hell, and yet are permitted at certain Times to wander up and down in the Air, and to be frequently resident on Earth; so it may not be thought improbable or unreasonable, that wicked Souls, notwithstanding their Confinement to the Infernal Abyss, have Leave sometimes to sally forth, and to visit these Regions where we live. Is it not congruous to think, that the Souls of the Ungodly, which go out of their Bodies with strong Affections to the Things they leave behind them, do in their Separation retain an Inclination towards them? And may not this be the Reason why these Terrene Souls appear often in Cemeteries, and hanker after their Bodies, that thereby they may promote their Earthly Impressions; or are seen in and about their former Habitations, or in some Places which they usually frequented? Particularly, the Souls of them that are murder'd leave their Bodies with extreme Reluctancy, and with Indignation against them that force that abhorr'd Passage; and thence it is no wonder that the Troubled Ghosts hover about their Graves, or the Places where the fatal Assault and Slaughter were, or that they even haunt the Murderer. Or, in a briefer way, we may resolve the Appearance of wicked Souls into the Will and Appointment of Heaven: They are on certain Occasions sent by the Divine and Supreme Disposer, to visit this Earthly Stage for Ends and Purposes not unworthy of him that dispatch'd them hither.

It is true, this is very *seldom* done, and that for very good Reasons without doubt: For if the departed Souls should have liberty to return, and to assume their Bodies, and to stay here any considerable Time, then not only Marriages, but Inheritances would be disturb'd, Rights and Properties would be uncertain, and on other Accounts great Confusions and Disorders would be in the World. Or, suppose they made no Stay here, but yet very often appeared, this would administer Occasion for frequent Cheats; for Men of ill Designs would be making Use of this to serve their bad Purposes; and besides, Devils might put on Human Shapes, and pretend they were the Ghosts of Men, and by that means spread several Lies and Falshoods concerning the State of Souls in the other World, and so seduce and destroy Men. And on other Accounts there are but rare Examples of such as return from the Dead, and make Appearance in Bodies after

after their Dissolution. It is only on some extraordinary Occasions, and for very special Ends and Designs (some of which are unknown to us) that it is permitted. But this is sufficient (as rare as it is) to convince us of this Truth, that Souls exist after they go hence, and that they live and act, and that they are in a Condition of doing so for ever.

III. This is proved from several *Opinions* and *Practices*, which we meet with in the World. • First, As to *Opinions*, I will mention these Two, viz. that concerning the *Transmigration of Souls*, and that likewise of *Præexistence*. The former of these, viz. the passing of the Souls of Men into other Animals, and then into Human Bodies again, in a constant Circle, was held by the Ancient *Egyptians*, saith * *Herodotus*, who observes that these were the first that taught that the Soul is Immortal. There is a plain Connection between these Two Doctrines: The perpetual Duration of Souls out of Bodies is necessarily supposed in Transmigration. And though this latter be Falshood, yet it shews what was the Ancient Apprehension of those People of old, and how they reasoned according to their way. So *Pythagoras*, the great *Samian* Philosopher, who was a most zealous and resolute Asserter of the Immortality of Mens Souls, maintained this Opinion, that the Spirits of Men are ambulatory, the same Soul flies from one Man to another, and goes as it were on Pilgrimage: Now it is in this Body, and then in that, and afterwards in a Third, and so on. The same Man is often begot and born, and often dieth. It was this Philosopher's Notion that his Soul was in *Euphorbus*, who was Eminent in the *Trojan War*, wherein he was killed, and that afterwards his Fortune was to be that Man who was called *Pythagoras*. *Plato* † and his Followers were great Advocates of this Revolution of Souls: And so were the *Stoicks* generally, in Opposition perhaps to the *Epicureans* (their professed Adversaries) who held the Soul of Man had its Rise from the Body, and died with it. The other Sect therefore were so far from holding this, that their Opinion was, that the Soul passes from one Body to another in a Round. *Porphyrus* believed this *μετεμψύχως*, this *μετεμψύχως*, (for so the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* called this Progress and Shifting of Souls) ; he maintained that Human Spirits enter not only into the Bodies of other Men, but of Beasts. The old *Gauls* and *Druids* embraced this Fancy, saith *Cæsar* in his *Commentary*. And so did the old *Germans*, saith ‖ *Appian*, which made them (as this Author relates) very valiant and fearless of Death*, in Hopes of living again, in a firm Expectation of a Second Life at least. I will add some Instances which I have met with in our Modern Travellers: The People of *Siam* in the *East-Indies* maintain the *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*. So do the *Banians* especially, who are a considerable Sect in the *Great Mogul's Territories*, and thereupon do usually build Hospitals for Beasts, and will upon no Account deprive any Creature of Life, lest thereby they should dislodge the Soul of some departed Friend. In *Japan* the Votaries of the Idol *Amida*, and in the *West-Indies* the Natives of *Carolina*, acknowledge a Transmigration of Souls.

Some of the *Jews*, as well as Heathens, held this Transmigration; they thought that the Soul of *John Baptist*, or of *Elias*, or *Jeremiah*, had enlivened *Christ's Body*, *Mat. 16. 14.* And this may be gathered from *Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. Perhaps *Herod* (according to the Fancy of some of the *Jews*) thought our Saviour was *John Baptist*, whom he had a little before put to Death, *Mark 6. 14.* And † one that was himself a *Jew* tells us, It was Part of the *Pharisees Creed*, that the Souls of good Men pass from one Body to another. In the *Talmud* they say that *Abel's Soul* was translated to *Seth*, and afterwards to *Moses*. The *Turks* have for a long time been perswaded, and at this Day are so, that some Souls of Men transmigrate to Brutes, especially to Birds: Which is the Reason why some of them are so kind to this Sort of Creatures, and will let them fly away when they are taken. Now, though this Doctrine be erroneous and absurd, yet that on which it was grounded is true, that Human Souls perish not with the Bodies, but are of such a Nature that they can subsist out of them, otherwise 'twere impossible for them to pass from one Body to another. Thus the *Metempsychosis*, this *recidivatus animarum* (as *Tertullian* calls it) is founded upon a Rational Principle, the Soul's Immortality; and therefore that (though untrue) is an Argument of this, because it lets us know that it

* L. 2.
c. 123.† In Phæ-
done.‖ In Celtic.
* δὲ ἐλ-
πίδα ἀ-
ναβιώσεως† Joseph.
de bello
Jud. l. 2.
c. 7.

was the natural Persuasion and Belief of some of the wisest Men, that their Souls never die.

The other Opinion which I mentioned is this, the *Præexistence of Souls*: Which also is an Argument that their Immortality was believed. There are Three different Persuasions concerning the Origin of Human Spirits: Some are positive that they are by *immediate Creation*, and they questionless are in the right: Others fancy that they are by *seminal Transduction* or *Propagation*, which is very absurd and ridiculous, because what is Material cannot be the Author and Cause of an Immaterial and Spiritual Being: A Third Sort think that all Souls were created at first together, but that at several times, on Forfeiture of their better Life, they are dropped down into these Bodies. They seem to say, that the Time of Souls first entering into Life and Being was the same with that of Angels, and that they were Copartners with them; but at last they toppled from their Glory, and are now sunk into Earthly Vehicles, which is both a Correction to them for their Miscarriage, and a Favour to them, since they are thus permitted to try their Fortunes in this World, and to rise to their first Perfection if they will. This plausible Conceit was held by *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and some say by *Aristotle*: This was the Persuasion of *Trismegist*, and the *Egyptian Gymnosophists*, the *Indian Brachmans*, and the *Persian Magi*. It was the Sentiment of *Empedocles*, *Cebes*, *Euripides*, *Euclid*. It appears to be the Opinion of *Tully* and *Virgil*, of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, of *Plotinus*, *Proclus* and *Jamblichus*, of *Cardan* and *Fernelius*. *Philo the Jew*, or whoever it was that wrote the *Wisdom of Solomon*, is thought to incline this way, Chap. 8. v. 20. *Being good, I came into a Body undefiled*. The Souls of Men are meant, as well as Angels, in *Gen. 1. 2. Let there be Light*, say the * *Jews* generally, who hold that all Souls were created the First Day.

* Menas-
seh ben
Israel de
Creatio-
ne, Prob.
16.

Some are apt to think that this is implied in *John 9. 2, 3.* and that our Saviour favoured the Opinion, because he blames not the Supposition in that Question touching the Man that was born blind. But I rather think we may look upon it as an extravagant Interrogation of the *Jews*, who had a mind to say something in disparagement of our Saviour's Miracle (his Curing the Blind Man) and accordingly he directly opposes his Answer to what they said (taking no Notice of the Impertinency and Extravagancy of the Query) telling them, that *neither this man nor his parents sinned, that he should be born blind; but that the works of God should be manifest*; that is, Though generally and for the most part Calamities are the Effect and Fruit of Sin, yet in the present Case it was otherwise; where God, according to his absolute Sovereignty, inflicted Blindness on this Person even from his Birth, that by the miraculous Curing of him, the Divine Power and Glory might be manifested. It is not to be denied, that some of the Christian Fathers, as *Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Arnobius*, *Prudentius*, *Synesius*, are, or seem to be Asserters of the aforesaid Doctrine; but the Reason is, because they were too great Admirers of the *Platonick Philosophy*, and thence retained this, with some other Opinions of that Sect. But all the Orthodox Christians exploded this Notion, as well they might, seeing it hath no Foundation on Scripture, or Reason, or any Discoveries that we have concerning the Nature and State of Human Spirits. It was unanimously condemned by the *Fifth Oecumenical Council*, which was the *Second Constantinopolitan*, and afterwards in another Council in Spain it underwent the same Doom.

However, though the Doctrine be false, yet this we gain by it, and gather from it, That if it was not thought improbable and irrational, that all Souls should be created at first, and be continued so many Ages, more or less separate from Bodies, then it cannot be thought unreasonable that they should still exist, and persevere in their Being: For if they were able to hold out so long, there is no Reason can be assigned why they may not hold out yet longer, yea, why they may not last for ever. So that from the mistaken Notion of *Præexistence* we may infer a real and solid one, namely, That the Rational Souls of Men shall enjoy their Essence to endless Generations.

Again, I argue from several Usages and Practices. First, That of *Necromancy* is an unquestionable Proof of the Duration of Mens Souls, after the Death of the Body. This is owned by *Maximus Tyrius* in his 26th Dissertation. And one of the *Christian Fathers* * affirms, That the Divination by the Dead was from the Persua-

† Laſtant.
l. 7. c. 13.

Perſuaſion and Belief of the Soul's exiſting after Death. This is acknowledged by the Learned *Hugh Grotius*, who in his *Annotations* on *Deut. 18.* tells us, That the *Necromantick Art* was the *ancientest of all Divinations*, and a *Sign and Confirmation of that Permanency of Souls*, which was generally believed in the World. And he ſaith the like again in his *Annotations* on *1 Sam. 28. 11.* That Practice did not only ſhew what was thought of ſeparate Souls, namely, that they die not with the Bodies, but it actually proves that thoſe Souls truly and really ſubſiſt; for otherwiſe the Perſons that dealt in Art Magick, could not have any Converſe with them: Nay more, it proves that Souls freed from Bodies ſee and know things clearer than before, and can diſcover thoſe things which are not to be told here; for the Practiſers of Necromancy not only called up the Infernal Demons, but the Ghoſts of wicked Men, to *advise and conſult* with them.

Again, the *Worſhipping of the Souls of the Dead*, which was in Uſe among the Pagans, informs us what Apprehenſion they had of them, viz. that they ſurvived after Death. Great Princes, Eminent Benefactors, and ſuch as had been very uſeful Perſons in the World, had Adoration paid to them; yea, this was one of the moſt conſiderable Parts of the *Gentile Idolatry*: But who ſees not that it is a tacit Argument of the *continued Exiſtence* of thoſe Perſons? For if they were utterly annihilated, and wholly ceaſed to be, that Veneration and Honour would not have been kept up. This is a certain Kind of Acknowledgment, that thoſe Excellent and Deſerving Souls (as they were eſteemed to be) were ſtill in being, and did, as it were, expect that Honour from them. Nay, that Civil Honour and Reſpect which are given by all wiſe and good Men, even among Chriſtians, to the Memory of the Virtuous who are deceaſed, argue that their better Part is ſtill alive; for it is with Regard to this, not their dead Bodies, that their Name and Memory are Sacred.

Further, the *Deſires and Endeavours* of Men towards the *purchaſing of Immortal Fame*, are another Evidence of the Future Duration of the Soul of Man. Some think to erect themſelves a perpetual Name by ſtately Structures and Buildings, by Palaces, Pyramids, Arches, Theatres; not unlike thoſe Projectors of *Babel*, who were for *making themſelves a Name* by their *City and Tower*, *Gen. 11. 4.* Some have aſpired to live hereafter by another Sort of Buildings, viz. Sepulchral Pillars, Statues, Images, Tombs and Monuments, fancying a Kind of Eternity of Braſs and Marble, or of Brick and Stone. Such a Monumental Fabrick *Absalom* reared up for himſelf, *leſt he ſhould have no Son to keep his Name in Remembrance*, *2 Sam. 18. 18.* and therefore he called the Pillar after his own Name. And we learn from *Mat. 23. 29.* that they uſed to keep up the Memory of the Deceaſed by rebuilding and repairing, yea, and by garniſhing and beautifying their Sepulchers. Thoſe who are Parents hope to live and ſurvive (for this is another Kind and Way of Surviving) in their Offspring and Poſterity. They wiſh for Children, becauſe theſe make a Man out-live himſelf, and perpetuate his Name in After-ages.

Others by their *Writings* are ambitious to live when they are dead. *Serb's* Sons (if we may credit * *Joſephus* the Jew) joined Letters and Building together; they erected Two Pillars, one of Brick, another of Stone, to preſerve their Mathematical Notions, together with their Name, to Poſterity. It was one of *Plato's* Wiſhes, that † the Memorial of him might be left and remain in his Books. *Thucydides* writ his Hiſtory, he ſaith, to be || an Everlaſting Poſſeſſion or Treasure, a perpetual Monument to inſtruct the Ages to come, and therein to Eternize his Memory. * *Cardan* cheers himſelf, that his Writings would be read by the *Italian Ladies*, and gain and ſecure him an Immortal Repute. It is certain that Books make the Author out-laſt his Funerals, and beſtow on him a continued Life in the Memories of Men. His Paper is a more laſting Monument than Braſs; and his Pen is as durable as an Obeliſk. * By writing well he takes Care, like the Famous Carver, that his own Name and Effigies be inlaid in his Works, that thoſe may laſt as long as theſe.

Again, an Immortality of Name is aimed at (and that more ſucceſſfully than by any of the Ways already mentioned) by good and virtuous Actions, thoſe which are truly Pious, and proceed from an hearty Senſe of Religion, and the Reverence of the Divine Being. Righteous Men know that they ſhall have the Applauſe of Men and Angels, and the *Eng's* of their Lord and Maſter himſelf at

* Antiq.
l. 1. c. 4.

† Ἡ δὲ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς λεί-
πεται ἢ ἐν φιλίαις ἢ ἐν βίβλοις.
Laert. in Platone.
|| Κτίμα ἐς αἰῶ.

* Delibris
propriis.

at the last Day : Yea, they do and suffer great Things in Hopes, or rather Assurance of Eternal Glories in the highest Heavens.

Nay, the Great and Hazardous Exploits, the Bold and Gallant Achievements of Brave Pagans, or Men of mere Moral Principles, let us know that there is some Sense in them of a Future enjoying themselves when this Life hath a Period. For whereas they might live at Ease, they generously undertake dangerous and toilsome Things for their Country ; they hazard, yea, even lay down their Lives for it, in Hopes of living afterwards in the Memory of Posterity, and of being rewarded in another World for what they underwent here ; for unless you add this latter, the other is but a cold and mean Thing, and of no Value ; for what good will it do them to be remembered by others, if they themselves are not really to live in the Sense of it ? And therefore this is an Evidence of a Future Being. Nay, the very Religion (such as it is) of *Romances* speaks the Immortality of the Soul : In that sensual and low Business this high Truth is expressed and discovered. Men there are represented as voluntarily thrusting themselves upon difficult Adventures out of Principles of Honour : They live Champions and die Martyrs (as they fondly term themselves) for distressed Ladies ; they make it their Work to purchase Fame by Proofs of Death, and their Prodigality of Life argues one to come, though they take an ill Course to arrive to it.

These are some of the Ways whereby Men labour to survive themselves, and to purchase Glory and Renown when they have left this World ; which is no mean Eviction of the thing I am insisting upon. And though they pretend to live by some things which are mortal themselves, and every Day are perishing, yet their Concernedness for Fame hereafter shews that in general they aim at a Life to come. This was the Reasoning of the great *Cicero* ; he argues the perpetual Duration of the Soul from its Thirst after Glory ; for speaking of him-

* Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalem gloriam niteretur. De Senectute.

self, and other brave Men, who had ventured their Lives for their Country, he tells us, that * if their Souls were not to be possessed of an Immortal Existence in another State, they would not in this enterprize so great and noble Things, and aspire so easily after Immortal Renown. Thus he discour-

ses in that Treatise, which, he saith, was writ by him when he was going off the Stage ; and may then be presumed to have laid aside all his loose and wilder Notions, and to have attained to fixed and sober Thoughts, such as were the Solace of his Old Age : And accordingly he tells us, that what he writ on that Subject was the most pleasing to him of all the things he ever committed to Writing. And it is no Wonder, for certainly the Hopes, but much more the Fruition of a well purchased Fame, is very delightful and ravishing. And (which is to our Purpose) the very natural Inclination of our Souls towards *this*, is an Argument that they were not made for this State only, but chiefly for one hereafter. This Propension in our Natures was placed there by the Eternal Deity, who likewise hath fitted the Mind for it, as I shewed before.

Another thing which I will offer to the Reader's Consideration, is the *Care which Men have of the Bodies of the Dead* : Which we shall find, if we weigh it aright, to be grounded on the Continuance of the Soul after Death. The Belief of this made them solicitous about the treating of the Corporeal Part, and shewing a very great Regard to it. The *Jews* (as it is well known) washed and anointed it, and laid it out with great Care and Officioufness, and committed it to the Earth (its Ancient Mother) with that Solemnity which spoke a mighty Respect to it. Sometimes they were very profuse in their Funeral Expences ; yea, and out of the singular Regard which they paid to the Dead, they buried vast Riches with them in their Sepulchers. To which perhaps (if I may be permitted to conjecture) those Words of the *Psalmist* refer, *Psal. 49. 17.* which seem to be the just Doom and Curse which should befall some great and wealthy Sinner, whom he intended in that *Psalm*, *When he dieth, he shall carry nothing away ; his Glory* (called in the foregoing Verse *the Glory of his House*, i. e. his Riches) *shall not descend after him*, that is, none of it shall be laid in the Sepulcher with him, according to the commonly observed Custom when Great and Rich Men died and were buried ; for then it was usual to make their Tombs a Treasury. So the *Jewish* Historian relates, that when King *David's* Tomb was opened,

about

about 800 Years after his Interment, by *Hircanus* (the first King of the *Asmo- neans* or *Maccabees*) there were found 3000 Talents in it. And *Herod*, after that, discovered a great Mass of Gold and Silver there yet remaining. Now we cannot think that this Costly Honour is paid to the senseless Corps, but that it is wholly for the sake of that precious Spirit which inhabited once in it, and which still continues in its Being, though separated from the Body. Were That thought to be dead, as well as This is known to be, there would be no such Expensive Deference, yea, no Deference or Regard at all given to this Latter either by *Jews* or any Other Nations, of whom I will speak next.

The *Chaldeans* and *Affyrians* were very chary in preserving their Dead, and accordingly wrapped them up in Wax and Honey. Some of the *Scythians* (though others were rude enough) waited on their deceased Friends with great Solemnity, and Forty Days together served up Banquets, and set them before the dead Bodies. Even some of these Barbarous People * guarded their Fathers Tombs, and would not suffer them to be disturbed. The Ancient *Indians* (tho' otherwise Barbarous) shewed no small Respect and Civility to the Departed; and dispatched some of their Servants and Slaves into the other World, to bear them Company there. And at this Day (as Modern Narratives assure us) some of this People bury their Dead with very respectful Ceremonies. In some Places, when a Man dies, they throw into the Grave with him all his Goods; which is not unlike the Practice before spoken of. And the Dead in some Nations are sent to the Dust in all their Best Apparel.

Even the Old *Grecians* and *Romans*, who burnt their Bodies, yet carefully preserved them in Urns, and deposited them in safe and secure Vaults, and placed Pitchers of Fire and Light by them. Which was done with Respect to their Souls, and not to their potted Ashes: For they thought that their Ghosts rested and slept with them in those Subterraneous Receptacles. And because they were immured in those dark Places, they invented Ways to keep Lamps there. These they set up in those Sepulchres, that their Friends might sleep with a Light burning by them. And even those *Grecians* and *Romans* who afterwards committed not the dead Body to the Flames, but to the Earth, were not forgetful to express their Care towards them. The Laws of *Athenians* directed, That * if any one met with a dead Corps unburied, he should take Care to see it put into the Earth. We † read, that Generous Commanders have shew'd Respect to the Dead Bodies even of their Enemies, and have celebrated their Funeral Obsequies. The Last Offices done to the Deceased, have been reckon'd as due of Right, and have thence had their || Denomination. Yea, they have been always accounted a Part of ∴ Piety.

The *Athenians* and others used, after they had washed the Dead Bodies, to trim them with Garlands: And not only the Hearse and Corps, but the Grave it self, was decked with Flowers. As many as came to the Funeral, brought with them one fine Thing or other to adorn and grace the Bier, for the sake of the Ghosts, which they believed were not extinct, and might one day visit the Body again. It might be added, That among both *Greeks* and *Romans* it was look'd upon as barbarous and impious, to violate the Sepulchres of the Dead: It was counted the basest Sort of Burglary to break open the Houses of the Deceased. It was esteemed Sacrilege to disturb the Places of Sepulture, and to take away any thing from them.

The *Egyptians* more especially were careful of their Dead: Their Custom was not to Inter them, but to keep them above Ground. To which purpose they had a way of taking out their Bowels and Brains, and in their place of putting in odoriferous Spices, and Bituminous and Nitrous Matter; which Performance * *Herodotus* calls *παιχένειν*, because it was a kind of Pickling them up. This they did, because they would not have the Bodies devoured by Rottenness, or because they would not have them washed away (as it would often happen by the overflowing of *Nile*, if they were laid in the Ground.) So that the *Egyptian* Mummies, or Embalmed Bodies, which they kept in their Houses from Age to Age, were Testimoniès of their strong Persuasion concerning the durable

* Val. Max. lib. 5. c. 4.

* *Ὅς ἀν' ἀτάκην περιτύχη σώματα ἀνθρώπων, πάντως ἐπιθαλάσσον αὐτὰ γῆν.* *Ælian.* V. H. l. 5. c. 14.

† Val. Max. lib. 5. c. 1.

|| *Δίχστα, ῥήμιμα, Justa.*

∴ Qui de Pietatis generibus scripserunt, primum locum in Sepulturâ esse voluerunt. *Serv. in Æneid. 6.*

* Lib. 2.

* Ibid.

rable Nature of the Souls belonging to these Bodies ; for on account of Them These were preserved. Wherefore * Herodotus takes notice of this, and lets us know, that the Egyptians were the first who professedly maintained that the Soul of Man is Immortal. And here I might mention the Egyptian Pyramids, which were not built by the Patriarch Joseph to be Granaries or Storehouses for Corn, as some have thought, and accordingly they derived the Word from πυρξς, Triticum : But it is more reasonable to give Credit to the † Jewish Antiquary, who tells us, that those vast Piles were erected by the Egyptian Kings, or rather by the Israelites, who were compelled to this Work and Drudgery under the oppressive Reigns of those Kings, who design'd these mighty Structures to be Sepulchres and Monuments for the Dead ; and they had their Name among the Greeks from πῦρ, Ignis, because of their Tapering or Conick Figure, like that of Fire, or Flames ascending. In these Sumptuous and Magnificent Receptacles, the Bodies and Relicks of their Kings, and of the Greatest Personages among them, were deposited.

† Antiq.
l. 2. c. 5.

But the Soul was intended, whilst they took such Care of the Other Part : In Consideration of the Former this Latter was Preserved, Embalmed, Entombed, and lay in State. Their Business was to make This durable, that the Other might be so too ; or rather, they designed to make the one keep Pace with the other. Or, they holding a Transmigration of Souls (as was observed before) thought These would not easily leave the Body, so long as That was well kept. || Servius takes Notice of this Conceit of theirs, and shews it was the Opinion of some of the Stoicks. This is certain, the Egyptians believed and avouched the Permanency of Human Souls, though they mixed some foolish and vain Apprehensions with that Article. That is a very admirable Passage which occurs

|| In Virg.
3. Æn.

* Τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ ζῆν χρόνον εὐτελὴ παντὶ λῶς εἰδὲ νομίζουσιν, ὃ δὲ μὲν τὸ τελευτῆν δι' ἀρετὴν μνημονεύουσιν, οὗτοι πλείους ποιοῦν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ζώντων οἰκισαί, καταλύσεις οὐνομάζουσιν, ὡς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν ταῦταις οἰκόντων ἡμῶν, τὰς δὲ τῶν τελευτῶντων τάφους, αἰδίδας οἰκίας ποιοῦσιν, ὡς ἐν αἷδι διατελέντων ὃ ἀπειρον αἰῶνα. Διόπερ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευῶν ἥπλον φροντίζουσι, οὗτοι δὲ τὰς ταφὰς ἐκτελεῖν ἐκ ἀπολείπει φιλοπομίας. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1.

in an Ancient Historian of good Account. * "The Egyptians, saith he, reckon the Term of this Life to be very soon ended, and therefore prize it but little ; but they have a great Regard for that State which after this Life shall be memorable and glorious for Virtue. They call the Houses of the Living INNS, because we inhabit in these but a short Time ; but the Sepulchres of the Dead they call Everlasting Mansion-Houses, because in that State of the Deceased we shall spend Infinite Ages. Wherefore they are the less solicitous about the Structure of their Habitations ; but they omit no Care and Study, yea, no Cost in the Provision they make for their Sepulchres. Which Words plainly shew, that this their Concernedness about the dead Bodies, is at last terminated in their Souls, and is an Argument of their future Existence and Immortality.

And the same we may say of that Care which always was, and is at this Day taken by Christians about the burying of the Dead. The Honour and Sepulture, and the Funeral Rites, shew the Respect we have for the Soul. Therefore we are carefully and religiously concerned for the Body, because it was the Habitation and Organ of a Divine Spirit, and shall at last be reunited to it. Our last Duties to the Bodies of the Deceased, have a Reference to a Future Resurrection ;

as the Famous Athanasius long since observed.

* Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνεμύνησεν, σκεπτόντας ἡμᾶς κατακεῦσθαι τὰ τεθνεῶτα σώματα, ὅπως καὶ ἄκων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐμολογῇ ὅτι ἀνάσσειν. Quæst. ad Antioch.

* God, saith he, even from the Beginning gave Command concerning the Burying and the Laying up of Dead Bodies, that Men may tacitly acknowledge a Resurrection. By the Last Obsequies we pay to the Dead, and more particularly by the Tombs and Sepulchres we erect for them, it is implied that they shall rise again to an Immortal Life.

Life.

Quidnam sibi saxa cavata,
Quid pulchra volunt monumenta,
Nisi quod res creditur illis
Non mortua, sed data somno ?

* Prudent. As that * Ancient Christian Poet speaks.
de Exequiis.

Lastly,

Lastly, I will conclude with the *universal Consent* of Mankind concerning this Point, viz. the Immortality of the Soul. Not only professed Philosophers and Wise Men, as * *Thales*, † *Pythagoras*, ∴ *Plato*, * *Tully*, † *Plutarch*, ∴ *Seneca*, but whole Countries and People, as the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. have declared their concurrence with this Truth. But here, where it is so easy a thing to be large in Quotations, I purposely refrain, and will only observe, that some of the wisest Heads have reckon'd this *general Suffrage* and *Approbation* to be a good Argument of the *Souls Immortality*. Thus *Tully* calls it * *the Voice of Nature*, and alleges it as a Proof of this grand Article. And *Seneca*, † though he seems to slight this Argument in one Place; yet upon more deliberate Thoughts he acknowledgeth the force of it in another. ∴ *When we speak of the Immortality of Souls*, saith he, *the Consent of Men about this Doctrine is of great weight with us.*

* *Laert. in Thalete.*
† *Idem in vitâ Pythag.*
∴ *In Critone in Phædone.*
* *De Senectute.*
† *De Iud. & Osir.*
∴ *Passim.*

* *Tusc. Quest.*
† *Ad Marcian. cap. 19.*
∴ *Cum de animorum immortalitate loquimur, non leve momentum apud nos habet Consensus hominum. Epist. 117.*

IV. I proceed to prove our Assertion from what the *Holy Scripture* suggests to us. There we find God's own Character of the *Soul*, when he calls it *his Image*, *Gen. 1. 26.* And twice this Epithet is bestow'd upon it, *v. 27.* It is true, Man's *Body* may in some Sense be said to be the *Divine Image*, because of its excellent Frame and Make, which discover a Deity in every Part of it: But the *Soul* more immediately and signally hath that Image engraven upon it. The *Body* is but the *Lay Part* of Man in comparison of the *Soul*, which is in it self *Divine* and *Spiritual*, and participates of a more refined and exalted Nature, and is fitted to converse with God. All the *Accidents* and *Assaults* which annoy and dissolve the *Body*, cannot reach and hurt the *Soul*, because it is *Immaterial*, and free from all *Insults* that *Corporeal Beings* are subject to. Being made after God's *Image*, it is, as a Great *Platonist* acknowledges, * *very near and most like unto him*; or, as his Master *Plato* expresses it, † *it is near of Kin to God, and communicates of the Divine Nature.* Now, *Mortality* is no *Divine Attribute*, and therefore we may gather from the Nature of *Human Spirits* that they are ever *Durable* and *Immortal*, and therein approach to *Divinity*, whose *Image* and *Resemblance* they are.

* *Ἡ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἐγγύτατον θεῷ καὶ ἐμμερέστατον.* Max. Tyr. *Dissert. 38.*
† *Θεὸς συγγενὴς, θείας κοινωνοῦς φύσεως.* In Phædone.

Again, the *Soul* of Man is said to be the *Breath* of God, *Gen. 2. 7.* *The Lord God breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life*, or ∴ *of Lives*, and so *Man was made a living Soul*, or rather * *to be a living Soul.* And though, it is true, this be the Name of every living Creature that God made, yet it may be observed that it is not said of any Creatures but *Men*, that *God breathed into them the Breath* (or Spirit) of *Life*; to let us know that it is a distinct thing from the *Body*, and that it is a *Spirit*; which I find to be the Opinion of a very Learned and Antient || *Writer of the Church*: This Expression, saith he, *obscurely sets forth the Nature of the Soul*, viz. *that it is an Invisible and Intellectual Spirit.* That it is the more peculiar Workmanship of God, and that as it was breathed at first into Man by God, so it shall return to him again, † *the Father of Spirits.* This Expression of † *breathing*, used by the *Holy Ghost* in the forecited Place, very appositely set forth the Nature of a *Spirit*, properly so called, and particularly of the *Soul of Man.* As *Breath* comes from within us, and is as it were a Part of us, so this is a near Emanation of *Divinity*, and more immediately proceeds from him: Whence in the Three Learned Languages, and several others derived from them, * *the Spirit* or *Soul* hath its Denomination from *Breath* or *Wind.*

|| *Τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φύσιν αἰσπεται, ὅτι πνεῦμα ἐστὶ ἀόρατον τε καὶ νοερόν.* Theod. qu. 23. in Gen.

* *Nepheesh, à naphash, spiravit; πνεῦμα, à πνέειν, flare; anima ab ἀνέμῳ, ventus; spiritus à spirando.*

And to this manner of Speaking, first used in *Holy Scripture*, that Poet refers, (for these Writers, as I have proved in another Place, borrow Phrases sometimes from the *Holy Penmen*) who calls the *Soul* || *a Particle of Divine Air* or || *Divine particula aurea.* *Horat. Serm. l. 2.* And others have taken occasion hence (though erroneously) to hold that the *Soul*, even strictly speaking, is a *Part of God.* This seems to have been

* *Ψυχὴ μέρος θεῶ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποσταδίζουσα.* Epiphani. Hæres. 66.

† Chrysost. hom. 13. in Gen.

¶ τὸ Διὸς μέρος. Epictet. μύειον. Σπὸς πᾶσιν. Arian. in Epictet. l. 1. cap. 14. *Σεῖα ἀπομοίει.* Antonin. l. 2. τὸ Διὸς ἀποσπᾶσιν. Idem l. 5.

* *Θεὸς μοίει.* Joseph. lib. 3. α' λ' σ'—

the Opinion of *Lactantius*, and certainly was of the * *Manichees*, and of † *Cerdo* and *Marcion*. This was an old *Pagan* Notion (and perhaps they had it from the same Fountain): especially it was the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, that the Soul was ¶ *a Part, a Piece* of the Divine Essence. So *Jacob Behmen*, and some other Enthusiasts, have asserted vigorously that Souls are a *Portion* of God's Substance, and *Segments* of the Divinity. It is true, the Soul is call'd by a very Serious and Judicious Writer * *a part of God*. And some Grave Authors among the *Christians* (as well as *Jews*) have spoken after this Rate; but then they attended not to the Strict-

ness and Propriety of Speech: They meant only this, (which is the thing I now mention) that the Soul of Man is immediately created by God; that it directly proceeds from him, that (according to the Sacred Stile) it is *breathed in* to Man by God; that it partakes of his Spiritual and Heavenly Nature, and is in it self Immortal, and was made for Eternity.

Farther, the Records before-mention'd in the Sacred Writ, concerning *Enoch's* and *Elias's Translation to Heaven*, gave the Patriarchs and *Jews* an Assurance of the perpetual Existence and Life of Souls in the other World. And all those *Texts*, which I shall produce afterwards to Attest and Confirm the *Eternity* of the Joys of Heaven, and of the Torments of Hell, are a clear Proof of the Everlasting Subsistence and Permanency of Souls; for *Eternal* or *Everlasting Life* without this is a Chimæra.

Then in the *New Testament*, that is an unanswerable Text for the Immortal Nature of our Spirits, *Mat. 10. 28. Fear not them that kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul.* From which Words of our infallible Master it is evident, that when a Man is kill'd, there remains something of him which cannot be kill'd: After the Death of the Body the Soul survives, and it is not in the Power of any Natural Agent to destroy it. Therefore one of the Learned and Pious

† *Ἀνάνη καὶ Σαββαίη καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῶν.* *Idem.* Pelus. Epist. l. 3.

Writers among the *Antients*, makes this an Inference from the forementioned Text: † *Here is an irrefragable and undeniable Testimony of the Immortality of the Soul.* This is confirmed by our Saviour again in *Luke 20. 36.* where speaking of those that shall rise from the Dead at the Last Day, he tells us, that *they cannot die any more*; their Bodies were once subject to Death; but now, neither Bodies nor Souls shall die any more. But especially of these Latter it is true *they cannot die*; they are of such a Nature that they are exempted from Death, they being (as is added in that Place) *equal unto the Angels*, on whom is bestow'd an

Endless and Immortal Life.

The Parable of the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, *Luke 16. 19.* confirms the Living State of Souls out of their Bodies, and their Sense of their Condition that they are in after Death. But you will say, a *Parable* is next to a

* *Adv. Hæres. l. 4. c. 4.*

† *Tertullian, Irenæus, Cyprian, Origen, Jerom, Hilary, Basil, Augustine.*

¶ *Luther, Calvin, Maldonat, Salmeron, Vossius, &c.*

Fable, and so is no Proof. I answer, it is the Persuasion of * *Irenæus* and many other † *Antients*, as well as ¶ *Moderns*, that this was not a *bare Parable*, but contain'd in it Matter of *Fact*. It is partly fictitious, as when it mentions the *Rich Man's Tongue, Finger, Thirst*; and when it speaks of his, and other Persons *Sight* and *Voice*, (for Souls neither See, nor

Speak, nor Thirst, &c.) but otherwise it is a True History, and a real Narrative of what happen'd. There were Two such Persons that behaved themselves as is here related, and afterwards they were punished and rewarded accordingly in another State. And this could not be then but in their Souls, which is a downright Eviction of their durable Nature.

We read that our Saviour, being Man, did as such, *commend his Spirit into God's Hands*, the Hands of his Father, *Luke 23. 46.* Therefore his Spirit or Soul, which was of the same Nature with ours, was to retain its Being after Death. So St. *Stephen* cryed out, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, *Acts 7. 59.* whence we rationally gather, that God takes the Souls of the Righteous into his Custody, at their departure out of the Body, and there they are safe and secure, there they are inviolable. We are assured from these Sacred Writings, that *Christ's Soul*, and that of the *Converted Thief*, were not extinct immediately after the Death

of

of their Bodies, but remain'd in Being, yea, were translated into Heaven; for that is a clear Deduction from what our Saviour saith, *To Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, Luke 23. 43. And when we read in Rev. 10. That the Souls under the Altar, separated from the Bodies, cry aloud for Vengeance on their Persecutors and Murderers, we cannot deny their Existence after Death: And if they are alive at all, there is no Reason why they may not live always, seeing we have proved the Nature of the Soul to be Immortal: And there is great Reason why they should, because it is plain, that Eternal Life is entail'd on the Inhabitants of the other World.

Next, There are in the Sacred Writings *Examples* of Saints deceased, that have afterwards appeared to Persons upon Earth; which are a sufficient Evidence of the Matter now in Debate. Those two deceased Prophets, *Moses* and *Elias*, shewed themselves at Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, Mat. 17. 3. It was no vain and fantastick Spectre; for it is not only said they appeared to the Apostles, but they talked with Jesus, which shews the Appearance to be a Reality. The History of the *Rich Lazarus* in John 11. ascertains us, that he returned to Life; which may convince us, that separated Souls perish not, but are still in being, and may be brought back again by the Power of God. I conclude with Mat. 27. 52, 53. which contains in it a Multitude of Examples; for it is said, *Many Bodies of Saints which slept, arose, and came out of the Graves after his Resurrection, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many.* If this be as good Scripture as the rest, (and we are sure it is) we may infallibly infer hence, that the Souls of the Faithful cease not to be when they are separated from the Bodies, but upon extraordinary Occasion may be united unto them before the General Resurrection. If any one shall object, that the *Bodies*, not *Souls* of the Saints are here mentioned, any Man of unprejudiced Thoughts is able to reply, that the *Bodies* are mentioned because there cannot be a sensible Appearance without them; but when 'tis said they arose, and came out of the Graves, and went, &c. it is plainly implied, that there were Life and Action in these Bodies, such as use to be in living Men, and these cannot be supposed to be without Souls; therefore there is included in this appearing of these deceased Saints, the Re-union of their Souls with their Bodies; and consequently the former did exist when the Bodies were in the Graves, and they remained alive and active, and had in them the Seeds and Principles of Immortality.

But as we have alleged Scripture in Defence of the present Cause, so some are ready to make use of the same Weapon against us. First, They assault us with Psal. 6. 5. *In Death there is no Remembrance of thee: In the Grave who shall give thee Thanks?* and with Psal. 30. 9. *Shall the Dust praise thee?* and again with Psal. 115. 17. *The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence.* And farther, Isai. 38. 18, 19. *The Grave cannot praise thee, Death cannot celebrate thee: They that go down into the Pit cannot hope for thy Truth.* From which several Texts they are forward to make this Conclusion, That there is no Existence of the Soul after this Life; for if there be no remembering or praising of God, no hoping in him, and consequently no Sense of Religion after the Separation of Soul and Body, it is a Sign that the former of these is not able to exert its wonted Operations; that it hath lost its pristine Nature; that it ceases to be what it was; yea, that it ceases altogether; for if its Essential Nature be extinct, it must needs perish.

But this sort of arguing is founded wholly on these Mens palpable mistaking the Meaning of the foresaid Texts, which is no other than this: 1. The Dead remember not, praise not, celebrate not God, hope not in him in their Bodies, these being lodged under-ground, and become senseless and useless. Therefore it is particularly and signally expressed in every one of those fore-named Citations, that the Dead cannot perform those Offices of Religion in the Grave, in the Dust, in the Pit; to let us know, that what is here said refers only to the Corporeal Part, that Part which takes up its Residence in the Grave, in the Dust, in the Pit, and not to that Better and Immaterial Part which is not liable to Death, and becomes not senseless as this other doth. 2. The Dead remember not God, praise him not, hope not in him as they did before, viz. when they were here upon Earth. They do not now celebrate God's Name in the publick Congregation of the Saints, they are no longer Members of the Church Militant,

they are arrived to the Blessed Society of the Spirits of just Men made perfect, and are no more to be employed in the imperfect Services and Duties of Religion, which the Sons of Men here below are interested in, and which they themselves, whilst they were in the Bodies, were so delighted with. If any Man sees not that this and the former Particular give a true and just Account of the forecited Places, all that I can say is this, That he is blinded by his Prejudice, and wilfully attends not to the several respective Contexts to which the Words relate, and by which they ought to be interpreted, and he is resolved to misunderstand the Holy Scriptures, even when they are plain and intelligible.

But what can be said to that of Solomon? Eccl. 3. 19, &c. *That which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beasts, even one thing befalleth them: As the one dieth, so dieth the other: Yea, they have all one breath, so that a Man hath no Pre-eminence above a Beast. All go unto one Place, all are of the Dust, and all turn to Dust again.* Here the whole Atheistical Rabble lift up their Horns, and with great Boastings and Glorings profess how glad they are to find the *Wise* of Men on their side; for nothing could be more close to their purpose, they think, than this, that Men and Beasts are alike, and that their Fortunes (as they call it) are the same: For if this be true, we must bid adieu to the *Immortality of Souls*. In Reply to this, I only desire it may be observed, that it is the main Scope and Design of this Book of Solomon to express the extream *Vanity* of all Earthly and Mundane things; and in Pursuance of this, he (among other Topicks and Arguments which he makes use of) shews the Parity between Men and Beasts, in Respect of their mere outward Circumstances and Conditions. There is no Discrimination between them as to these, *even one thing befalls them, they have all one Breath*. As to the Bodily and Sensual Part, and the Animal and Vital Operations of it, there is an Equality among them, and one is as much subject to Mortality as the other, *as the one dies, so dieth the other*: So that upon that account, *Man hath no Pre-eminence above a Beast*. And so in Respect of all other Bodily, External and common Things and Occurrences, it may be said, that *that which befalls the Sons of Men, befalls Beasts*. Which is parallel with what the inspired Writer saith in another Place, *All things come alike to all, and there is one Event to the Righteous and to the Wicked*, Chap. 9. ver. 2. Neither the Righteous nor the Wicked differ from Beasts as to common Events and Accidents; for the Bodies of good and bad Men are equally obnoxious to these with Brutes. And as Life, so Death is the same both to the Human and Bestial Race, if we consider their Bodies only; *All go to one Place (the Earth) all are of the Dust, and all turn to Dust again*. Thus it is in Reference to the Bodily Part, and as to this present Life.

But let the Objectors observe what follows in the next Verse, where the *Wise Man* makes a plain Difference between Men and Beasts, in Regard of the Future State: *The Spirit of the one (saith he) goes upward, is of an exalted Nature, and continues still in its Being, though it be severed from the Body; but the Spirit of the other goes downward to the Earth, i. e. it perisheth with the Body*. Thus the vain Boastings of Atheists are soon quashed by this Divine Author, whom they were willing to believe to be their Patron. He informs them, that there is a vast Difference between the Ascending and Descending Spirit; the one is that of Man, and belongs wholly to him, the other is that of Beasts, and is proper to them. And the same Holy Penman acquaints us, that though *the Dust returns to the Earth as it was*, i. e. though the Body be reduced to its first Principles, and be resolved into Earth, yet *the Spirit (i. e. the Soul of Man, for of him he was speaking) returns unto God who gave it*, Eccl. 12. 7. It is not like the Spirit of Brutes which descends to the Earth, and vanisheth; but it mounts aloft, and though disjoyned from the Body, maintains its Existence, and shall endure to perpetual Ages. It might be observed, that *Plutarch* hath a Parallel Place with those of *Solomon* just now mentioned: Speaking in way of Consolation to one concerning the Death of his Friend, he tells him, that *Epicharmus* (for that was his Name) ** was returned whence he came, his Body was descended to the Earth, but his Spirit being of a superior Quality, was ascended on high; the one was gone downwards, the other upwards*.

* Ἀπὸ λείψαν
ἵδεν ἡλθε
πάλιν, γὰρ
ἦν εἰς γὰρ,
πνεῦμα δ'
ἐν ὧ π. De
Consolat.
ad Apoll.

There is another Text (and that is in the *New Testament*) which may be objected against the Doctrine I have endeavour'd to establish. It is said by the Apostle,

Apostle, that *God only hath Immortality*, 1 Tim. 6. 16. If God alone be Immortal, how can any thing else be said to be so, and how then can the *Soul* lay Claim to that Epithet? I answer: This which the Apostle saith, is spoken in Contradistinction and Opposition to the *Idols* and *feigned Gods* of the Pagans, who were stiled *Immortal* by them. The *True God* only, saith St. Paul (excluding here the *Heathen Gods* and *False Deities*) is of an Immortal and Eternal Nature. So that this is no Bar to the Immortality either of Angels (good or bad) or the Souls of Men.

Again, Though Angels and Men are Immortal, yet they are not such in the same Extent of Meaning that God is; for he is absolutely, independently, and of himself Immortal. Existence, yea, endless Existence is of his very Nature and Essence, and he is wholly incapable of not being, which cannot be said of any other. Therefore one of the Ancient Fathers expounds the Place thus, * *God hath this Immortality not from another's Will and Pleasure, as all others that are Immortal, but from his own Essence.* With whom agrees another Excellent Writer of the Church, *God only is said to have Immortality, † because he is Immortal as to his Substance, not by Participation, inasmuch as he received not Immortality from another.* Thus God only is Immortal, and no Created Beings can be said to be so, be-

* Οὐκ ἐκ διάνοιας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχει, καὶ ἀθάνατος οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀθάνατοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας. Justin. Mart. Qu. & Resp. 61. ad Orthodox.

† Οὐσία ἀθάνατος, ἡ μεν οὐσία, ἡ δὲ παρ' ἐτέρου ἀθανασίαν ἔχει λαβών. Theodoret. Dialog. 3.

cause they are Immortal by God's making them such. He bestow'd this Nature on the Souls of Men, they have it wholly by Gift, and consequently it depends on God's Will: And if God should subtract his Power, they would forthwith cease to be. Or, if it had seemed good to him, he could have created them so, that they should exist but for a time. But he created them otherwise, as himself hath declared: He hath let us know, that it was his Pleasure that they should always continue. And the very Nature which God hath endued them with, confirms this; for (as hath been said) what hath not Parts is not divisible, what is not so, is not dissoluble by any Natural Agent, and consequently is as to its intrinsic Nature Inviolable. Seeing the Soul is a Simple and Immaterial Being, it cannot be obnoxious to Changes, as the Body is; the Accidents that destroy the one, cannot reach the other, this being of a far different Nature from that. So then it is evident how the *Soul* is *Immortal*; though not as God is, yet truly and really, and properly speaking, it is Immortal.

Thus we are assured of the Truth of our Position from *Scripture*, as well as Reason, and other Mediums of Probation. Truly, as to the *Firmness* of our Belief and Persuasion concerning this Point, we owe it to the Word of God. *Sacred Writ* is the surest Foundation of this Doctrine. It is *Revelation* that produces the highest Degree of Certainty in this Matter, this being a Testimony that is uncontrollable. And here I might add, That those Arguments in *Scripture*, which evince the *Future State*, prove the Soul's Subsistence: For to what purpose is that State, unless it be enjoyed? And can it be enjoyed, if the Soul be devoid of Life after it leaves the Body? Besides, the Immortality of the Soul is included in the Article of the *Resurrection of the Body*; for the Body is to be raised, in order to its being united to the Soul, and therefore this must subsist, live and act in the mean time. Seeing then the *Resurrection* is chiefly built on the *Sacred Writings*, we may reckon this among the *Scripture-Proofs*. And from the Whole we may, with the greatest Confidence, conclude, that the Soul of Man hath Life and Activity after it quits the Body; and that though our Bodies decay and are corrupted, yet this is incorruptible, and shall never be extinguished.

I cannot dismiss so Great and Important a Subject as this, without some *Reflections* and *Inferences*. The first shall be this; Let us understand and acknowledge the Worth of our Souls. They are a * quite different thing from the Body, because they are Incorporeal and Immaterial. It is this Part of Man which distinguishes him from the Brutish Race; for the *Bodies* of some Beasts differ but little from those of Men. We read, that some Fishes have been taken, which have had the Shape of Men and Women. But Man is more than his Body, more than is seen; more than walks up and down, eats and drinks. It is the

* Ἐπεὶ ἡ ψυχή τοῦ σώματος. Justin. Mart. Qu. & Resp. ad Rational Græcos.

Rational Soul that makes the Man: This Better Moiety, his Mind, is that which constitutes him what he is. When Aristotle had been speaking of the Production of Animals, he concludes, that the Soul of Man is absolutely distin-

* Λείπεται δὲ τὸ νῦν μόνον δύσα-
σιν ἐπεισέναι, καὶ θεῶν ἐν μόνον.
De Gen. Animal. l. 2. c. 3.

† Τὸ σῶμα δὲ κοινὸν πρὸς τὰ
ζῶα, ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώμη κοι-
νὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. Arian. l. 2.
cap. 8.

|| Σὺ δὲ ἀσχημάτιστος εἶ, οὐ δό-
σπασμα εἶ τῷ θεῷ· ἔχεις πρὸς
σεαυτὸν μέρος ἐκείνου. Τί δὲ ἀγ-
νοῖς οὐδ' ἐυγένειαν, πῶς οἶδας
πῶς ἐκείνου; Ibid.

guished from the Corporeal Part of him, and is * *that alone which enters into the Body from without, and is the only thing that is Divine*. And those are high and admirable Words of a later Philosopher, † *We have Bodies in common with Brutes, but we share with the Deity in Reason and Judgment*. And most excellently the same Writer thus addresses himself to Man, or rather would have him thus accost himself; || *Thou art some Principal Thing, thou art taken from God, thou hast some Portion of him in thee. Why therefore dost thou not know thy Nobility, and understand whence thou sprangest?* Thus he would have every one of us consider our own Worth and Excellency, and set a Value on our selves, by reason of that Better Part which we are blessed with.

The peculiar Dignity of this is signally denoted to us in the Style of Scripture, where it is called *נִרְבָּנָה* Job 30. 15. which by our Translators is rendered *the Principal One*; or, it might be Englished *the Honourable One*, or, *the Noble One*, for so also the Word imports. This choice Part is stiled in another Place (Psalm 22. 20.) our *Darling*, or our *Holy One*; for the proper Signification of the Original Word *יְהוָה* is *unica, sola*. The LXX. render it *μονογενὴς*, *only begotten*. According to Symmachus it is *μονότης*, *unitas*; according to Aquila, *μοναχὴ*, *sola, singularis*, which admirably well expresses the Transcendent Worth of the Soul; it may justly be said to be the *Only Thing* belonging to us; it is the *Sole Concern* we are chiefly to take care of. We find this stiled our *Glory*, Ps. 30. 12. 57. 8. as the Hebrew Doctors generally understand those Places. And so it is taken in Gen. 49. 6. where *my Soul* and *my Honour*, (or *my Glory*, for it is the same Word in the Hebrew that was translated before *Glory*) are Terms convertible.

It is to be lamented that the generality of Mankind know not how Glorious and Honourable they are. Nay, even some Pretenders to Philosophy are so gross, as to reckon their *Bodies* their Principal and most Honourable Part. It is not the Soul, but the Carcass, according to Mr. Hobbes, that is the *only One*, in the preservation of which we are wholly to be concerned. Such Persons have not so much as consulted the Old Heathen Oracle, *Know thy self*; they understand not what they are, they remember not that the Mind of Man is in its own Intrinsic Nature inconceivably precious. The Maxim is certainly true, *that all Souls are equal*; the Soul of the poorest Lazarus is not inferior to that of the greatest Monarch: The Soul of the silliest Clown may not give Place to that of the most improved Philosopher. My Meaning is, that they are both alike as to their Essential Make and Properties; they are of the same Frame and Model; endowed with the same Faculties and Functions; they are all capable of Reason and Religion. Thus they are all of *equal Excellency and Value*. This then we should often urge upon our selves, and thence make a just Estimate of our selves, tho' on other Accounts we may be *inferior* to others. We carry alike precious Souls in our Bodies, we have this matchless *Treasure* in those *Earthen Vessels*. We have a Spiritual and incomparable Principle in us, which makes us survive this World, and ranks us even with Cherubims; therefore let us prize and highly esteem our selves.

Secondly, Assert and Maintain the Immortality of the Soul. It is a Truth of mighty Concern, and therefore is worth the vindicating; and the rather, because there have been, and are at this Day, a Generation of Men that oppugn this Doctrine, either by doubting of it, or denying it. But you will say, this contradicts what I said before, *viz.* That there was a *General Consent* concerning this Point: I answer, as the *Being of God* is voted by Universal Consent; and yet there are some particular Persons that have question'd it, yea have denied it, so it is here; notwithstanding the General Suffrage of Mankind that the Soul of Man survives his Corps, yet there start up in every Age some bold Men that reject the Doctrine of the *Souls Immortality*. Nor is it to be wonder'd, that Atheists and Men of no Religion explode this Truth; of which impious Practice, together with their Language, we have a brief Account in *Wisd.* 2. 1, 2, &c. *Demo-*

critus and *Epicurus* held the Soul to be of a perishing Nature. Sometimes even the professed Moralists seem to hesitate here, as *Plato* in his *Phædo* or *Dialogue of the Soul*, brings in *Socrates* discoursing with his Friends that came to see him in Prison, especially those that came to visit him just before his Death, and avowing the Reality of a Future State and the Soul's Immortality; but yet some Passages are interspersed that are very Poor and Frigid, and this Great Man in some Places seems to waver. *Tully* represents him as doubtful in his Speech to his Judges after his Condemnation, where speaking of the Nature of *Death*, he talks thus, * "One of these Two it must needs be, either a taking away of all Sense, or a Removal from this Place to a better. If the former, I shall feel no Evil; if the latter, I shall be happy in the converse of Worthy Persons. *Aristotle* is not firm in asserting the Perpetuity of the Souls Existence, at least it is against his Principles and Doctrines, viz. what perishes not, had no beginning. Nothing that is without end had a beginning. Yet the Force of Truth made him assert it, contrary to these Notions. *Cicero* tells us the Sense of the *Stoicks* in short, viz. that † the Duration of Souls after this Life is but for a Time, and that this is the Privilege, not of all, but of some only. It is true, *Cleanthes* (a famous *Stoick*) was of opinion, as *Laertius* tells us, that all Souls remain till the Conflagration of the World, and then are extinguished. But *Chrysippus*, another of that Sect, held, that the Souls of *Wise Men* only, (that is, as much as to say the *Stoicks*) last so long, but those of others sink and decay long before. The latter end of *Cato's*, or rather *Tully's* Discourse concerning *Old Age*, hath excellent Things concerning the Soul's Immortality; but in some Places he is unsettled, as when he hath these Words, "Old Age is not to be deemed miserable on the Account of its being so near an approach to Death; for he is a sorry wretched Old Man, who sees not in so long a time, that * Death is either to be disregarded, or to be wished for; the former, if it quite extinguishes the Soul; the latter, if it convey it to some Place where it shall live eternally. *Seneca* sometimes talks after the same Rate, "Why do I (saith he) macerate my self with desiring and longing for the return of that Person † who either is Happy, or is not at all? If he be the one, it is Envy to lament his Condition; if he be the latter, it is Madness. For he gives his Friend *Polybius* at the Death of his Brother. In another Place, that Philosophers rather promise the Eternity of Souls, than prove it. And *Tacitus*, brings it in with an * If, as being unsatisfied about it. Thus these Philosophers and Great Men do not deny this Truth, they are far from that, but they speak doubtfully sometimes.

Some that profess *Christianity* are no better disposed. There were the *Origenists* in the early Times of the Christian Church, who maintain'd that the Soul died with the Body, but that it should live again at the Last Day. Pope *John 22d* was impeached of Heresy by the Council of *Florence*, for holding that all Souls slept till the general Resurrection. Where by the way I might observe, that the Pope then believ'd no *Purgatory*, which proves it to be a Novel Doctrine. Those that are of the *Family of Love*, and most *Enthusiasts* dream of the Soul's Mortality. These High-Flyers act so briskly and warmly here in this State, that they do not think of subsisting in another, but comprehend all within the Limits of this Life. Several *Anabaptists* have declared themselves to be *Psychopanychites*, i. e. they are persuaded that the Soul sleeps till the Resurrection. * *Socinus* his Followers aver that it hath no sense of any thing after Death. † *Volkelius* pretends to demonstrate, that it neither is, nor lives, nor understands after the Death of the Body. And *Smalcus* is very positive as to this, in his *Examination of a hundred Errors*; and so is *Slichtingius* in his Commentary on *Hebr. 11*. And other *Socinians* seem to hold that it perisheth utterly, but is afterwards at the Resurrection made a-new: But as for the Souls of the *Wicked*, they || perish, and are no more.

* Tusc. Quæst.

† Diu man- furosaiunt animos, semper negant. Tusc. Qu.

* Aut negligenda planè mors est, si animum extinguit: aut optanda etiam, si aliquò eum deducit ubi sit futurus æternus.

† Aut beatus aut nullus est. Beatum de flere, invidia est; nullum, dementia. Consolat. ad Polyb.

This is the Com-
He complains in

* Si, ut sapientibus placet, non eum corpore extinguantur magnæ animæ. In Agricola.

* Epist. 5. ad Volkel.

† De v. Relig. l. 3. c. 19. and l. 5. c. 16.

|| Smalc. Refutat. Frantzii. P. 415.

And

And too many at this Day, of the Lewd and Atheistical Rabble, have imbibed this *Racovian* Divinity, and wholly deny the Subsistence of the Soul without the Body, it being indeed their great Concern and Interest to maintain it. I wish there were not occasion to suspect a late Writer of being inclin'd this Way, in his Book of *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, P. 6. *By Death, saith he, I understand nothing but ceasing to be.* Again, P. 15. — *This being the Case, that whoever is guilty of any Sin, should certainly die, and cease to be.* Which looks, as if he held Death to be *Annihilation*, for he can mean nothing else by *ceasing to be*. However, we know that this Author, by shaking the *Soul's Immateriality*, goes a great way toward invalidating its *Immortality*. There is another of these late Writers, that is much more bold and peremptory; for he tells us, that this Doctrine of *the Immortality of the Soul* is a *Politick Invention*, wherein the Wise Men deal with the World as *Physicians with their Patients, or Nurses with their Children, they deceive them by false Stories for their good.* So *Blount*, in his *Oracles of Reason*, P. 125. 'tho' at other times the *Deists* make the *Immortality of the Soul* one of their Tenents. Among these Writers may be number'd * the Author of that wild Attempt, to prove out of the Antient Fathers, that the *Soul of Man is naturally Mortal*.

* Mr. Dodwell.

Seeing there are these Perverse and Dangerous Notions abroad in the World, (tho' the Persons that maintain them are but few in comparison of those that vigorously assert the contrary, and so it may be truly said, there is a *general Attestation* of this Truth) let us beware lest we be tinctur'd with them. And to that purpose, let us reflect with great Seriousness and Calmness on what hath been before suggested. Let us ponder the Arguments which have been offered from the Sacred Records of the Bible, and from the Make of the Soul, and from the Usages and Practices of Mankind. Let us not doubt of a Truth so firmly established by the Light of Nature, and the Communications of the Divine Will. Let us ruminate daily upon it, and press it on our Thoughts, and labour to have a deep Sense of it in our Lives.

Thirdly then, *Act* according to this Belief and Persuasion. We see whose Image and Superscription our Souls bear, *viz.* God's; wherefore, let us render to him the Things that are his; let us resign up this Noble Part to the Conduct of the Supreme Being. The more excellent and worthy the Nature of any thing is, the more excellent is the End and Scope of it: Surely then we were designed for Great and Worthy Ends, seeing the Dignity of our Nature is such as hath been represented. We must not grovel upon the Earth, when our Souls are as to their Frame and Constitution so Elevated, so Towering. Shall we, who have this Immortal Treasure in our Breasts, hunt after Trifles and Vanities? When we look into Ourselves, and find we have something Divine in us, approaching to God himself, yea the very Image of him, shall we not be invited to do something worthy of so Heavenly a Gift, shall we not conclude that we were made and designed for Brave and Gallant Actions? How then can we live

* *Εἰς μόνα τὰ σώματα ὁραούμενα.* Pellus.

† *Σωματὶν τὴν ψυχὴν.*

beneath our selves, how can we delight to * *stoop to*, and continually converse with that which is merely Bodily and Earthly; or, as another expresses it, to † *embody the Soul*, to sink it into Matter, and to render it Dull and Stupid? Is it not pity, that that Heaven-born Being should degrade it self, abuse its Powers, and mistake its Happiness, that Being that was born to Excellencies, to aim at Stars, and to aspire to Eminency? Would it not beget Amazement, if the glorious Sun in the Heavens should (if it were possible) resign his shining Empire, and take upon him the Office of Midnight? Much more astonishing and monstrous is it, that the *Mind* of Man, that bright Emanation of Divinity, should depose its Rays of Majesty, converse with Darkness, be over-run with Scum, and be quite absorpt in a base and Earthly *Vortex*.

Rouze then, O Noble Being, and appear in thy native Lustre and Splendor; emulate no longer the Dulness of that sluggish Matter to which thou art united for a Time; espouse no longer the Properties of that heavy and impure Sediment; exert thy wonted Virtues, and act like thy self. Affect not Chains; be no longer in Love with Slavery; enfranchise that generous Essence; purge thy self from all Pollution, and be preparing for that blessed Eternity which thy excellent Nature tends to. If we would constantly bear this in our Thoughts, That we are Heirs of Immortality; that after this Life hath its Period, our

Souls

Souls must eternally exist in a State of Misery or Happiness, we should effectually, through the Operation and Aids of the Divine Spirit, live virtuously and piously, that we may be everlastingly blessed. And truly that was an Excellent Thought of * *Plato*, That *no Man can be truly and † steddily Religious, unless he firmly believe the Immortality of the Soul, and live in a Sense of it.* This Apprehension and Assurance will render him constant and unshaken in his Duty, and cause him to adhere stedfastly to God, who hath made him for Himself, and for the endless Glories of another World. But on the other hand, the Doctrine of the Soul's Mortality shrinks all Religion into nothing, and is the very Bane of all Virtue and Goodness. There is no Encouragement to take Care about these, if there be no Life after this, if we have not Immortal Spirits, which are capable of Reward or Punishment hereafter. This we plainly see in *Atheists* and others that believe the Soul's Extinction: They have no Regard to Religion, their Lives are Prophane, they are addicted only to what is Earthly and Sensual; for they think they shall *dye* like Beasts, and therefore they *live* like them. And besides, as *Hierocles* represents their Case, they being Vicious, and consequently Guilty, * they would by no means have their Souls Immortal, lest they should suffer the Vengeance due to their Vices. Let those then who are blessed with better Thoughts and Apprehensions, think themselves concerned to Live and Act according to them. Let the Sense of the Eternity of Human Minds force them to be Religious in good earnest, and entirely to dedicate themselves to the Service of God. Let them be careful to make Provision for their Immortal Part, and to secure their Welfare and Bliss in that Future State.

* De Legib.
† Βεβαιως
θεοσεβης.

* Ου βεβαιοι ο χακος αναναν
ει την αυτην ψυχην, ινα μη ισο-
μενη πωρεμενη.

Fourthly, This Persuasion will be of great Use and singular Advantage to us when we labour under Bodily Sickneses and Maladies, when we are involved in the Miseries and Calamities of the World, when we are environ'd with Dangers and Death it self. The firm Belief of an *Immortal State* is able to quash all our Fears and Despondencies, and to fill us with Courage and Undauntedness of Mind in the most dismal and affrighting Circumstances of our Lives. The Soul of Man is * impregnable and inexpugnable; all the Batteries and Assaults of Cruelty cannot hurt it. The fading, mortal Body is liable to Danger and Death, but the Soul escapes and flies to Heaven. The Rage of Men may deprive us of this perishing Life, but thereby they put us into Possession of an Endless one. So that there is a Kindness rather than any Harm done us. Even the *Athenian* Philosopher defied the Threats and big Words of his Adversaries who designed his Death; telling them, that *though they had Power to kill him, yet they had none to hurt him.* That Soul of Philosophy scorned to tremble at the Thoughts of what that unjust Court of *Areopagus* could doom him to: For say the most and the worst, they could but offer Violence to his Body; but as for his Other Part, that was safe enough; for it was too fine and subtile to fall under the Hands of an Executioner. And this is true *Christian* Philosophy; for (as I have noted before) it was our Saviour's Advice and Command, that we should *not fear them that can kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul.* There can be no Ground of Fear and Dread, because the Best Part of us is secured, and cannot possibly be extinguished with our Bodies. One may properly say, with *Philo*, That * Man borders upon Mortality and Immortality, and partakes of both. Though he be Mortal as to that Part which is seen, he is Immortal as to that which is not seen; and therefore all the violent and fatal Insults upon the one, have no Power upon the other. It is said, *The Righteous perisheth*, Isa. 57. 1. But the *Jews* have a † Saying which interprets that well: The Righteous perisheth to others, not to himself; he is taken from the Earth, but is placed in Heaven. Also, he may be said to *perish* as to the Opinion and Judgment of those Men who are unwilling to believe a Future Account, or a Resurrection preceding that, and on that Ground persuade themselves, that when Good and Righteous Men leave this World, they shall never find another; that they perish and are lost for ever. But we are assured of the contrary by Reason and Revelation, and by all the Ways and Proofs that we can rationally

* Αχατα-
μαχτον γι-
νετο η γε-
μονικον.
Antonin.

* Ονητης η αναναν φους με-
δου, εκτερας μετεχων. De O-
pif. Mundi.

† Justus qui perit, generatio-
ni suæ perit.

desire. We know, that though the Body dies, the Soul doth not, but remains untouch'd and entire. The Spirit in it self being Immortal, and being given us to enjoy the Immortal Creator, it must return to him after this Life.

The Assurance of this should reconcile us to *Death*, yea, and make us have a good Opinion of it. It is an Inlet and Passage to that Immortality we have

* *Quamdiu vivunt, dormiunt: cum moriuntur, è somno suo e-vigilant.*

† *Γένεσις εἰς τὸ ὄντως βίον.* Strabo, Geogr. L. 15.

|| *Ὁν γὰρ καλεῖται πολλοὶ θάνατον, αὐτὸ τὸ πρὸς ἀθανάσιας ἀρχὴν, καὶ γένεσις μέλλουσι βίῃ.* Max. Tyr. Diff. 25.

∴ *Dies ille, quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis est.* Epist. 103.

been speaking of. This Life * (as the *Hebrew* Doctors express it) is but a kind of Sleep; but when we dye, we Awake out of that Sleep. Death, according to the Sentiment of a very *Pagan*, is a † Birth to a true and real Life. And another tells us, that || That which Men call Death, is the Beginning of Immortality, and the Rise of a Future Life. ∴ That Day, saith *Seneca*, which thou so much fearest, and lookest upon as thy Last, is the Birth-day to Eternity. If the *Gentile* Moralists could speak after this Rate, shall not *Christianity* (which hath brought Life and Immortality to Light) inspire Mens Minds with as raised Notions

concerning their Last Adieu to this World. It is an undoubted Truth (though a Paradox) that a Christian begins to live when he dies. In this World he can scarcely be said to do the former; but when by the latter he is born into another World, he most properly and strictly is said to *Live*; for then he is in Possession of a Life that hath no End. This shews how *Consolatory* the Doctrine of the Soul's Immortality is to a Disciple of *Jesus*. Whatever Miseries and Calamities are his Allotment in this Vale of Tears, he hath this to relieve him, that he is passing to a Glorious Eternity. Though his Body descends into the Grave, and is consigned to Rottenness and Putrefaction, yet his Soul shall not perish with his Body, but be transmitted safely to the Celestial Mansions. Yea, the Body it self, which is left here as a Pawn or Pledge of the Spirit's returning, shall be raised out of the Dust, and Both shall be re-united, and remain to Everlasting Ages, blessed with the Beatifick Vision and Fruition of the Holy Trinity.

of H E A V E N.

TH E Third Proposition contained in the Article of *the Life Everlasting*, is now to be handled, and it is this, *That in the other Life there is a Place and State of Happiness, wherein the Righteous shall be rewarded.* Here then I am to treat of the Blessedness of the other World: A Subject which is fitter for some of the Glorious Angels and Cherubins, than any Mortal Man, or Inhabitant of this Lower World. For who can rightly decypher, who can fitly display the transcendent Happiness of the Heavenly State, but they that are the constant Attendants at God's Right Hand, and continually stand in his Presence, and behold the Beauties and Glories of his Majesty, and are employed about the Great *Arcana* of that Celestial Kingdom? Yea truly, if I could present you with an Adequate Notion of that Future Happiness, it would not be so Great as really it is. But though our Eyes have not seen, nor our Ears heard, nor our Minds fully conceived those wonderful Things which God hath prepared in another World, yet let us make a modest Essay, and according to our Capacity enquire into the Nature of that Future Blessedness. Since we hope by Christ's Merits to arrive at that State of Felicity, why should we not be desirous to acquaint our selves with it in the mean time? And though the fathoming of this Great Abyfs be a Task too mighty for our shallow Understandings to atchieve, yet whilst we make use of the allowed Standard of God's Holy Book, we may with good Reason promise our selves such a Discovery as is fitting for us. I will then consider *Heaven*, 1. As a *Place*. 2. As a *State* or *Condition*. For under both these Considerations it is represented to us in the Sacred Volume.

First, I consider Heaven as a *Place*; for the Word *Heaven*, which hath respect to the Situation of the World, denotes the Seat of the Blessed to be such. It hath been said with some Confidence, that in the Old Testament, the Word

Heaven

Heaven (taken alone) doth no where signify the Receptracle of the Blessed; and some have been forward to conclude thence, that Heavenly Bliss is never mentioned in the Writings of the *Old Testament*. But I have upon Search found, that though it is true the Words *Heaven* and *Heavens* do generally signify the Upper and Lower Regions of the Atmosphere which surrounds the Earth; yet this is not without some Exceptions. An Instance to the contrary we meet with in *1 Kings* 8. 30. *Hear thou in Heaven thy Dwelling-Place*: Which is repeated in *v.* 32. and in Six Verses more in that Chapter afterwards; where it is not to be doubted, but that the *Beatifick Heaven* is meant. And so when the *Psalmist* saith, *Whom have I in Heaven, but Thee?* *Psal.* 73. 25. the same Heaven is to be understood. And I question not, that *Shamajim* is the Seat of Glory, in *Psal.* 20. 6. *He will hear from his holy Heaven*, or (as it is according to the *Hebrew*) *the Heaven of his Holiness*. Whence it is clear, that those are under a Mistake, who have asserted that the Denotation of *Heaven* no where reaches to the Place of the Blessed. And then, as to the Word mentioned with a Duplication, *the Heaven of Heavens*, is most evident that a Place is signified, and that the particular Place of Glory above is meant by it. *Deut.* 10. 14. *1 Kings* 8. 27. *2 Chron.* 6. 18. *Psal.* 115. 16.

But none can deny that *Heaven*, and sometimes *Heavens*, signify the Place of Eternal Happiness, in the *New Testament*: As in *Matth.* 5. 12. *Great is your Reward in Heaven*. *Matth.* 6. 20. *Lay up for your selves Treasures in Heaven*. And we read again of the *Treasures in Heaven*, *Matth.* 19. 21. *Luke* 18. 22. And of a *Treasure in the Heavens*, *Luke* 12. 33. The Apostle assures the Godly, of an *House eternal in the Heavens*, *2 Cor.* 5. 1. And a *Hope laid up for them in Heaven*, *Col.* 1. 15. *Ye have*, saith the same Apostle, *in Heaven a better and an enduring Substance*, *Heb.* 10. 34. St. Peter mentions the *Inheritance reserved in Heaven*, *1 Pet.* 1. 4. And many other Texts represent *Heaven* as a Place: As when it is stiled a *City that hath Foundations*, *Heb.* 11. 10. A *better Countrey, that is, an heavenly*, *Ver.* 16. And Christ calls it, *his Father's House, in which are many Mansions*, *John* 14. 2.

And in another place he gives it the Name of *Paradise*; as when he promised the Penitent Thief, that *he should be with him that day in Paradise*, *Luke* 23. 43. *Pardes* is a *Persian Word*, if we may credit the Learned * *Bochart*, but is used by the *Hebrews*; and the *Greeks* have made their *μαγισος* thence. It signifies first in general any pleasant Garden or Orchard, yea, or Park: Secondly, The Garden planted in *Eden* is so called in a more eminent Manner by the *Septuagint*, *Gen.* 2. 8. Thirdly, *Heaven*, the Place of Glory and everlasting Pleasure, hath this Denomination, with reference to the Primitive *Paradise*, the Place of Happiness wherein our First Parents were seated: And if they had continued in their Integrity, they had made That their Abode till they were translated to that *Paradise* above. And this Word *Paradise* is twice more mentioned in the *New Testament*, to denote the Place of Blessedness where separate Souls are. *I was caught up into Paradise*, *2 Cor.* 12. 4. And in *Rev.* 2. 7. *Heaven* is called *the Paradise of God*, that is, a Place of unutterable Delight and Pleasure: The same with the *Third Heaven*, *2 Cor.* 12. 2. and the *New Jerusalem*, *Rev.* 21. 2.

Thus we see how the *Local Heaven* is mentioned in the Sacred Writings. There is a Glorious Place which is appointed by God to be the Receptracle of the Blessed; and the general Name of it both in the *Old* and *New Testament*, is *Heaven*, to denote the Situation of it; that is, that it is a Place in the Upper Regions of the World, above the Starry *Heavens*, far remote from the Steams of this lower World, and out of the reach of the utmost Projections of the dark Shadows made by these dark Bodies. It is all Light and Splendor, it is Beauty and Glory in the highest degree. This is the Heaven of the Blessed, which God the Father honours with his Presence in an extraordinary manner, and thence, in at least Twenty Places of the *New Testament*, he is stiled the *Father of Heaven*, or *in Heaven*. Here it is that God the Son makes his Residence; For as it is said, *He came down from Heaven*, *John* 3. 13. 31. 6. 33. and therefore is called *the Lord from Heaven*, *1 Cor.* 15. 47. so he soon left this Earth, and ascended to that Place of Glory. Where likewise the Third Sacred Person in the Trinity inhabits, and thence is said to be *the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven*, *1 Pet.* 1. 12. And as this is the Court of the Great God, the City of the Great

* Geogr.
Sac. l. 1.
c. 15.

King, so it is the Habitation of Angels and Saints, the former of whom therefore are called the *Angels of Heaven*, Matth. 24. 36.

It is true, it is not the mere Place that will make us happy; for we read of *Spiritual Wickednesses*, or *wicked Spirits*, (i. e. Devils) in *heavenly Places*, Ephes. 6. 12. And from 1 Kings 22. 19. it appears that the *Devils* are sometimes permitted to approach to *Heaven it self*, and shew themselves before the Throne of God there; and yet they may be said to be in Hell all the time. It is therefore what we enjoy in the Place, that makes it *Heaven*, or a Place of *Happiness* to us, and which would make any Place to be a Heaven to us. The Divine Favour alone is able to do this. But yet there is a *Heaven* more signally and properly so called, a select and peculiar Place allotted by God for the rewarding the Pious.

It is observable that all the Ancients have agreed in this, that there is such a certain Place, where good Men shall be recompensed after this Life, and enjoy an uninterrupted Happiness. Not only *Jews* and *Christians*,

* Odyss. l. 4.

† Æn. l. 6.

|| Consolat. ad Apollon.

∴ Laert. in Vitâ Anaxag.

‡ Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀεὶ τὸ ἀειδὲς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἔτερον οἶχον, γενναῖον καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ αἰδὲς, εἰς ὃν ὡς ἀληθῶς παρὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρονιμὸν δεῖν. In Critone.

* Ἐν μακάριον νῆας οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακῶν ἐκτός. In Phædone.

but even *Pagans* and *Infidels* have acknowledged this. * *Hom*er and † *Virgil* describe the *Elysian Fields*, which are for the Entertainment of the Good and Virtuous. *Plutarch* ||, out of *Pindar*, gives a short Description of that Place and its Diversions. And not only the *Gentile Poets*, but the gravest *Philosophers* speak of this. ∴ *Anaxagoras* used to point up to Heaven, and say, That was his Country. *Plato* tells us that ‡ the Soul, which is an invisible Substance, goes to some other Place agreeable to it, Pure, Invisible, that Place where they shall most certainly be with the Good and Wise God. In another place he saith, the Good and Virtuous shall after Death go * to the *Islands of the Blessed*, and enjoy all

Happiness, and be free from all Evil. And these Islands are *Above*, as appears from his Description of the Place of the Blessed, which he gives at another time, telling us that Departed Souls are seated in the *Aethereal Regions*. For tho' the *Stoicks* placed the separate Souls of the Virtuous under the *Moon*, or near it, yet the *Platonists* advanced them to the *Stars*. They were of Opinion that Blessed Spirits were seated high, and out of the Reach of the Terrestrial Vapours; which a late * *Writer* will not admit of, but places them in the furthest Region that encompasses the Earth, which is about 40 or 50 Miles off. *Tully* had no such groveling Thoughts, but tells us in his *Tusc. Quæst. lib. I.* that in the *Empyrean Orb* the Soul fixes herself in her Ascent after Death. Here she wants nothing, but is sustained with the Food that the Stars are nourished with. From this Place she surveys the whole Earth, and all that is contained in it at one View. The *Americans* soar not so high, but yet they point to certain Hills and Mountains, where they brag they shall be happy after they leave this World. And the Followers of *Mahomet* believe a Local Heaven.

* Whiston.

Yea, this hath been the general Persuasion of all those that have believed there is a *Heaven*; excepting a few *Enthusiasts*, who maintain that Heaven is every where, that is, wheresoever a Man is, for it is only in the Conscience. Thus one of them is bold to aver, that † none have a *Glory* and a *Heaven* but within them. And another would persuade us, that || a *Local Heaven* looks too carnal, and like *Mahometism*. But the Folly, as well as the Falshood, of this appears from what I have alleged out of the *Scriptures*, which positively and plainly assert Heaven to be a Place.

† G. Fox's Great Mystery. || W. Pen's Rejoinder.

Secondly, I consider it as a *State*, a State or Condition of Happiness. And under this Notion it hath these following Names in Scripture, which set forth the Excellency of it. It is expressed by *Feasting*, Luke 14. 15. Rev. 19. 7, 9. It is called a *Kingdom*, Mat. 7. 21. Acts 14. 22. 1 Thes. 2. 12. 2 Tim. 4. 1. and the *Kingdom of the Lord*, 2 Pet. 1. 11. It hath the Denomination of *Glory*, John 17. 24. Rom. 5. 2. Col. 3. 4. 1 Thes. 2. 12. *Eternal Glory*, 1 Pet. 5. 10. an *Eternal Weight of Glory*, 2 Cor. 4. 17. It is called *Life*, 2 Tim. 1. 10. and *Eternal Life*, Tit. 1. 2. and the *Tree of Life*, Rev. 2. 7. and the *Water of Life*, Rev. 22. 1. It is set forth by an *Incarnate Crown*, 1 Cor. 9. 25. the *Crown of Life*, Jam. 1. 12. a *Crown of Glory*, 1 Pet. 5. 4. a *Crown of Righteousness*, 2 Tim. 4. 8. This Blessedness of the Saints is expressed by *white Robes*, Rev. 3. 4, 5, 18. 6. 11. 19. 8. It is stiled an *Inheritance*, Eph. 1. 18. 1 Pet. 1. 4. a *Rest*, or *keeping of a Sabbath*, Heb. 4. 9. All which Expressions

pressions (many of which are taken from earthly Things, and Things of this World) furnish us with a *general* Notion of the Nature of the Heavenly State, that is, they acquaint us that it is of unspeakable Worth and Value, that it is desirable above all things, and that it is attended with infinite Complacency and Satisfaction.

But I am to pass to a more *particular* Survey of this Celestial State, and to shew that it is, *First* a State of perfect Knowledge. *Secondly* Of perfect Purity and Sanctity. *Thirdly* Of perfect Delight and Pleasure. *Fourthly* Of Perfection of Body, as well as of Soul.

First, Heaven is a State of perfect Knowledge. The Glory of the Life to come consists in the Vision of God, *when* (as we are told by the Beloved Disciple, the great Favourite of his Lord, and who therefore had the highest Discoveries of these things) *we shall see him as he is*, 1 John 3. 2. in the just Proportions and Representations of the Divine Majesty, so far as our Finite Nature is capable of. *Now we know in Part*, saith another Apostle, *but when that Way of Knowledge which is perfect, is come, then that which is imperfect shall be done away*. *Now we see through a Glass darkly, but then Face to Face*, most intimately and entirely, and *we shall know even as we are known*; that is, as Men know one another distinctly, by coming up close, and having a near View of one another. We shall then be fully acquainted with all those great Secrets and profound Mysteries, which here were the matter of our Admiration and Astonishment. The Soul is now as 'twere Buried and Entomb'd in the Body, but at Death she shall rise and come to her self, and all her Faculties shall be wonderfully awakened and enliven'd, and the Intellect in a more especial manner, as being Guide to the rest. The Soul here is like a Light shut up in a Lanthorn, wherewith we make a shift to direct our Steps in the dark Night of this World: But afterwards the dark Case is laid aside, and the Soul being no longer confined and shut up, its Dimness vanishes, and it shines forth with an unwonted Brightness and Lustre. When these Clay-Walls that hinder our Prospect, shall be demolished, our Horizon shall be enlarged, and then we shall take a full Survey of those Divine Objects which here we had but a faint and glimmering Perception of. How poor and mean are our best and most improved Notions in this Life? Under how many Prejudices and unavoidable Ignorances do we labour? But presently upon our leaving this World, our Twilight shall be turned into Mid-day, the Errors in our Judgments shall vanish, there shall be no flaw in any of our Apprehensions of Things. There shall be no Doubts and Scruples remaining to perplex our Minds, but an Infant of a Days growth shall attain to a further and more comprehensive Knowledge, than any of the long-lived Patriarchs arrived to here, yea, than *Adam* himself when he was in his Primitive State and Innocence.

And now I am speaking of the Knowledge which we shall have in *Heaven*, it may be seasonable to enquire whether the Saints shall know one another there, that is, whether Godly Converts and their Children, Husbands and their Wives, Masters and Servants, Friends and Relatives; and likewise, whether Pastor and People shall remember, and take notice of their former Relation to one another, and in that State of Happiness continue the Knowledge they had of one another. *First*, I answer Negatively, they shall not, and indeed they cannot know one another as to their Bodily and Outward Shape; for 'tis highly probable, that this shall be so changed from what it was, that there will be no knowing one another on that Account. Tho' glorified Bodies be the same as to Substance with what they were once, yet the Quality of them is so alter'd, that it will be impossible, at least very difficult, to say that this was the Body of such, or such a distinct Person. Again, Friends, and Kindred, and Relations, shall not so know one another in Heaven, that the Tye of Affinity or Consanguinity shall remain there. Nor shall the Tye of Superiority and Subjection, as between King and People, Father and Son, Husband and Wife, be continued. Much less shall there be any Carnal Affections remaining in that Blessed State: For it is not a Sensual, but a Spiritual Knowledge and Communication that is among the Blessed in Heaven. That grosser Knowledge and Love which related only to the Corporal Part, shall be swallowed up in a Divine Communion with one another.

But

But *Secondly* and positively ; It is reasonable to believe, that the Saints shall know that they had such and such a Relation to one another when they were on Earth. The Father shall know that such a one was his Child, the Husband shall remember that such a one was his Wife ; the Spiritual Guide shall know that such belonged to his Flock. And so all other Relations of Persons shall be renewed and known in Heaven. The Ground of which Assertion is this, that the Soul of Man is of that Nature that it depends not on the Body and Sense, and therefore being separated, knows all that She knew in the Body. And for the same Reason it is not to be doubted that she arrives in the other World with the same Designs and Inclinations she had here. So that the Delights of Conversation are continued still in Heaven. Friends and Relations are familiar and free with one another, and call to mind their former Circumstances and Concerns in the World, so far as they may be serviceable to advance their Happiness. The truth of what I say concerning this Knowledge and Remembrance of Things in the State of Glory, may receive some Confirmation from that History in *Mat. 17. 3. &c.* Where we read, that in that glorious Interview, which was a Glimpse of Heaven, the Apostles knew *Moses* and *Elias*, and these knew them, tho' none of them had seen one another. Much more then shall those Spirits, who were intimately acquainted with one another on Earth, retain their Acquaintance and converse in Heaven, and call to mind the Passages of their Lives.

But there is an irrefragable Proof of this in *Luke 16. 25. Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy Life-time receivest thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things.* And it is as true, that *Lazarus* remembered him at the same time. Whence I gather, that the Knowledge and Memory of things done here, remain hereafter. And particularly, that the Damned know and remember that they have Relations on Earth, is evident, from the Rich Man's being concerned for his *Father's House and his five Brethren*, 27, 28. v. It is not to be questioned then, but that the *Blessed* likewise call to mind those that were related to them, and that they are concerned for their Good and Welfare ; and when they meet in Heaven, greet them most kindly, and hold Commerce with them, and recall the Passages of their former Conversation. All the Antient and Pious Fathers agreed in this. * *St. Cyprian* owns, that our Parents, Brethren, Children, and near Relations, expect us in Heaven, and are solicitous for our Good. † *St. Jerom* comforts a good Lady on this Account, that we shall see our Friends, and know them. *St. Augustine* endeavours to mitigate the Sorrow of an *Italian Widow* with this Consideration, that she shall be restored to her Husband, and behold and know him. And this was an Apprehension that the Thinking Men among the *Pagans* had attained to. *Socrates*, a little before he drank his deadly Draught, told his Friends how valuable a Thing it was to have Conference in the other Life with *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and other brave Men, how happy he should be in their Society : And he had often wished to depart out of this World that he might enjoy the Conversation of those excellent Persons.

But here it will be objected, that this Knowledge and Remembrance of Things and Persons in Heaven will be Troublesome and Afflictive ; for this will call to their Minds the Sins they have committed here, and the Evil Consequences of them in their Lives ; and this must needs produce Grief and Disturbance of Mind. But the Answer to this is easy : The Remembrance of their past Miscarriages now pardoned, will not be Afflictive, but excite their Thankfulness and their Joy. And the calling to Mind the Evils and Dangers that befell them, but which they are now and for ever freed from, will be so far from disturbing them, that * it will create an unspeakable Delight. In short, the Blessed should not have the Remembrance and Knowledge of one another, and of what befell them in this Vale of Tears, unless this were some ways serviceable to advance and heighten their Happiness : And therefore, so far as Knowledge and Remembrance are not serviceable to this Purpose, we may assure our selves that they shall cease and be extinct, before we enter the Place of Eternal Happiness.

Thus I have endeavoured briefly to give Satisfaction as to the forementioned Problem. But after all, we must not be over-curious and scrupulous. Many Things relating to the Future State, and particularly to the Blessedness of Heaven, are hid from us. But this we are certain of, that all that Knowledge and Understanding of Things and Persons shall go with us to Heaven, that is void of Imperfection, and that will in any measure augment our Bliss. We shall be gratified

* Serm. de
Morte.
† Epist. ad
Theodo-
ram.

* Habet
enim præ-
teriti do-
loris secu-
ra recor-
datio de-
lectatio-
nem. Cic.
Epist. l. 5.
Ep. 12.

tified with the Solution of all difficult Questions that relate any ways to Religion : *We shall, faith * Mr. Bolton, know the meaning of that Place, 1 Cor. 15. 29.* * Of Heaven. and of 1 Cor. 11. 10. which this Holy Man looked upon as very obscure Texts. We shall be let into the Meaning of other Passages of Scripture which contain much more of Difficulty in them. And all the various Intricacies and perplexing Turns of Providence shall be cleared up, and compleatly discovered to us. And it is not improbable, that all the Problems in Philosophy, which relate to the Works of God and Nature, shall be laid open before us. It may be our Studies and Deep Contemplations here about the abstrusest Matters, shall be rewarded with a full Discovery; which made † one desire to leave this World, and go to a better, that there he might perfectly understand the *Mathematicks*. This, I think, none will deny, that *so far* as the knowledge of such things may be serviceable to raise in the Blessed an Admiration of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness, it shall be vouchsafed to them. For this is a true Maxim, that the future Happiness in Heaven consists in all that Knowing of God and other Things, which conduces to the exalting of the Beatific Vision, and advancing the Divine Glory.

† Dr. Barrow, in his Life.

Secondly, Heaven is a State of perfect Purity and Holiness. It was the Observation of the Old Philosophers, especially of those that embraced the *Ptolemaic System* of the World, that all Bodies, the higher they climb, the purer and finer they are. The Earth, which is heavy and drossy, sinks down to the Center, and is the very Sediment of the World. But as things mount higher and higher, the more they improve in Purity : Thus the Water is finer than the Earth, and the Air more refined than the Water : And the Fire more subtil than any of these, and therefore it is placed in a Receptacle above the Air. And the Ethereal Heavens and the Starry Bodies are of a purer Make yet, and the *Empyrean* Heaven exceeds them all. I am not to account for the Truth of this Scheme and Model of the World ; but I only observe, that it was an ancient and received Notion, that Nature refined as it ascended ; and the upper Parts of the World, where Blessed Souls are placed, were more Pure than the inferior and lower ones. What is thus obscurely hinted by those Old Sages, is assured to us by the Divine Oracles ; which acquaint us, that the Seat of the Heavenly Inhabitants, and the State of Happy Souls there, do infinitely exceed all that is in this lower World ; and particularly, that it is a State free from all Impurity, Sin and Vice. It far transcends that of *Adam* in Innocence, because that was subject to a Lapse ; but here the Saints perpetually pursue that which is good, and are not capable of doing otherwise, and therefore cannot fall. For as the *Understanding* (of which I spoke before) is then recovered from its former Ignorance and Blindness, so the *Will* is cured of its Perverseness and Refractoriness. Yea, the Intellectual Faculty doth so powerfully influence the Will, that it brings it over to an entire embracing of that which is Good and Holy, and a perfect Aversion to all that is Impure and Vicious.

There have been strange Notions entertained concerning *Heaven*, as we see among the *Pagans*, in their Description of the *Elysian* Revels. And the deluded Disciples of *Mahomet* are told in the *Alcoran*, that if they will constantly adhere to their Master's Doctrine, and defend it with their Blood, they shall be taken up to a fine kind of Paradise, where there are pleasant Rivers, Fountains and Gardens, where there are Silk Carpets and Beds, Feasting and Choice of Wines, Musick, and Fair Objects, and Lustful Entertainments. Thus they make Heaven a Place of Sensual and Lewd Enjoyments, which betrays the Impurity of their Impostor, who contrived their *Alcoran* : Though it must be granted, that those who are *Platonically* disposed among the *Turks* (for there are divers Sects among them) give another Account of Heaven than the *Alcoran* doth. But the Generality of that People are taught otherwise, and believe *Paradise* to be a Place of Sensual Pleasure. And such a *Heaven*, and no other, is imagin'd by Carnal and Voluptuous Christians, whose God is their Belly, whose Religion is their Lust, and who know no other Vertue but Gluttony and Drunkenness, Chambering and Wantonness : Who measure all Happiness by their Sense and Feeling, and are angry with those who will not hold, that Heaven is upon Earth.

But

But these false Notions and presumptuous Conceptions concerning that Place and State are baffled by right Reason, which convinces us, that the impure Enjoyments of the Flesh are not an agreeable Happiness for Rational Creatures. It is the Excellency of a Great and Sumptuous Feast to want all grosser Meats, and to abound with Dainties only. It is the Transcendency of Heaven's Pleasures not to have any Mixture of these inferiour Delights, to have no Sensual Entertainments. I never heard that the Gods did sing, or play upon an Instrument, said the Great *Socrates*, when one desired to know of him what he thought of Musick. There are better and nobler Exercises for Divine Souls in that Place of Blessedness, than those that are Earthly and Corporeal, and affect the outward Senses. And the Holy Scripture, which is our surest Guide in this Matter (as well as in all other) informs us, that it is *Purity of Heart* that fits us for seeing God, *Mat. 5. 8.* Again, our Saviour lets us know, that *they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World* (that Future World of Blessedness) *neither marry, nor are given in Marriage*, *Luke 20. 35.* that is, they are above all Earthly and Sensual Converse, even that which was Lawful here below. Much more then are they exalted above all that is Sinful and Vicious. Wherefore it is peremptorily determin'd, that *there shall in no wise enter into the New Jerusalem any thing that defileth*, *Rev. 21. 22.* The Saints live there a Life of compleat and sinless Obedience.

Yea farther, to shew that Heaven is a State of *Perfect Holiness*, I will add this, That all the *Endowments* and *Graces* of the Saints in Heaven shall be Compleat and Perfect: And all those *Exercises of Religion*, and *Duties of Holiness* which contain in them any thing that argues Weakness and Deficiency, though they were of great and singular Use here, shall cease hereafter. They are serviceable to bring us to Heaven, but they must not enter themselves. They are useful in this State, but not when we take our Farewel of this World. This I will shew, 1. In those Graces and Duties which have immediate Relation to God. 2. In those that respect our selves and our Brethren. Under the former Head I reckon Faith in the first Place; for though 'tis true, in some Sense, Faith may be said to remain in Heaven, as it signifies a confirmed Persuasion, and even the most exalted Assurance of the Truth of Divine Things; and as it denotes a constant Trusting and Relying on God's Wisdom, Power and Goodness; yet otherwise

* Adv. hæref. 1. 2. c. 47.

† Lib. de Patientiâ. cap. 12.

|| Hilar. in Fragment.

it must needs cease. I know * *Irenæus* and † *Tertullian* (to whom || another Father might be added) seem to assert the contrary, but they are alone in this Opinion. For 'tis the general Suffrage of other Fathers (as well as of Reason) that this Grace, as it is a Believing on the Account of Di-

vine Testimony, and as it is a confiding in the Promises of the Gospel concerning Life and Salvation through the meritorious Undertakings of our Lord Jesus Christ, must have its Period in the other Life, when God's Testimony shall be fully verify'd, and when there shall be an actual Performance of what was promised. Whilst *we are in the Body, and are absent from the Lord, we walk by Faith, not by Sight*, saith the Apostle, *1 Cor. 5. 6, 7.* and thereby acquaints us, that Faith is the proper Accomplishment of the Saints on Earth, but Sight is the happy Acquisition of those that are arrived at Heaven. For as Reason surpasses Sense, and Faith excels Reason, so Sight surmounts both, and therefore is peculiar to the exalted State above.

Next, Hope cannot be a Heavenly Grace, unless we confine it to this narrow and limited Meaning, that it shall denote a continued Expectance of Good, and looking for farther Degrees of Glory and Blessedness. Otherwise, the Grace of Hope disappears when we enter into the other State, because it implies Imperfection, and supposes that we are not yet come to Fruition. Wherefore the Apostle saith rightly, *Hope that is seen, is not Hope*, *Rom. 8. 24.* when a thing is actually enjoyed, it is no longer the Matter of Hope; for (as it follows there) *what a Man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?* It is evident therefore, that Hope shall expire in Heaven. This Anchor (as it is called) will be useless when our Ship is brought to Shore, never to return to that dangerous Ocean again. Whilst the things promised are not fully accomplished, we are in Expectation of them, and so there is Employment for our Hope; but this ceases immediately after the Accom-

Accomplishment. In short, as the *Beatific Vision* shall succeed in the room of *Faith*, so *Fruition* shall be in the Place of *Hope*.

Again, *Fear of God*, as it denotes a Fear of his Judgments and Threatnings, shall have an End, when we arrive at the Mansions above : For we shall not fear him for his Justice and Power (which are the Objects of our Dread here) because he will have no Occasion to exercise either of them against us. But as it is an awful Reverence and Respect due to the Divine Majesty, and as it is a Filial Disposition which keeps us from displeasing our Gracious and Loving Father, it still remains.

So *Repentance toward God* is a necessary Duty here, but there is no such thing hereafter ; for where there is no sinning, there can be no bewailing of Sin, no Humiliation and Contrition, no sorrowful Confession of it, and no turning from it. The Blessed are not capable of any such thing.

And then as for the *Outward Worship of God*, a great Part of it will cease. *Prayer*, though as it is a continual imploring of the Divine Assistance and Blessing, and of a Confirmation in Grace and Goodness, shall never have an End ; yet as it includes Acknowledgment of Sin and Guilt, and begging the Attainment of Grace, and Pardon of Sin, will be wholly useless and impracticable. So likewise, when we are reared above this Earthly Globe, we shall not want the *External Hearing of the Word*, because God's Will is then *immediately* to be communicated to us. Nor are the *Sacraments* calculated for the Glorious Meridian of Heaven, where all External and Bodily Signs and Symbols vanish. Every Day shall then be a *Sabbath*, and the Blessed are then truly said to be above Ordinances. These inferior Dispensations are fitted only for this lower World. The *New Jerusalem*, the City that is above, hath no need of these, because *the Glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the Light thereof*. The Divine Presence and Influence above are enough to constitute Heaven and Happiness, without any Accessories whatsoever : For where there is Fulness and Perfection, nothing can be wanting. Then that of St. Paul shall be fulfilled, *God shall be all in all*, 1 Cor. 15. 28. A true Character of the Heavenly Bliss. For though now God is all in all in the Use of Means, and in a limited Way, yet then God shall be all in all Immediately and Fully ; and in such a manner as is not known and experienced on Earth, he will communicate himself and all Good to the Saints.

Secondly, There are some Graces and Duties which have immediate Respect to *our selves* and *our Brethren*, and these also are calculated only for this Life, and must not be executed by us in Heaven. Thus *Self-Denial* and *Mortification* shall have no Place in the future Life of the Happy ; for where there are no inward or outward Temptations to Vanity and Lust, there is no need of these Religious Exercises. Besides that these respect the Body chiefly, and consequently when the Bodies of the Saints shall be refined, there will be no occasion for St. Paul's Discipline on that Part, namely, *keeping it under, and bringing it into Subjection*. Also *Religious Abstinence, Temperance, Sobriety, Continence, Chastity*, are Vertues appertaining only to this lower World. Where *they are like the Angels of God*, where they neither Eat nor Drink, nor have Bodies framed to the meaner and grosser Purposes of this Life, we cannot suppose those Vertues are in use. The same may be said of *Watchfulness*, as by it is meant in Scripture a keeping a Guard over our selves to prevent Sin, and to defeat Temptations ; for where there is no Sin or Temptation, there is no Occasion for Watching. The like may be pronounced concerning *Meekness*, as it signifies a moderating or subduing of Anger and Passion ; for there will be no Cause of Anger, there being no Provocation to excite it. *Patience*, which is so useful and Manly a Vertue now, and without which a Man's Life would be burthensome and miserable, shall wholly cease in the Future State ; for there shall be nothing then to disturb or molest us. Where there is no manner of Grievances and Sufferings, there is no Use of *Patience*.

So for *Long-suffering* and *Forbearance*, and *Forgiving of Injuries*, these conduct to Heaven, and then leave us ; for where there is no Sin or Offence, there is no Opportunity for the exercising of these Graces. *Justice, Equity, and Honest Dealing* towards others in Matters of Contract and Commerce are practised only in this present State. So are some Parts of *Love* and *Charity* : For *Compassion,*

Mercifulness, Alms-deeds, Relieving the Neccessitous, are Excellent and Shining Graces in this World, yet they are wholly extinct in the other: For where there is no Misery or Want, there is no Occasion for Commiseration or Relief.

Thus I have briefly prov'd what I undertook, that some Graces and Duties which have Respect to God, and to our selves and to others, are no Part of our *Happiness in Heaven*: And I have particularly assigned which Graces and Duties these are. From the Whole I have evinced the *Perfect Holiness* of the Saints in Heaven, (which is the thing I intended) for I have shewed that whatever hath the Notion of *Means*, and whatever is *Imperfect*, though it hath Relation to Religion and Holiness, remains not in the Heavenly State.

And now it will be easy to gather *what Graces and Religious Exercises* are not superseded there, but *go with us* to Heaven, and are *Ingredients* of the Celestial Happiness. There is *Humility* exercised, as it speaks humble and reverent Thoughts and Deameanour towards God, and a profound Submission to him: And as it speaks a low and mean Esteem of our selves, and a humble Sense of our being but Creatures, and depending on the Almighty. There is the Grace of *Contentedness* in its greatest Heighth. There is *Sincerity* and *Uprightness of Heart* in its full Vigour. There is a *Love* to the Brethren and Fellow-Saints, surpassing all the most elevated Affections in this Life. In that State there is a firm and unshaken *Dependance on God*, which surpasses all the Acts of Confidence and Reliance in this World. There is the highest *Esteem of God*, and the most ardent *Love of him*, and of all Divine Things. There is *Honouring* and *Worshipping* of him, as 'tis an Act of Reverence and Adoration of the Majesty and other Attributes of God, and as it is expressed in Extolling and Celebrating them. There is *Thanksgiving* unto God, and *Praising* and *Blessing of him* for the innumerable Tokens of his Kindness and Favour, especially those that Christ hath purchased for us. In a word, so far as we Mortals can guess at the *Future Felicity*, it consists in a continual Admiring the Divine Excellencies, and more especially his Holiness and Goodness, and in expressing our Resentments of them by a boundless Affection and Love, and by a most vigorous Desire, and constant Will and Disposition of Mind to please God, and to do whatever he requires of us, through the Endless Spaces of the wide and vast Eternity. This is the Work of Angels, this is the Employment of the Saints in Glory. And we may observe, that it consists in the exercising of those Graces which either make us most like to God (which are not Faith, and Hope, and Repentance, &c.) or immediately capacitate us for the Enjoyment of him: Such are Humility, Sincerity, Love of God and of our Brethren, and such Holy Dispositions of Soul as approach to the Divine Nature. Which is briefly expressed by St. *John*, Ep. 1. Chap. 3. Ver. 2. *We shall be like him*. This is the chief Part of our Celestial Blessedness, that we shall resemble God, namely, in those Acts of Holiness which are pure and unmixed, and altogether void of Sin. For Heaven is not only a State of *Holiness*, but of *Perfect Holiness*, and Freedom from all Sin.

Thirdly, It is a State of *Perfect Joy and Pleasure*. *In thy Presence is Fulness of Joy: At thy right Hand there are Pleasures for evermore*, Psal. 16. 11. On which account it is justly stiled the *Joy of the Lord*, Mat. 25. 21. The Celestial State must needs abound with Delight and Pleasure and the utmost Satisfaction, because these are the Genuine Result and Off-spring of that Improved Knowledge which I spoke of before. For if it be, in this Life, a great Pleasure to the Mind to make a daily Progress in Science, to find out something further than what it knew before, then how great and diffus'd will our Joy be when we shall, for endless Ages, contemplate and search into the infinite Perfections of the Deity? For this Search and Enquiry will certainly produce some fresh Discovery, and from thence will arise a Desire to make farther Searches, and from these will follow a fuller, a larger, and a renewed Affection and Complacency: And these will breed an infinite Circle of Joy, Pleasure, and Happiness.

Again, Heaven being a State of *perfect Holiness*, and Freedom from all Sin, it will needs follow even on that account that all Sorrow, Grief and Pain must be banish'd thence, because these are the Fruit and Effect of Sin. Rightly therefore it is said of the Church in Heaven, *Rev. 21. 4. God shall wipe away all Tears from their Eyes, and there shall be no more Death* (or bloody Persecution) *neither Sorrow, nor Crying, neither shall there be any more Pain*. And this is Part of the Description

scription of the Future State of Holy Men, that *they rest from their Labours*, Rev. 14. 13. They are lifted above all the Troubles of this Life. They have no lamentable Objects to disturb them, no Disputes and Quarrels to discompose them, no Enemies to invade and molest them; for they are out of the Reach of wicked Men and Devils: They have no Sickness or Poverty to waste them, they have no Wars or Rumors of Wars to affright them; for the Bloody Colours are now furled up, and War cannot be transported into the Regions of Peace. And as there are no Disturbances from without, so they have none within, for all is well there, and their Consciences are clear and serene. So that all the Occasions of Grief and Fear being removed, an Uninterrupted Joy must necessarily take place.

Furthermore, *Love*, which is the most pleasant and ravishing Passion of the Mind, bearing Sway in the Regions above, there cannot but be the most exquisite Delight and Joy there. The *New Jerusalem*, typified by *Solomon's Chariot*, is *paved with Love*, Cant. 3. 10. All is filled with this Affection, and therefore nothing but Pleasure is to be found here. To love God, and to be loved of him, is the most transcendent Delight. Here we are enamoured with the Divine Perfections, and here we are encircled with the Beams of Light and Love from that Divine Fountain, and inexhaustible Source of Bliss. Here we not only arrive to a distinct and thorough Understanding of the Best Good, but to close Conjunction with it, and we are ever in the Embraces of the Deity. As we see God, so we enjoy him, and we enjoy all that can make us happy. For we are Colleagues of Angels, Companions of Apostles, Coheirs with Martyrs, Friends and Familiars of Christ Jesus, and Sons of the most High. In Sum, as the Faculties of Knowing and Willing are now rectified; as we shall have the Brightest Knowledge, and the most Reformed Wills, so the Affections of the Soul are set right, they are immutably fixed on the Best Object, and they exert themselves with the greatest Vigour, Life and Flame, and consequently with the most exalted Pleasure and Delight.

Fourthly, It is a State of *Perfection*, in Respect of the *Bodies*, as well as the Souls of the Saints: For it is most reasonable to think, that the happy State of the former is proportioned to the Happiness of the latter. Accordingly Scripture backs the Testimony of Reason, and acquaints us that the Happiness of the Saints Bodies consists in these Four Things: 1. Their endless Duration. 2. Their Impassibility. 3. Their Quickness and Agility. 4. Their Brightness and Transparency, their *Charity* and Beauty.

First, The Glorified Bodies of the Saints shall attain to an endless Duration and Immortality: For *this Mortal* (saith the Apostle) that is, this Mortal Body, *must put on Immortality*, 1 Cor. 15. 53. and so put it on as never to put it off again. The Bodies, after the Resurrection, shall be fixed in such a Condition that they shall subsist for ever, and have a never-failing Existence. And indeed, if we consider the Body as to its first Original and Make, we must grant, that Death was not natural to it. *God made not Death*, Wisd. 1. 13. but it was by the Fall of Man that his Body became mortal. If Man had not sinned, he had not been obnoxious to Death. *To Dust thou shalt return*, was the Penalty of his Apostasy, Gen. 3. 14. Otherwise upon Man's continuing in his Innocency, the Body would not have been subject to Decay. Man would have been Immortal as to that Part, as well as to his Soul; for that being the Partner of this, it was designed to hold out as long as this. Now then, it is not to be questioned, that the Souls of the Righteous being hereafter blessed with an endless Existence in the highest Heavens, their Bodies also shall subsist proportionably, that the Happiness of the one may run Parallel with the other, though not on the same Principle; for a *Spirit*, as such, is incorruptible and immortal, but we cannot pronounce the same concerning the Body.

Secondly, The Bodies of the Saints shall be *Impassible* as well as Immortal. So the *Schoolmen* express it; by which is meant, that the Bodies shall not only eternally exist, but they shall not in the least be liable to any Weakness and Infirmary, to Pain or Sickness, or to any of those Evils which they are incident to in this Life. It is the Matter of universal Complaint, that our frail Bodies, these Houses of Clay, labour under many Languors and Maladies, they stand in need

of continual Reparations, we are forced to make use of Props and Buttreffes to shore them up, and keep them from falling. But *this corruptible* (saith the Apostle) *shall put on Incorruption*, 1 Cor. 15. 53. And in the 43. v. he had said, *It is sown in Weakness, it is raised in Power*, and so shall remain free from all Symptoms of Corruption and Weakness, and a Crazy Temper. It shall arrive to a most hale Plight, such as shall be capable of no Assaults that can hurt and endamage it. And truly this will be so in the very Nature of the Thing it self; for the Soul will make the Body Hale and Sound. As on the contrary we find here on Earth, that one Reason of the ill Constitution of the Body is the ill Frame and Disposition of the Mind, caused by Discontent, Sorrow, Fear, and Immoderate Passions of any Kind. Wherefore, when these are removed, the Body will grow Strong and Healthful, by its being powerfully influenced upon by the Soul.

* Sarcina
à σάκι.

† Animi
pondus &
pœna. Sen.

Thirdly, the glorified Bodies of Saints in Heaven shall be actuated with a wonderful *Quickness* and *Agility*. Our Bodies here are heavy and troublesome, they clog and burden the Soul, and retard its Motions, and will not permit it to exert it self with Nimbleness and Vigor. The * *Fleshly Part* is the *Luggage* we travel with in this World, and hinders our speedy and chearful Passage. The *corrupt Body presseth down the Soul*, and the *Earbly Tabernacle weigheth down the Mind*, as the Apocryphal Writer speaks. With which the great Moralist agrees, calling the Body the † *Weight* and the *Punishment of the Soul*. This pinions down the immortal Spirit of Man, and when it would take its noble Flights and soar Aloft, this pulls it back, and checks it in its full Career. But the Apostle who had been taken up into the Third Heaven, and saw the Glories of that Place, administers this Comfort, that tho' it is *sown a Natural Body* (such a one as other Creatures have, which of its own Nature is Sluggish and Unactive) yet it is *raised a Spiritual Body*, v. 44. of the fore-mentioned Chapter. That is, it is such as may deserve the Name of a *Spirit* rather than of an *ordinary Body*; it shall be so Quick and Active, and every ways Obedient and Officious to the Soul. The refined Flesh shall be rendered compliant to all the Motions of the Spirit. In which sense it was most truly and properly said by our Saviour, that in the Resurrection the Saints shall be *like the Angels of God in Heaven*, Matth. 22. 30. Like those Glorious Messengers, who with Readiness and Alacrity, with unconceivable Speed and Quickness discharge their Office, and perform their Ministry.

∴ Ἐν ἐν-
σταν ἀσ-
πύκτου.
Luke 24 4.
Vestibus
fulguran-
tibus. Bez

Fourthly, The Bodies of the Blessed are Eminent for their *Brightness* and *Lustre*. And in this Sense it may be said they are like the Angels of God in Heaven; for those Blessed Ambassadors of the King of Glory, never make their Entrance and Appearance but in Pomp and Splendor, ∴ *in shining Garments*, Deck'd as it were with Lightning. These shall be the Robes of glorified Bodies. The Dull and Gross Materials, of which they were constituted before, shall then be Sublimated and Refined, and the Saints, (as Christ foretold) shall *shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father*, Matth. 13. 43. This is what the Apostle meant when he said of the Body, that it is *sown in Dishonour, it is raised in Glory*, v. 43. Yea, he assures us, that our Bodies which are now *vile* shall then be *so changed*, that they shall be *like unto Christ's Glorious Body*, Phil. 3. 21. If they shall have the Beauty and Glory of Christ's Body, it is not to be doubted that they shall receive the Highest and Noblest Perfection they are capable of. Thus I have shewed what is the *Blessed State of Heaven*, both as to the *Souls* and *Bodies* of the Righteous.

But besides what hath been said, I will add these Two Things, which highly commend and enhance that Celestial Blessedness. First, The Saints shall have the Fruition of it *immediately after they leave this World*. Secondly, This Blessedness shall be *Filling* and *Satisfactory*; which is an Excellency that is proper only to the Heavenly Enjoyments, for none here below can pretend to any such thing.

First, I say, this is one great Enhancement of our Happiness, that we shall *forthwith* enjoy it; for the Souls of the Faithful go *immediately* to Heaven after they are separated from the Body. It is true there have been Disputes about this Matter, both with respect to the Time before Christ, and that after him; for the Antient Fathers and Writers made a Double State of Saints, namely, the State of those who preceded our Saviour's Coming, and of those who followed it. It was the received Opinion among them, that the Souls of the Righteous *before*
Christ

Christ were not received into Paradise till Christ by his Death opened it, and that He was the First that entred into it with the Thief. They will not allow, that any Holy Men under the Old Testament were admitted into Heaven as soon as they left this Earth. This was the Opinion and Judgment of several of the * *Greek Fathers*: And some of the † *Latin* ones discover this to be their Persuasion: only † *Tertullian* holds, That the Souls of *Martyrs*, and no others, go forthwith to *Abraham's Bosom* or Paradise; the rest are sent to some other Place. *Calvin* hath something like this in his *Psychopanychia*: And in his * *Institutions* he pronounces it to be foolish and rash to contend about this Matter; and he leaves it doubtful and undetermined, whether the Godly are taken up to Heaven, or are in some other Place for a time. The Souls of the Pious went not to Heaven before Christ's Ascension, saith † *Peter Martyr*: † *In 2 Reg.* And *Bullinger* holds the like. Herein, it seems, these Modern Writers inclined to the received Opinion of the *Antients*, tho' in other Things they frequently depart from them. But this I must not conceal, that those who were of this Persuasion, generally held, that notwithstanding the Souls of the Saints went not directly to Heaven, yet they enjoyed Happiness, and the Presence of God, which the *Greek Fathers* called the ∴ *Rest of Paradise and Consolation*; And the *Latins* usually stiled it * *Refrigerium & somnum pacis*. ∴ *κατάπαυσις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις*. * *Refrigerium & somnum pacis*.

* *Refreshment and the Sleep of Peace*, whence perhaps arose the Conceit of the Souls sleeping after Death. But the Admission of departed Souls immediately into Heaven properly so called, that is, the Heaven of the Glorified, was denied by all Antiquity. The Fathers both of the *Greek* and *Latin Church* asserted, that none of the Saints, who died before Christ's Passion, entred into that State of Glory.

But they were divided in their Opinion about the Faithful that departed this Life after our Saviour's Passion and Ascension; for some of them held, that these shall not be admitted to the Enjoyment of the Beatific Vision in Heaven till their Bodies and Souls are re-united after the Resurrection, but that in the mean time they are detained in certain Prisons and Receptacles under-ground. * *Irenæus*, † *Adv. hæref. Lib. 5.* and several of the *Greek Fathers* expressly assert this; and for this Reason they prayed for the departed Souls, namely, that they might be consummated, and have in due time their full Perfection of Happiness. Hence the *Papists* borrow their praying for the Dead, which is of another Kind; for the Intention of the Antient Church Prayers and Supplications for the Dead respected the Day of Judgment, and their final Absolution at that Day, which is the time of more than usual Joy, Refreshment, Gladness, Mercy, Reward, which are the Things they prayed the Deceased might have in the utmost Plenitude of them. The Church of *Rome* hath also found out *Purgatory*, where the Souls of the Saints must remain a while before they mount up to the Heavenly Mansions. In this Prison they must endure a Restraint till they are redeemed out of it by the Prayers and Offerings of the Church.

Socinus and his Followers do justly reject this Doctrine, but pitch upon a more improbable one, to wit, the Sleep of the Soul; for † they tell us, That the Pious have no Sense of any Thing till the Resurrection: their Souls are not capable of any Joy or Pleasure.

But there are some others who are not of the *Roman Communion*, nor profess *Socinianism*, and yet fancy a Middle Place or State of departed Souls, where they are from the time of Death till the last Judgment. I have taken notice of this in Two Writers of late: The ∴ one tells us, that when Men die they are not immediately to go to Hell or Heaven. The * other opposes the Saints being received into Heaven presently after they leave their Bodies. There is a † Third Writer that furnishes us with this odd Passage: "The Saints, saith he, remain in their separate State under an Effect of Sin, and a Mark of the Divine Displeasure against it. And so long it may seem very fit and agreeable, that the great Judge and Governour of the World do keep them

* *Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, Theophylact.*

† *Lactantius, Jerom, Ambrose, Augustine.*

∴ *De Animâ cap. 55.*

* *Lib 3. cap. 25. Sect. 6.*

∴ *κατάπαυσις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις*.

* *Refrigerium & somnum pacis.*

* *Adv. hæref. Lib. 5.*

† *Socin. Epist. 5. ad Volkel. Smalc. Disp. 7. de Extremo Judici. Item, de Dei filio, cap. 6.*

∴ *Dr. Sherlock, Practical Discourse of a Future Judgment.*

* *Dr. Whitby, Annot. on 2 Tim. 4. 8.*

† *Mr Dorington. Family Devotion. Vol. 4. p. 269, 270.*

“ them at some distance from himself. — But when the last Judgment is
 “ over, the Way into the Holiest of all shall be opened, and the Saints shall be
 “ admitted to the immediate Fruition and the happy Vision of God ; which is
 “ more than they have enjoyed before. This Person hath once already changed
 the Scene : What he is for next, let the Reader judge from his own Words. He
 holds, that the departed Saints are still *under an Effect of Sin*, that is Punishment,
 which he explains in the next Words by *the Divine Displeasure*, which sounds like
Purgatory.

But then, there were *other Fathers and Ancient Writers* of the Church, who
 held that all Holy Men who have left the World *since* the Time of our Saviour's
 Passion, have been admitted into Heaven immediately ; for Christ, say they, by
 his Death opened the Way which none had gone before. That Passage in St.
Ambrose's Hymn, commonly called *Te Deum*, speaks their Sentiment in this
 Point, as some have thought, *When thou hadst overcome the Sharpness of Death, thou*
didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers. And now since Christ's Passion
 and Ascension, all Believers are admitted immediately, upon their leaving their
 Body, into that Place of Glory. St. *Chrysostom* is very positive in this Matter ;
 for speaking of *Death*, and shewing what it is now, and what it was heretofore,
 (now it is welcome, but under the Law it was frightful) he adds that it must

* Τὸ μὴ γὰρ πρότερον ὁ Σάβας
 εἰς ἄδην κατήγε, νῦν δὲ ὁ Σά-
 βας πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναστρέφεται.
 Homil. 65. Tom. 1.

needs be thus, * *Because heretofore Death dragged the deceased*
Saints to some Infernal Place, but now it carries them to Christ.
 And out of the Writings of the Ancients it may be gathered,
 that it was the Opinion of several of them, that the
 Saints took Possession of Heaven immediately after Death.

And tho' some of them say they went to *ἄδης*, and were *apud Inferos*, yet it is
 well known that by these Expressions they sometimes mean the common State
 of all departed Souls, and sometimes the Place or State peculiar to the Godly,
 namely, Heaven.

And now having set down the Judgment of the Ancients, I will prove that
 this last Decision is established and confirmed by Holy Scripture, which is the
 infallible Judge in the Case. To which Purpose I allege, in the first place, our
 Saviour's Words to the Penitent Thief, when he hung on the Cross, *To Day shalt*
thou be with me in Paradise, Luke 23. 43. As much as to say, I am returning to
 Heaven, and thou shalt go with me, (for *Paradise* in this Place is no other than
 Heaven, the Seat of the Blessed, as is clear from this Acception of the Word in
 Two other Places of the New Testament, which I have quoted before) thy
 Soul shall not be detained in any dark Receptacles here below, but shall on this
 very Day on which thou leavest thy Body, bear me Company to that Place of
 endless Bliss.

They endeavoured of Old to evade this Text, by saying that Christ here
 speaks of a Future Thing, *as if* it were then present, to shew the Certainty of
 it. *Theophylact* mentions this on the place ; but it is not worth the taking Notice
 of ; for here is a *plain downright* Promise made to the Thief, and the certain pre-
 cise Time for the performing of it is assigned, and therefore there is no ground
 here for that way of speaking which some imagine.

Others grant that the Thief went to *Paradise* that Day ; but by *Paradise* is not
 meant the Kingdom of Heaven. But besides what was said before, that this is
 the Acception of the Word in the Evangelical Writers, we can easily confute
 this forced Interpretation by the foregoing Verse : Where we read that the ex-
 piring Thief begg'd, that our Saviour would *remember him when he came into his*
Kingdom. Whereupon our Saviour promised him, that on that very Day he
 should be admitted with him into *Paradise*, that is, the Kingdom of Heaven ;
 for we see plainly by comparing these Two Verses, that *Paradise* answers to
Christ's Kingdom, that is, the Kingdom of Heaven.

There are others that tell us *Paradise* signifies not the Heaven of the Blessed,
 or the Seat of Eternal Happiness, because Christ between his Death and Refur-
 rection *went and preached to the Spirits in Prison*, to the Damned in Hell, who were
 now set at Liberty by Christ's going thither. So that the Force of their Reaso-
 ning is this, Christ was in *Hell* after his Death, therefore the Thief could not
 be with him in *Heaven* at that time : And consequently *Paradise* doth not signify
Heaven. But this hath no Weight in it ; for suppose that Christ went to Hell,
 which

which must be meant only concerning his *Soul's* going thither, this hinders not that Malefactor's being with him in Heaven, as he was *God*. He was *with him*, that is, he was made happy by him in the highest Heavens. But tho' this Answer may suffice, yet I add another, which is not founded upon a Supposal, but a Reality, namely, that Christ did not go into Hell, the Place of the Damned, after his Death, and that his *preaching to the Spirits in Prison* hath Reference to no such thing, (as I have shewed already in a distinct *Exercitation* on that Text) and therefore cannot be applied to Christ's Descending into the Regions of Hell.

Another Evasion is mentioned by *Theophylact*, to wit, that Christ and the Thief went to *Heaven*, (for that is meant by *Paradise*) but they did not enter into the *Happiness* of that Place. But this is a groundless perverting of the Words, as if the Thief could be in Heaven, and yet enjoy not the Blessedness which the Place affords; as if Christ promised him Heaven, but not the Happiness of it. And this is quite contrary to the Exposition which *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Epiphanius*, and other Fathers give, who hold that the Thief's Happiness was not at all deferr'd, but that he came into the actual Fruition of it as soon as he arrived in Heaven. I conclude then from this forenamed Place, that the Enjoyment of Paradise, that is, Celestial Glory and Happiness, is *not deferr'd*, but that the Souls of the Saints, *immediately* after their Separation from their Bodies, ascend to the Supreme Heavens, and there are instated forthwith in Happiness.

This is clear from the present Reward adjudged to the *good and faithful Servant*, Mat. 25. 21. *Enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord*, that is, share in the same Joy and Glory, and in the same Place, that I thy Lord am possessed of. And it is plainly implied, that the Entrance into this Joy and Happiness is immediately granted: For the Reward follows without Delay, after the Work is finished.

This is farther proved from what is delivered by St. Paul in 2 Cor. 5. 1. &c. *We know*, saith he, *that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens, into which we shall instantly enter: For in this* (that is, this Earthly Tabernacle) *we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our House which is from Heaven, which will immediately happen after we are freed from these Bodies. Therefore we are always confident, fully persuaded that it will be thus, knowing that whilst we are at home in the Body, we are absent from the Lord, we are debarred from enjoying Christ in Heaven. Whence it follows by way of Antithesis, that Pious Souls departed are present with the Lord, as it is expressed afterwards, v. 8. They instantly after Death enter into the Highest Heavens, and enjoy their Lord: For we see these Two are opposed, being in the Body, and being with the Lord. Wherefore we rationally gather, that when the Righteous shall be out of the Body, they shall forthwith be with the Lord.*

That is another plain Text in Phil. 1. 23. *I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ*. Whence it is evident that the Apostle was presently to enjoy Christ, upon his putting off this Tabernacle; for these Two are joined together, *departing* and *being with Christ*. As soon as the Souls of the Godly are separated from their Bodies, they are translated to Glory, and actually enter into Bliss. Which may be gathered also from the Apostle's being *in a strait*; for if the Soul did not go immediately to Christ, he could not have been in that Strait; for the Strait was his Desire of going to Christ by Death, and at the same time a Desire to serve the Church by his living. And besides, it is plain from the Scope and Design of the Words, that the *Departing* was not desired and longed for for it self, but in order to his being *with Christ*. He longed for Death on this very Consideration, that by it he should without any Delay be brought to the Enjoyment of his Saviour, and (as was expressed before) be present with the Lord.

I will add one Text more, Rev. 14. 13. *Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their Labours*. The Saints are blessed *from henceforth*, that is, from the very time of their leaving this World. There is neither a Sleeping of the Soul, (which some dream of) nor a Purgatory, (which others feign) nor any Middle State of another Kind, as some imagine: There is none of these in the Way to intercept and hinder their im-

immediate Enjoyment of Happiness in Heaven. This is the Meaning of *ἀπ' ἁρ-*
ν, from henceforth. From the time of their Exit out of this Valley of Tears,
 they enter upon the Fruition of Glory. And that we may not doubt of it, 'tis
 added, *Yea, saith the Spirit*; as much as to say, It is attested and confirmed by
 the Spirit of Truth, that henceforth the Saints are blessed, and rest from their
 Labours. Thus it is manifest from Scripture, that Pious Souls immediately after
 Death, go straitway to Heaven. And if we rightly understand the *Fathers*, we
 shall find that this Doctrine agrees with theirs *as to the main*; for they held that
 departed Souls are immediately happy, only they questioned whether they are
 happy in Heaven. We say they are, for there is *no other* Place or State of Hap-
 piness; therefore the Saints go immediately thither. This is a great Accession
 to their Happiness, that they are presently put into Possession of it after Death,
 that nothing intervenes between Death and Heaven.

Secondly, another Enhancement of *Celestial Happiness*, is, that it is *Filling* and
Satisfactory. This I mention to evince the Transcendent Excellency of the
 Joys above, and to shew how they are exalted above all the Delights and Enter-
 tainments of this World. It is the Complaint of the great Experimenters of
 these Earthly Pleasures, that there is no Satisfaction in them. Tho' they pre-
 tend to satiate the Enjoyers, yet in the close they leave them empty and cra-
 ving. Yea, oftentimes they end in a Sting, and prove hurtful and dangerous.
 We read in *Aulus Gellius*, and other Authors, that some have run mad, and others
 have died with Joy. Not that Joy is an Enemy to Nature, for it is the only
 thing pleasant and agreeable to it; but it is merely by Accident that it dispatches
 any Man; for immoderate Joy causes too great a Diffusion and Dissipation of the
 Spirits, and so dissolves the Strength of the Vital Faculty. But the *Joys of Hea-*
ven are *harmless*, and cannot bring Disadvantage to them that possess them; but
 the more the Joys are diffused through their Souls, the more hale and strong are
 they. Nature cannot brook *sudden Changes*, either of the Habit and Tempera-
 ment, or of the Actions of the Body, and so it happens that the Excess of
 Worldly Joys may stifle the Soul. But this *deadly Force* is not to be imputed to
 the *Nature of Joy*, (as if *that* included in it any Mischief and Malignity), but
 to the Imbecillity and Weakness of our Nature, which cannot endure sudden
 Alterations. It is the *Complexion* which is to be blamed, which cannot bear the
 unexpected Arrests of that Passion. But in the *other World* it is certain that our
Natures shall be *fitted* to our Joys, and the Pleasures shall be so constant and fixed,
 that there shall be no Fear of a dangerous Alteration. Briefly, sensible and
 mundane Joy hath proved *fatal* and destructive to some Men, because it hath
 been so Great and Transporting. The wholesomest Medicines may destroy the
 Patient, if he take too great a Dose of them. Earthly Felicity, if it be not
 tempered, oppresses us. Sensual Joy may be stretched to that Degree of Inten-
 sion, that it may disturb the Harmony of our Complexions, and so prove mor-
 tal. Thus it fares here on Earth; but it will be far otherwise in Heaven. For
 as our Joys and Pleasures shall be increased, so our Strengths and Powers shall be
 too. Now indeed it may happen that the very Excellency of the Object may
 over-power the Sense, and be destructive to it: But then, as the Object shall be
 Glorious, so the Faculties shall be vigorous, and the Vision of God shall not
 confound, but ravish us. In Heaven we shall have what we will, and we shall
 be entirely pleased with what we have. Then all the Functions of our Souls
 shall be employed, all their Capacities shall be filled, and all their Desires and
 Longings shall be satisfied.

But here it may be asked, under this Head, whether there are *Degrees of Glory*
in Heaven, and whether this be consistent with the *Satisfaction* which all shall
 have there? I answer, it is not to be doubted that there are different Degrees of
 Glory in Heaven: For these following Passages in the New Testament confirm
 this Assertion. There we read of a *Prophet's Reward*, and a *Righteous Man's Re-*
ward, Mat. 10. 41. which import an higher and a lower Degree of Happiness.
 There is a Place *on Christ's Right Hand*, and also *on his Left in his Kingdom*, Mat.
 23. 21, 23. which signifies the different Degrees of Glory in the Kingdom of
 Heaven. So we find in the *Parable of the Ten Pieces of Money*, that the Dignities
 and Rewards were differently distributed to the Servants that were intrusted
 with the Money; one *had Authority over Ten Cities*, another *over Five*, Luke 19.

This

This Inequality of Glory is intimated in *John* 14. 2. *In my Father's House are many Mansions*, alluding to a great and spacious Building, wherein are several Rooms of different Bigness: And this fitly represents the Diversity of those Rewards which are reserved in Heaven for Believers. I will name another Text, which is clear for my Purpose, *1 Cor.* 15. 41, 42. *There is one Glory of the Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars: for one Star differs from another Star in Glory. So also is the Resurrection of the Dead, &c.* For tho' these Words do primarily and more directly refer to the Difference between the Bodies of the Saints before and after the Resurrection, yet because the Resurrection is the Introduction to Glory, therefore what is here said may fitly be applied to the Difference of Glory, which the Saints shall be instated in in Heaven: They shall differ from one another in that Respect as much as *Sun, Moon, and Stars* differ from one another in Brightness and Lustre, as well as Magnitude. Accordingly *Theodore* grounds this Inference on the foresaid Words of the Apostle, * All righteous Men shall not be made Partakers of the same Reward, but they shall have such a Recompense as is suitable to their righteous Deeds.

And these Degrees of Glory are adjusted to *Reason*, as well as to *Scripture*. For first, the Happiness of the Saints in Heaven shall be according to their Capacities. That future Glory (as an Ancient Christian Writer saith) that † Celestial Brightness shall be dispensed according to the Power of every ones Faculties. And therefore on that Account their Rewards shall not be alike, but some shall have a fuller Vision than others. Secondly, Holiness and Happiness are near a-kin; yea, Holiness is an Ingredient of Happiness: So that the more Holy a Person is in this Life, the more happy must he needs be in the other. The very Nature of our Happiness evinces it. Thirdly, the Circumstances of our Condition in this Life will very much contribute towards the Diversity of Happiness in the other State. The Darkness and Shadows of this lower World will set off the Light and Glory of that Heavenly one. The Celestial Brightness will be enhanced and increased by past Obscurities; and our Unhappiness here will conduce not a little to our Happiness hereafter. The Remembrance of the dangerous Rocks and Shelves, Storms and Tempests that we were obnoxious to, will commend the Peaceableness and Safety of the Harbour we arrive at. On this Account the Saints Joys will be augmented proportionably to the Variety of their past Condition on Earth.

Lastly, The Inequality of the future Happiness must be attributed to the Grace and Favour of God, who hath been pleased to acquaint us, in the Writings both of the Old and New Testament, that *he will reward every Man according to his Works*; and that he will reward his Servants not only according to the Nature of their Works, as they are good, but according to the Diligence and Zeal they performed them with, and according to the Honour they brought to God by them. The Rewards in Glory will be answerable to the Pains and Labours of the Saints, and to the Glory which doth redound to the Almighty by them. Thus in the forementioned Parable, the Ruling over Cities was increased according to the Increase and Improvement of what was committed to their Trust, and the Gain that accrued to the Lord. Those that bring most Honour to God by their Doings and Sufferings, God will honour most. The Papists pervert this, and attribute the Inequality of Rewards to the Inequality of the Saints Merits: And on this Account the *Aureolæ* or *Crowns* are set on the Heads of Three Sorts of Persons, Martyrs, Virgins, and Doctors. But this is by no Means to be allowed of; for though there be *Service*, there is no *Merit*; the Ability to do that Service being wholly from the special Assistance and Grace of God. And this is the true Ground of conferring special and singular Rewards on some Eminent Saints in Heaven.

Thus from Reason and the Sacred Writ, I have briefly proved that there are Degrees of Glory in Heaven. And this was the general Sense of the Ancient Church: Insomuch that when *Jovinian* rose up, and maintained an Equality of Rewards in Heaven, *St. Jerom* thought himself concerned to baffle that upstart Opinion; and accordingly he writ against him for holding that and other Points. *Peter Martyr* was the first that doubted of this of late: And since some others

* Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι
τὸ αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔσονται ἀλλὰ
κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἕκαστος ποιήσεται
λήθονται. in 1 Cor. 15. 41.

† Κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἕκαστος δύνα-
ται ἢ ὥστε καὶ ἡ χάρις ἡ χάρις
ὡς ἡ χάρις. Maximus.

have done so, their main Text for it being *Mat. 20. 1, &c.* which contains the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, who had all of them an Equal Reward, though their Labours were not Equal; I will consider this Parable, and set it in a true Light, and by doing so, make it appear that it doth not invalidate the Doctrine of the Degrees of Glory. First then, I conceive that this Parable doth primarily belong to, and sets forth God's Dispensation towards the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. And we may observe, that it commences from the last Verse of the foregoing Chapter, *Many that are first, shall be last; and the last shall be first*: And then it follows in the first Verse of the next Chapter, *For the Kingdom of Heaven is like to, &c.* The leading Word for shews the Connection between that last Verse of the other Chapter, and the Beginning of this, and the whole Parable that ensues. It is as much as if our Saviour had said, "You *Jews* are first, not only in your own Esteem, but you are really and truly so in Respect of the Church-Privileges, which you have as yet a Right to. And the *Gentiles* are last, because they are aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, and Strangers to the Church of God. But in a short time it shall be otherwise; for many of these shall be taken into the Church, and become the People of God; and the *Jewish* Nation shall be rejected. So the first shall be last, and the last shall be first. Which I will explain yet farther to you in this following Parable,

* The Roman Denarius, which we translate a Penny, is, strictly speaking, Seven Pence Half-penny.

*The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Man that is a Householder, who went and hired Labourers into his Vineyard, some at the third, some at the sixth, and others at the ninth Hour: and he agreed with them for a * Penny a day, that is, they should have a certain Recompense for their Labour.*

The Meaning is, the *Jews* have been called to the Knowledge and Service of the true God, at several Hours, as it were, that is, by the several Messages of God sent to that People by his Prophets in sundry Ages; and their serving God hath been very beneficial and profitable to them. Next follows the Calling of the *Gentiles* by the Preaching of the Gospel, at the Close of the *Jewish* Economy, called here the *Eleventh Hour*: And though these came in so late, yet they (as well as the others that came in sooner) receiving every Man a Penny, are rewarded and recompensed, are received into the Church, and are made Partakers in its Privileges. Thus this Parable seems to refer primarily to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and the Privileges they are both equally admitted to by the Favour of God. Which is the mere Result of Divine Goodness, and was never thought of by the *Jews*; which is the Reason why they are represented in the Parable, as Envyng the *Gentiles*, *They murmured at the good Man of the House, saying, &c. v. 11, 12.* Now, according to this plain Interpretation of our Saviour's Words, they are not to be understood of Heavenly Rewards, and consequently are not to be made Use of to disprove the Degrees of Glory.

Nor can they be made Use of to that Purpose, though we should lay aside the primary Meaning of the Parables, and take it in a secondary and remote Sense, and even as it may be applied to the *Celestial Rewards*. For then all that can be gathered is, that these Rewards shall not be proportioned to the mere Time of our being converted: But those that are converted late, shall share in Everlasting Glory; as well as those whose Conversion was sooner. Thus the Labourers who came in at several Hours, received every one a Penny. This is that which may be proved from the Parable, but it doth not in the least diminish the Degrees of Glory. Lastly, If we understand this Parable concerning the Future Happiness of the Saints (as in the Latitude of interpreting it we may) then we ought to mind the Scope and Design of it, which is to shew the free Grace of God, namely, that many are called, but few chosen, as the Close of the Parable expounds it, *v. 16.* It is intended here, that this great Truth should be taught us, that Heaven and Happiness are of Grace, and not of Works, that the whole Business of Man's Salvation and Bliss depends on the good Pleasure of God. All the Labourers, whether they wrought a longer or a shorter time, were equally paid: Every one of them received a Penny. Which represents to us the gratuitous Mercy and Bounty of God in Man's Salvation. It is not the Work that gains the Penny: It is God's arbitrary Goodness and free Grace that bestows it. But though all the Labourers received a Penny, that is, a Reward, Eternal Life and Happiness, yet this proves not that the Reward is equal to all, for it may differ

as to Degrees and Measures. There shall be a higher Degree and Exaltation of Happiness for some than for others: Which is the thing that I have before proved. And here we may see that what I undertook to make good under this Head is very evident, that the Joys of Heaven are *full* and *satisfactory*, and that this is not inconsistent with the *Degrees of Glory*: For the Fulness of the Joys of Heaven admits of an Inequality, and the Degrees of Happiness are adjusted to their different Capacities.

This then I here further insist upon as the great Commendation and Excellency of the Heavenly State, that it carries *Satisfaction* with it, an Attainment which is not to be had here below. But *there remaineth a Rest to the People of God*, Heb. 4. 9. Though this Blessing cannot be arrived to here, yet hereafter it shall be enjoyed to the full. This State of *Rest* is intimated to us in that Expression in Luke 16. 22. concerning *Lazarus*, that he was in *Abraham's Bosom*; for besides that it signifies how the Person is beloved and made much of, (thus to *lie in Christ's Bosom*, was St. *John's* Prerogative, who was the Beloved Disciple: And to *lie in ones Bosom* is according to an usual *Hebrew* Phrase, to be dear and near to the Person who vouchsafes that Favour) so this Phrase signifies likewise the Rest and Repose of the Saints in Heaven: They are peaceably situated in *Abraham's Bosom*, that is, they enjoy a perfect Ease and Satisfaction. Heaven is their undisturbed Center. And something of this Kind is implied in *sitting down in the Kingdom of Heaven*, Mat. 8. 11. The Word in the Original is frequently applied to *sitting or lying at Table*, where Persons refresh themselves with Meat and Drink: And so it was promised by Christ to the Apostles, that they *should eat and drink with him at his Table in his Kingdom*, Luke 22. 30. Which represents to us the Nature of the Heavenly Entertainment: At this Feast they lie down and rest, they are filled and satisfied. And though they enjoy a never-failing Satisfaction, yet they are continually thirsting after more: Which is a Notion concerning the Future Blessedness, that even some of the most improved among the *Pagans* had attained to, as appears from that notable Passage in *Plutarch*,

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And thus I have offered a short Survey of the *New Jerusalem*, of the Heavenly *Canaan*, the Land of Promise. But wonder not that I have so meanly described that Celestial Country; for it requires Perfection to describe what is of that Nature. It is the Task of Angels and Glorified Spirits to represent the Beauty and Magnificence, the Glory and Perfection of that unseen World. The perfect Knowledge of that Blessed Life belongs to them only that are in Possession of it. All that *we* can speak or conceive of it, comes infinitely short of the Measure of that Happiness. Heaven is not to be distinctly known in this Life. And let me tell you again what I said before, If I could acquaint you fully with the Joys and Delights of that Place, they would not be so great as indeed they are. To think to define the Glories of Heaven, is to injure them; for we have but mean Discoveries of those Transcendent Things: There is nothing here below can sufficiently set forth and represent them to us. Or, if we had any competent Idea's and Conceptions of them, we should be at a Loss to express them, they surpassing all the Language that we are or can be Masters of. St. Paul, when *he was caught up into Paradise*, heard unspeakable Words concerning these Sublime Matters, *which it was not possible for him to utter*, when he came to the Earth again, 2 Cor. 12. 4. Alas! we that live here in Houses of Clay are not able to express the Magnificence of those Mansions, which are the Receptacles of Glorified Saints and Angels. Our fading and flitting Joys are but Shadows and faint Resemblances of those compleat and Eternal ones which depar-

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red Souls and Seraphims are entertained with. Our imperfect and shallow Understandings in this present Life, will not permit us to display that Glorious State which is above. And its own Transcendent Perfection obscures it. Its redundant Splendor dazzles our Eyes, and so it is hid in its own Rays: And when we attempt to gaze upon it, we are blinded. Now this is the matchless Excellency of Heaven, that it is above being known and described. And truly we cannot lament our Ignorance which is occasioned by such Perfection. But let us not mistrust the Truth, or question the Reality of the Life of Glory, because we cannot fathom the Depth, or reach the Height of so exalted a State. Though our present Knowledge of it be so weak and imperfect, yet we have all the Arguments imaginable to fix our Belief of it. And though I have not said that which fully expresses it, yet what I have delivered concerning that Blessed Life, is sufficient to demonstrate it to be Real. And I'm sure it is sufficient to give us a true Estimate of that Glorious State, and to inflame our Desires after it, and to put us upon suitable Actions whilst we are on this side of it.

And so I pass to the Useful and Important *Inferences* which we ought to make from this Doctrine which I have been discoursing of. The Influence and Efficacy of it ought to appear in these following Particulars. *First*, Seeing there is in Heaven a State of perfect Knowledge, Holiness and Pleasure, we should be constantly entertaining our Thoughts and Contemplations with it. It is rightly said by that Inspired Author, That *the Way of Life is above to the Wise*, Prov. 15. 24. that is, the Heart of a wise and good Man is above, his Mind is in Heaven, he thinks and meditates of Heavenly Things. And this causes him to depart from Hell below (as it follows) it delivers him from Hell and Destruction. Among the *Greeks* Man hath his Name from *looking up*. We are not *Men*, if we do not lift up our Eyes towards Heaven, and meditate on another World. And to this purpose it hath not escaped the Observations of the Philosophers and Poets, that *Man* only, of all Creatures, is made with an Erect Countenance, and framed to lift up his Head, and look upwards. So that Man is calculated by his very Make for another World, his Face looks Heaven-ward, the Place to which he must aspire. A Christian Man certainly is reminded much more to contemplate what is Sublime and Heavenly, to behold the Stars, and to pierce through them to the Seat of God. By this means he most safely conducts himself, and orders his Life here on Earth, as Mariners steer their Vessels on the Ocean by the Direction they have from beholding the Stars: In like manner he steers his Christian Course by looking up to Heaven, and having that always in his Eye. This then is our great Concern and Duty, frequently to contemplate, and converse with Heaven. Yea, Heavenly-mindedness is the natural Result of the Belief of a Heaven.

* O præ-
clarum
diem, &c.
Cic. de Se-
nectute.

Secondly, This Belief should cause us to breathe after it, and most passionately long for it. Though now whilst we are in the Body, we are Pilgrims, yet let us pant after our own Country, let us lift up our Eyes towards the Suburbs of that Great City, and wish to be Inhabitants in those shining *Mansions*. If *Cato's* Philosophy could enable him to cry out, * O for that goodly Day when I shall be taken up to the Heavenly Council and Rendezvous of Blessed Souls, and when I shall leave this Crowd and filthy Company behind me! Yea, if the wild *Americans* talk of their being happy after Death, and cheer themselves with the Thoughts of the fine Fields and pleasant Gardens they shall then wander and rove in, surely it becomes *Christians* to wish for those real Joys which the other World will certainly furnish them with. Poor Souls! Do these Delusions cheer *them*, and shall not the certain Rewards of Heaven more powerfully work upon *True Believers*? These have Reason to long for those infinite Glories which are reserved in the highest Heavens, for all such who sincerely serve God on Earth. Their Posture here should be like that of the Angel in the *Revelation*, flying between Heaven and Earth. They should be upon the Wing, they should soar aloft, and earnestly breathe after the State of Blessed Souls, the Glorious Sabbatism above. There, there is a Land that flows with Milk and Honey: But here is nothing but Gall and Bitterness, sharp Stings and poignant Sorrows. The Pleasures of Heaven are pure and refined, but none such are to be found here below. This may quicken our Desires of being dissolved, and freed from this Burthen

Burthen of Flesh. This may invite us to pray earnestly for the Consummation and Accomplishment of our Happiness; when, upon our leaving this dark Orb, we shall immediately shine in a bright one, even in the Kingdom of Glory. If we really believe the things I have spoken of to be true, we cannot but break forth into such Language as this, *O that we had the Wings of a Dove, that we might fly and be at rest? How long shall we sojourn in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar?* When shall our immortal Spirits be divested of this Flesh? When shall our enfranchised Souls be possessed of the Joys of their Ethereal Mansions? *How long, Lord, Holy and True! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.* No enlightned Mind, no refined Soul can glance once on those Heavenly Joys, but it must immediately be stirred up to desire to be freed from this Earthly Tabernacle; which presses us down, and to mount aloft, and to arrive at the actual Fruition of those Eternal Glories.

Thirdly, If there be a Heaven (as we are assured there is) we ought to despise and trample upon this Vain World. Let us no longer entangle our selves with it, let us cease to immerse our selves into Earth, and let us carry it with great Indifferency as to all Worldly Enjoyments. I know that another Temper and Genius do most of all prevail among Men. They think themselves at Home (as the * *Jewish Rabbins* proverbially speak) when they are employed about Terrestrial and Worldly Matters, but they are Strangers when they converse with Heaven. The World abounds with these sordid and groveling Souls, who sink and plunge themselves into the Defilements of this Earthly Sediment; but they have no Inclination to look upwards, and to aspire to the things that are above. It is the unspeakable Folly of these Men, if they be Rich and Wealthy, and prosperous in this World, to reckon themselves the most happy Persons alive, and the very Favourites and Darlings of Heaven: And on the other side, they look upon Distressed Vertue and Afflicted Goodness as the most miserable things imaginable. Whereas indeed it is the Blessedness of another World, which can properly and truly give us the Denomination of the Happy. Wherefore we ought to think meanly of all things here below, in Comparison of the things that are above. We should always have Heaven in our Eye, and then this Lower World would be looked upon as a poor contemptible Speck. Thus it will be even in the Nature of the thing it self; for the Sight of Heavenly Joys and Pleasures will damp, will drown our Affection to those that are sensual and Worldly. The redundant Light of the Sun will extinguish that of the meaner Luminaries. After once we have had a View of the Glories above, we shall easily slight the Vanities of this inferiour State. When, with *Elijah*, we are mounting to Heaven, we shall let fall our Mantle to the Ground: We disregard such mean things when we are going to greater.

*Indigena
in terrâ, &
profelytus
in cœlo.
Joma.

It is a pretty Passage which I have met with in *St. Bernard's Life*. When he and his Four Brethren bid adieu to the World and its Busineses and Preferments, and were going to shut themselves up in a Monastery, according to the Devotion of those Times, they espied their Younger Brother, a young Stripling playing among his Fellows, to whom *Guido*, the Elder Brother said thus; *Farewel, Brother Nivard, we leave our Worldly Possessions to thee.* But he presently reply'd, *You will take Heaven, and leave me the Earth; this is no equal Division.* It was a Brave Speech of a Youth; I wish those of maturer Judgment and riper Years could arrive to the Sense of it, and would consider how mean the Comparison is between Earth and Heaven, or rather that there is no Proportion between them. I wish they would be persuaded that the latter is infinitely more worth our Regards than the amplest Possessions and Revenues of the former: And therefore, that they are concerned to fix their Affections aright, and to take the greatest Care for another World. Above all things let us prize Heaven: Especially when we see so much of Hell and Confusion, Disorder and Destruction here. Let the Sight of these abate our Love of this World, and let us be moved by them to make sure of those Eternal Mansions, into which nothing sinful or afflictive shall ever enter.

Fourthly, Here is Encouragement to do all the good we can in this Life: For there is an Infinite Reward reserved in Heaven for those that do so. What manner of Persons ought we then to be in all holy Conversation and Godliness? What Flames of Zeal and Emulation ought to fire our Breasts? How should we strive

strive to outwit one another in the Actions of a Religious Life? The Prize that is set before us should excite us to Run, to Wrestle, to Strive. Which was the Sense of the very *Heathen* Moralists, as one of the chief of them well expressed

† Μέγας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, θεῶν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ ἐλευθερίας, καὶ εὐεξίας, καὶ ἀταραξίας. Antonin. cap. 18.

it, [The Man, saith he, that is tempted by fair Shews, and such Objects as entice him to be vicious, is to hold out, and consider that * this is a Great and Noble Conflict, a Divine Employment, it is for no less than a Kingdom, it is for Liberty, Happiness, and perfect Repose.] All these lie at

Stake: And shall we not be Earnest and Vigorous in our pursuit of these excellent Things? Can we do too much to obtain Heaven? Is not the Blessedness of the other Life worth all our Care and Pains? Shall the *Turks* Valour be fired by Expectation and Thoughts of their feigned *Paradise*? Shall the Prospect of Earthly Gain or Honour be prevalent with others to make them Sweat and Toil: Yea, shall vain Hopes and Surmises tempt them to undergo the most hazardous Enterprizes; and shall not the Real and Substantial Happiness which is promised to the Righteous, prompt them to an extraordinary Activity? I remember it is observed in the Life of our King *Henry II.* that he was more kind in honouring the Memories of his Soldiers that were slain, than he was in rewarding those that were alive. He never seemed truly to value his best Captains till they were dead. How true this Reflection is, I cannot tell; but it is certain, that the Christian Soldiers and Combatants have but a small Part of their Reward in this time of their Warfare: The Divine Providence having appointed, that they shall receive their Full Pay and the Compleat Recompenſe of all their Brave Attempts and Atchievements in another World, the Place of Lawrels and Eternal Observations. Let us think of this and acquit our selves like Men, and give Proofs of our Christian Courage and Valour. Let us be excited by it to prosecute our Eternal Happiness with all the Vigor and Zeal imaginable.

Fifthly, This Doctrine calls upon us not only to Do, but to Suffer, and that with the greatest Patience and Contentment. If we think strictly of the Glories of another Life, we cannot easily sink under the Pressures of this. *Ought not we*, as Christ, *to suffer and to enter into Glory*? Is not this made the Path that leads to the Mansions of the Blessed, and shall we decline to tread in it? Shall we not with Cheerfulness suffer, that we may reign with Christ? In the midst of all our Sorrows, Miseries and Distresses, will not this qualify the Bitterness of them, that we shall in a short time arrive at that Blessed Seat where our Joys shall be pure and undisturbed, without the least Alloy of Grief and Sorrow? This is the great Solace of Pious Souls, even whilst they are fainting under the Evils and Crosses of this Life, and Nature will not supply them with Strength to do otherwise: But by the Assistance of the Divine Grace they are enabled to look Upwards, and to take a View of a better Life after this: And the Sight of that sweetens all Afflictions, and stifles all their Complaints and Discontents. They think of Heaven and know it is theirs: Yea, they have Heaven here upon Earth, not only by Word and Promise, but by Faith, which brings it down to them, and by inward Foretastes and Beginnings of the Glory above. There are given them now some Clusters of the Grapes of *Canaan*. They have the First-Fruits of the Heavenly Bliss even in this Life. By certain Prelibations of that Happy State, they do as it were anticipate the Sweetness and Felicities of it. The Inchoations of this Celestial Glory they receive in this Life in a Sense of God's Love, in a sure and certain Hope of Salvation, in the Confluence of all Spiritual Graces, and in the Comforts of a good Conscience: And after this Life they immediately enter into the Transcendent Glory it self. The Thoughts of which should Assuage all their Sorrows, Dry up all their Tears, and Gild the Countenances with Smiles. The foresight of those future Joys should make us patient under our present Difficulties; herein following the Steps of our Blessed Master, who *for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, and despised the Shame*. Let us, in the Sense of this, banish all Murmuring and Repining under the Hardships of this Life: Let us be mindful of our Future Inheritance, and then we shall not be extremely solicitous about our Earthly Portion. We shall be content with what we have here, and bless God for our Allotment, be it what it will.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, and Lastly, We ought to make it our chief Care and Business to fit our selves for that State of Happiness, which I have been speaking of. Every Man that hath this Hope in him, (that is, in Christ, placed upon him, so as to depend upon him for the Accomplishment of these glorious Things) purifieth himself as he (that is, Christ) is pure, 1 John 4. 3. He strives to imitate Christ in the Purity and Holiness of his Life. He that expects to be an Associate of the Angels in Heaven, must think himself concerned to do God's Will on Earth as it is done by them there. Astronomers have fancied the Shapes of Beasts and Monsters in the outward Heavens: But it is unsufferable presumption to think there is any such thing in the Heaven of Heavens. There is nothing Sensual and Brutish in the Receptacles of Blessed Spirits, in the Repositories of Glory, in the Habitations of endless Joy and Felicity. We read that a Serpent crept into the Earthly Paradise, but none of the Serpentine Brood shall insinuate into the Celestial one. Heaven is not a House of Pleasure for the Voluptuous and Luxurious, for the Lewd and Wanton, for the Lascivious and Unclean. It is not a Place of Refuge for the Unjust and Oppressor: It is not a Sanctuary for Murderers and Men of Blood. Here is no room for the Intemperate and Sottish, for the Worldly and Covetous. This is not a Seat for the Ambitious and Proud to place themselves in, for they must never think to climb to Heaven by the same Way that Lucifer fell from it. There is no such want of Inhabitants in these Blessed Mansions, that they should be filled with Persons of Wicked and Dissolute Lives. Or, if you could suppose that they were admitted into those Blessed Receptacles, yet you cannot imagine that that Place would agree with them. Wicked Souls cannot breathe in that pure Æther. There is Glorious Work and Employment in these Happy Regions, which is unsuitable to the Genius of Bad Men. Paradise was no Paradise to Adam after he had transgressed the Divine Law by tasting of the forbidden Fruit. He was restless and uneasy, and hid himself: His guilty Conscience disturbed him, and he could take no Delight in Eden. In like manner, Heaven would be no Heaven to a Vicious Person, he would find no Ease and Satisfaction there. Let us then be persuaded of this great Truth, that it is Holiness alone that can fit us for the State of Heavenly

Bliss. Of some of the old Pagan Romans, * Lactantius saith, they thought the Way to Heaven was to do all Mischief, that Slaughter and Blood lead them to the Habitation of the Gods. But surely, no such Thought can enter into a Christian Man, who hath been taught, that none were received to the Wedding Feast (which represented the Marriage of the Lamb, and the Blessedness of the Saints with Christ in Heaven) but such as were Ready; and that without Holiness no Man shall see the Lord, and that we must be meet to be Partakers with the Saints in Light.

* Nec ullam aliam ad immortalitatem viam arbitrantur quam exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, delere urbes, oppida excindere, liberos Populos aut trucidare, aut subicere servituti. Institut. lib. 1. c. 18.

Tho' the Worthy Author of the Christian Life is somewhat under a Mistake, whilst he founds the Happiness of Heaven wholly on the Practice of those very Christian Graces and Duties which are our Concern here on Earth, and represents the Happiness of both Places and States as the very same, only differing as to Degrees (which Notion I have confuted before, having shewed that there are some Virtues and Graces that are proper to this present State only, and that when we arrive at Heaven, we shall not be in a capacity of exerting them) yet this is most certain, that a great Part of those Graces which we act here, shall pass with us into the other World, and be Part of our Happiness: And as for those which we have no occasion for in Heaven, the exerting even of them here, fits us for the Glory hereafter. So that Holiness must be owned to be a necessary Condition of Eternal Happiness, an indispensable Qualification on our Part. If we do not by a strict Sanctity hold Communion with God here, we shall not converse with him hereafter. Without Sanctification there is no Glorification.

Wherefore let us now be fitting our selves for the Society of the Holy Angels, and of the Spirits of Just Men made Perfect. Let us employ our selves about the Things which will prepare us for Glory: Let us daily be busy about Heaven, and the Concerns of it. For this we have the Example of the Apostle, and all Holy Men, Our Conversation is in Heaven, Phil. 3. 20. Which Words do not so much respect the Affections (as some have thought) as the Actions and Behavi-

our

our of Good Men. They are Citizens of the *New Jerusalem*, and accordingly their Converse and Traffick are there. Whence the *Syriac* Version of that Place is, *our Trade, or our Affairs are in Heaven*. As those Free Men that dwelt out of the City of *Rome*, had yet the *jus civitatis*, the City Privileges belonging to them; so it may be thought that the Apostle with allusion to this saith, *Tho' we are not Actual Inhabitants of Heaven, yet we appertain to it, and are free Denizens of it, and accordingly the Rights and Privileges of it belong to us, and this among the rest, that we can maintain a constant Negotiation and Commerce with that Place, and all that we do here doth someways tend to it*. A Christian is one that is Amphibious, he lives in both Worlds, and he Trafficks for Heaven whilst he is on Earth. This he makes his main Business: This is his First and Chief Concern. But they that act otherwise begin at the wrong End, they preposterously take care for this World, and let Heaven alone till afterwards: Which is very Absurd and Ridiculous.

Wherefore, let none be guilty of this Folly, but let them fix this on their Minds, that this *principal Work* ought to be diligently attended to, though it be with the neglect of all Things else besides. The Blessedness of Heaven is infinitely to be preferred before any Earthly Considerations and Conveniences whatsoever. And to conclude, Let none promise themselves the Attainment of that Everlasting Rest, unless they firmly resolve and endeavour to tread in that Path which directly leads to it, which is Purity of Heart and Life: For this alone can capacitate them to see and enjoy God. Let them be careful to live here as those that expect to live for ever in Bliss: Let them dedicate themselves, both Souls and Bodies to the Service of God, and consecrate the Powers and Faculties of both to his Honour who is the bountiful Author of our *Happiness*, of that *Heaven* which I have been discoursing of.

OF HELL.

THE Fourth Proposition which is comprised in this Article of the Creed is this, *That there is in the other Life a Place and State of Misery, wherein the Wicked shall be punished for the Evil Actions of their Lives past*. As there is a Futurity of Rewards (of which I have spoken already) so there is a Futurity of Punishment and Torments. There is a Place where the Unrighteous shall receive the just Recompense of their wilful Miscarriages. There is a State of Torment and Misery which they shall enter into immediately after they leave this World. I will consider *Hell* under this Double Notion, as I did *Heaven*.

First, There is a certain Place designed for the tormenting of impenitent Sinners after this Life. Which I will demonstrate from the Writings of the Old and New Testament, and shew by what Names, and in what kind of Terms it is expressed in both. This *Local Hell* hath several Denominations in the Old Testament; the most frequent of which is *Sheol*, which is rendred by the *Septuagint*, *ᾗδης*, and by the *Latin* Version *infernus*, and by our *English* Translators, *Hell*, for so the Word is to be understood in *Psal.* 9. 17. 116. 3. 139. 8, &c. Though in other Places, and most generally, it signifies the Grave. Again, *Rephaim*, and the Congregation of *Rephaim*, are Expressions used to denote the Damned, and the Place where they are; as in *Prov.* 2. 18. 'tis said, *the Paths of the Lewd Woman incline unto the Dead, Rephaim*, that is, they lead to Hell and to the Damned. And *Rephaim* and *Sheol* are joyned together in *Prov.* 9. 18. rendred by our Translators *the Dead and Hell*. So in *Isa.* 14. 9. *Sheol* and *Rephaim* go together, that is, *Hell* and its Damned. And the Congregation of *Rephaim*, which is mentioned in *Prov.* 16. 21. and which our Translators render *the Congregation of the Dead*, is the Receptacle of the Damned.

The *Septuagint* translate it; *the Synagogue of the Giants*; and in the forementioned Places in the *Proverbs*, *Rephaim* is rendred *γῆραις*, *Sons of the Earth*, which may seem to agree with the Title given the *Giants* by the Fabulous Poets, who feigned them to be born out of the Earth. But the true Reason why they are called so here is, because being Dead and Buried they are now become the Sons

of

of the Earth. That the Word *Rephaim* signifies *Giants*, that is, Men of great and extraordinary Stature, is plain from *Num.* 33. 13. And *Deut.* 11. 3. 11. But why this is a Name for *the Damned*, is the Question. The Answer to which is, that it is probable, that this hath reference to *the Giants in the Earth*, and *the mighty Men*, *Gen.* 6. 4. Those Rebels of the Old World, on whom God brought the Flood, which sent them to the Place of endless Punishment; and therefore it's no wonder, that the Place afterwards had its Denomination from the vast Multitude of these cursed Sinners who were dispatched thither for the most horrid Enormities which they had committed.

Tophet is another Word to express *Hell* and the Torments of it, *Isa.* 30. 33. *Tophet is ordained of old, yea for the King* (the *Assyrian Tyrant*, and all such wicked Oppressors) *it is prepared.* And the Description of it follows, *He hath made it deep and large: The Pile thereof is Fire and much Wood: The Breath of the Lord, like a Stream of Brimstone, doth kindle it.* Which exactly agrees with the other Accounts which are given in Scripture of this Place, as its being *deep*, and plentifully furnished with *Fire* and with *Brimstone*, of which I shall speak afterwards. And it is said, that this direful Place is *ordained of old*, and *prepared*, which precisely answers to what is said of *Hell* by our Saviour, namely, *that it is prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, *Mat.* 25. 41. for the chief Ringleader of the Apostate Spirits, and all his Company. It was prepared for them first, because they fell first; but likewise for all impenitent Sinners, who follow their Example. As Heaven is *prepared of the Father*, *Matth.* 20. 23. And even *from the Foundation of the World*, *Matth.* 25. 34. So the contrary Place is said to be *ordained and prepared of old* for profligate Sinners: And the Sinners themselves were of *old ordained to this Condemnation*, *Jude* v. 4.

If it be asked why *Tophet* (that particular Place) is made use of to denote *Hell*, we may be satisfied from what is recorded in the Sacred Writings concerning it. There we are informed that *Tophet* was a Place in the Valley of *Hinnom* near *Jerusalem*, where the Idolatrous *Israelites* made their *Children pass through the Fire to Moloch*, *2 Kings* 23. 10. *Jer.* 7. 31. Of which I shall say more anon, when I come to speak of the Names attributed in the New Testament to *Hell*. It hath its * Name from the *Drum* or *Tabret* which the Idolaters plaid upon all the time the Children were sacrificed to *Moloch*, that the tender Parents might not hear their Cries; so that we may gather hence upon what Account this Place was made use of by the *Jews* afterwards to set forth the Torments of *Hell-Fire*, and the horrid Cries and Groans of those that suffer there.

* *Tophet* from *Taph* pul-
savit, or
taph tym-
panum.

Next, let us see how it is called in the *New Testament*. The *Greek Word* *ᾗδης* (which answers to the *Hebrew Sheol*) expresses it in *Luke* 16. 23. *In Hell he lift up his Eyes being in Torments, &c.* which (by the Way) is a clear Proof, that *Hell* (as well as Heaven) is a Place, for else it could not be said that the Rich Man looked up from the Place he was in, and saw *Lazarus* in the Seat of the Blessed.

Our Saviour at other times makes use of the Word *γέεννα* to signify the Place of the Tormented, as in *Mat.* 5. 22, 29, 30. 10. 28. 18. 9. 23. 15, 33. And so doth *St. James*, *chap.* 3. v. 6. This Word being borrowed from *the Hinnom*, that is, *the Valley of Hinnom*, which was commonly used by the *Hebrew Doctors* and *Rabbies* to express *Hell*, and even by the *Jewish People* generally, as *Dr. Lightfoot* hath shewed in his Preface to the *Harmony of the New Testament*. Now it is well known, that this *Valley of Hinnom* (a particular Portion of which was called *Tophet*) was infamous for the burning of Infants to *Moloch*, and consequently for the execrable Cruelty and Inhumanity that were exercised there. It being thus abused, King *Josiah* turned it into a Dunghill, and a common Receptacle for all Filth and Garbage. He ordered it to be a Place where Carcases should be disposed of, and where Malefactors should be buried, *2 Kings* 23. 10. *Chron.* 28. 3. *Jer.* 7. 31. And when these Bodies were putrified, their Bones were burnt here, for which purpose there was always a Fire kept. All which makes it a fit Name for *Hell*, where the most prodigious and horrid Wickedness is continually committed, where Cruelty and Barbarity are daily exercised, where Parents as well as their Children are tormented, where there is a perpetual Fire kept up, where the Unclean and Filthy and Abominable have their general

Rendezvous. We see then the Reason why the *Jews* applied *Gehinnom* and *Tophet* to the Place of the Damned, and why *Christ* used *Gehenna* to the same Purpose.

In the other Texts of the New Testament, *Hell* is represented as a Place where the Damned are tormented by Fire. Our Saviour lets us know, that as the *Tares* after Harvest are gathered and burnt in the Fire, so it shall be in the End of the World, *Mat.* 13. 40. So shall the Wicked fare after the General Judgment; as it is explained in the next Verse, *They that do Iniquity shall be cast into a Furnace of Fire.* The same we read *v.* 50. And in many other Places which I shall mention anon, *Hell* is expressed by Fire, and those that are adjudged to it are said to be cast into it. I know it is held by some that this is only a Metaphorical way of speaking, and that the Torments of *Hell* are denoted by Fire by way of Similitude: For, say they, the Visible World shadows out the Invisible One: The Things that we converse with, and know by sensible Experiment, are made use of to convey to us the Notions of Joy or Pain hereafter. So it is here, Fire is a Representation of the Pain which the Damned shall undergo in the Infernal Regions, but it is no Formal and Real Representation of the Thing it self, but a Semblance and Picture as it were of it only. *Calvin* was of this Opinion, and held that there is no material Fire in *Hell*, but by Fire is meant the miserable State of the Damned.

But if a Man seriously considers the Style of the Scripture, and observes there how frequently *Hell* is called Fire, he cannot with any reason close with this Opinion. If the Expression were used once or twice, or by One or Two Persons only, we might look upon it as an improper Way of Speaking, and own it to be Metaphorical: But when we find it so often repeated, and by different Speakers, yea, and those designedly giving an Account of the Torments of *Hell*, I conceive, there is sufficient ground to assert that Fire is not to be taken in a Figurative Sense, but is properly to be understood, to wit, concerning the material Fire of *Hell*. Do we not see, that in the Old Testament the Place of Everlasting Torments is set forth by *Tophet* and the *Valley of Hinnom*, which were noted for the inhuman Burnings there used? And it is acknowledged by the best Interpreters, that the devouring Fire, and everlasting Burnings mentioned by the Prophet *Isaiah* chap. 33. *v.* 14. do in their ultimate meaning refer to *Hell*.

Especially in the New Testament Fire is the Word for *Hell*: *Mat.* 3. 12. It is used by our Saviour himself in *Mat.* chap. 18. *v.* 8. And in the 25th chap. *v.* 41. he tells us what shall be the solemn Doom and Sentence of Condemnation at the last Day, *Depart from me ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire.* They are to go immediately from the Tribunal to the Place of Execution, and that is a Place where a perpetual Fire is kept up for the tormenting of them. And that is a very remarkable Passage, *Mark* 9. 43. *It is better for thee to go into Life maimed, than having Two Hands to go into Hell, into the Fire that shall never be quenched.* Where we may take notice, that one Word explains the other, and as soon as *Christ* had mentioned *Hell* he adds Fire, as exegetical of it: And it is as much as if he had said, *Hell, that is, Fire.* And he calls it *Hell-Fire*, *Matth.* 5. 22. 18. 9. *Mark* 9. 47. Likewise, the Fire to which the World is referred, spoken of by *St. Peter*, 2. *Epist.* chap. 3. *v.* 7. comprehends the Fire of *Hell*, as I shall shew afterwards. And the vengeance of Eternal Fire mentioned by *St. Jude* *v.* 7. hath reference to the same. Thus we find, that *Christ* and his Apostles expressly make mention of Fire when they speak of *Hell*; there is reason to believe that *Hell-Fire* shall be a True and Material Fire, especially when there is nothing to persuade us, that the Scripture doth not speak Properly, and mean an Elementary and Real Fire. And when we observe the Frequency of this Expression, we must then likewise be induced to grant, that it is more than a Metaphor, or a Similitude.

And to all this I will add the repeated Language of *St. John* in the Book of the Revelations: He tells us, that the Worshipers of the Beast shall be tormented with Fire and Brimstone, *Rev.* 14. 10. which is meant of the Torment of the Damned, because in the next Verse it is said to be for ever and ever. And he calls *Hell* it self the Lake of Fire, *Rev.* 20. 14, 15. And the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, *Rev.* 20. 10. And the Lake of Fire burning with Brimstone, *Rev.* 19. 20. And again, the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone *Rev.* 21. 8. Of which, the

the Place where *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* stood, but was turned into a *Lake*, and remains so to this very Day (as Travellers inform us) is a lively Representation; for this stinking and infectious Lake, called *Asphaltites*, was made so by Fire and Brimstone raining upon it in plentiful Showers, when *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* was destroyed. Hence *Hell* is expressed by a *Lake burning with Fire and Brimstone*, that is, a Place of continual Fire and perpetual Flame, as a *Lake* is of standing Water that is never dried up and consumed.

But if *Hell* be an inexhaustible Sea of *Fire and Flames*, how comes it to be expressed by *Darkness*, Jude v. 6. and *outer Darkness*, Mat. 8. 12. 25. 30? And it is said that the Apostate Angels were delivered into Chains of *Darkness*, 2 Pet. 2. 4. And afterwards speaking of the prophane and blasphemous Seducers of those Days, he saith, *the Mist of Darkness is reserved for them for ever*, v. 17. the same with *the Blackness of Darkness*, Jude v. 13. Now, if the *Darkness* be meant in a literal and proper Sense, how is it consistent with *Fire and Flames* which are *Light*? There is no Difficulty in resolving of this; for great Fires and Flames are attended with proportionable Clouds of thick Smoak, and these are the Cause of thick *Darkness*. This very thing is observed in the *Apocalypse* concerning the Place of Infernal Torments, Rev. 9. 2. *A Smoke out of the bottomless Pit*. And after it had been said in Rev. 14. 10. that the Worshippers of the Beast shall be tormented with *Fire and Brimstone*, it is added, *the Smoak of their Torment ascendeth up for ever*, v. 11. So upon the Destruction of *Babylon* it is said, Rev. 19. 3. *her Smoak rose up for ever*, which expresses also her Eternal Ruin in the Regions of the Damned, or else it would not have been said, it is *for ever and ever*. This gives us even a literal Account of *Hell*, which is a Place filled with noisom and loathsome *Smoak*, from the vast Eruptions of its dismal Flames: And thence the Damned are overwhelmed with *Darkness* and Clouds, which create an infinite Horror among those distracted Wretches.

Lastly, I will observe that *Hell* is called the *Abyss*, or the *Deep*, as in Luke 8. 31. the Devils desired Christ that they might not be sent into the *Deep*, that is, into the Pit of *Hell*, which (as *Tophet* is described) is *Deep* and *Long*. And so in a place already mentioned out of the Book of the *Revelation*, it is called the *bottomless Pit*, Rev. 9. 2. It is the same Word that is rendered *the Deep* in the fore-named Text. And in Rev. 9. 1, and 11. and in chap. 20. v. 3. *the Abyss* is the Word to express the Place of Everlasting Torments, to denote the *Wideness* and *Largeness* of it, and the Impossibility of coming out there. Thus we see what the Scripture Stile is with relation to *Hell*: And it abundantly appears from what I have produced, that there is a Material and Local *Hell*. And yet further to confirm this, it might be added that it is expressly called a *Place*, Luke 16. 28. *lest they also come into this Place of Torment*: And in Acts 1. 25. *that he might go to his own Place*.

But here it will be asked, Where is the particular Place of *Hell*? Is it in the Earth, or in the Seas, or in the Air? For there are these Three Opinions concerning it. The Ancients generally held it to be in the lower Parts of the Earth. It is some Subterraneous Place, say *Tertullian*, *Cyril*, *Augustine*. Yea, *Jerom* positively declares, that * it is not to be doubted that *Hell* is under the Earth. It was the Persuasion of † *Gregory Nyssen* that *Hell* is placed in the Air, which, in Respect of the Higher Heavens, may indeed be said to be Infernal. It is situated in the Bottom of the Seas, say some others, and thence it is called the *Abyss*. *Keckerman* seems to approve of this in his Theological System. But in my Judgment there ought to be no Dispute about this Matter; for I apprehend that these Three Opinions are all of them true in some Sort. As to the first, it is undeniable that *Hell* is seated in the Bowels of the Earth, and is a vast Lake of Fire there. And I question not but that as by ἐπεὶ οὐρανοί, those in Heaven, Phil. 2. 10. are meant Angels and the Souls of the Saints, and by ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, those on Earth, are to be understood Men that are alive; so by ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς, those under the Earth, are meant the Devils and Damned Souls, and thereby we are acquainted where their Situation is, namely, in the Infernal Furnaces and Flaming Cells that are under Ground. That the Center of the Earth is stocked with Fire, all the Wise Philosophers have asserted, *Greeks* and *Latins*. They unanimously agree, that an inexhaustible and unquenchable

* Infernum sub terrâ esse, nemo ambigat. In 4. cap. Epist. ad Ephes.

† De anim. resur.

|| D. Burnet
de Theoria
Telluris.

Treasure of that Element is amassed together in that Place. That there was before the Deluge a vast Region of Fire in the Middle of the Earth, is one of the most reasonable Things that a late Ingenious || Writer hath advanced. And there is as good Reason to think that there is the like Heap of Fiery Matter there still. And in these Infernal Vaults of Fire and Smoke, the wicked *Demons* and impious Souls are tormented, especially when the Smoak and Flames rebound with a mighty Force from the Sides and Top of this sooty Dungeon. We cannot rationally assign any other Place belonging to the Earth but this; for this is *under the Earth*, and a Region of *Fire* there, both which are Characters of the Situation and of the Nature of that Place.

The Two other Opinions are also true thus far, that the Air and the Waters are sometimes the Seat of the Damned. For tho' the Region of Fire in the Bowels of the Earth be the Place of *Hell* signally so called, yet largely speaking, *Hell* is not one single Place; for we read that the Devils converse in the lowest Part of the *Airy* Region, *going to and fro upon the Earth*, Job 1. 7. and they are constantly tempting Men upon Earth. The Chief of them is called *the Prince of the Power of the Air*, Ephes. 2. 2. because he is the Chief or General of the whole Army of Evil Spirits that frequently range up and down in the Air, and make it their Seat and Rendezvous for a time. And it is probable that not only the Subterraneous Fires and flaming Volcano's, as also the dark and thick Air, but even the *Seas* and *Waters* are sometimes the Habitation of the Devils and Damned Spirits, and may be called their Local Hell: For they are not so confined and shut up, but that they have Liberty to leave their Capital Prison sometimes, and to be in others. And the Reason, I conceive, is because they are not absolutely fixed till after the general Judgment.

But as soon as that is past, they shall be for ever confined. Not that they shall be in a narrower Compass than before, for *Hell* shall be enlarged; but my Meaning is, that they shall always be confined to Flames, which they were not before. This must needs be because the whole Earth and Air shall be turned into one vast and spacious Fire, and be the *Hell* of the Wicked. Instead of the Infernal Vaults of Fire, all the lower World will be in Flames. For this I take to be a real Truth (though it hath not the common Suffrage to back it) that upon the general Conflagration (which immediately precedes the Returning of Christ and the Saints to Heaven) this Earth and all about it will be the Place of Torment for the Damned.

There is a great Dispute among the Learned, whether this Earth that we now live upon shall be Consumed and Annihilated by this Fire, or whether it shall be Renewed and Refined by it. Some hold the former, because they think it is the inseparable Property of Fire to destroy Things. But they should consider that this Destruction is far short of Annihilation, (that being only an abolishing of some Qualities, this an extinguishing of the very Being of a thing) and therefore they cannot argue from one to the other. Others finding that it is the Quality and Nature of Fire to purify, they conclude that this is the Design, and will be the Effect of that Universal Burning of the Earth. This vast Terrestrial Body shall rise afresh out of its Ashes pure and refined. But if you ask the Men of this Opinion, to what Purpose this shall be, you cannot hear that they agree upon it. Some tell you that the Purifying of the Earth is in order to another Race of Men. Others will have Angels come and delight themselves here in the refined Earth. Others tell us that Rational Souls may divert themselves here. And at last * one tells us, *that there may be an*

* Mr. Ray of the *Dissolution of the World*, chap. 11.

End of restoring the World, tho' we are not able to find out, or determine what. In the mean time I profess my self to be both against the *Restitution* and the *Abolition* of this Earth, and I

hold that it shall be employed to the Purpose aforesaid, that is, it shall be the *Hell* of the Damned. For whereas before, *Hell* was chiefly in the Entrails of the Earth, now it shall be made more wide and capacious, and rake in all the Circumference of this lower World. Immediately after the general Judgment is past, this shall be set on Fire, the Saints at the same time making their Way to Heaven with all Speed, and the Wicked being left below, to be tormented for ever in this spacious Hell.

This

This appears to me to be the Truth of the Matter. For I am not of that Father's Judgment, who thought that † no Man can tell where the Place of Hell is, unless he be immediately inspired. The Holy Scriptures seem to me to point very plainly to the Place, as I have above shewed, and therefore it cannot be thought any Presumption that I have particularly assigned it. Tho' I grant that we should be much more inquisitive and careful how to avoid Hell, than to know and define where it is. And so much concerning Hell, as it is a Place.

† Ignis cujusmodi, & in qua mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui Spiritus Divinitus ostendit. *Augustin. De Civ. Dei, l. 20. c. 16.*

Secondly, I am to consider it as it is a State, that is, a State of Misery and Torment. Hence it is called *Punishment*, Mat. 25. 46. and *Destruction*, Mat. 7. 13. and *Perdition*, Phil. 1. 28. 2 Pet. 3. 7. Rev. 17. 8, 11. and *Wrath to come*, 1 Thes. 1. 10. and *Death*, Rom. 6. 23. where it is opposed to *Everlasting Life*. This miserable and wretched State of the Damned consists First of Bodily, Secondly of Mental and Spiritual Torments. The former are very great and exquisite, and such as it is impossible for any Man to relate. For tho' before the Bodies and Souls of the Wicked are reunited, the former of these are not capable of any Pain, but the Souls are the only Subject of it; yet after the Reunion they also are excruciated with unexpressible Pains. For, as the *Hebrew Rabbins* say well, the Fire we have is Sixty Degrees less and more remiss than the Fire of Hell; their Meaning is, that there is no Proportion between the one and the other. Therefore the Extremity of Pain, which is caused by this latter, is not to be expressed but by those that suffer it, and not perfectly by them. We may form some Idea of it from what is said of the Rich Man in Hell-fire: He cried with a dismal Tone, *Father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the Tip of his Finger in Water, and cool my Tongue; for I am tormented in this Flame*, Luke 16. 24. Which in Propriety of Speech is to be understood of the Corporeal Pain of the Damned, tho' in this Narrative, which refers to *Dives* before the general Resurrection, it is improperly applied to the Torment which his Soul underwent. And the profound Pain and restless Torment is denoted to us by the Effects of it, as *weeping*, and *wailing*, and *gnashing of Teeth*, which proceed from violent Anguish, Mat. 8. 12. 13. 42, 50. 24. 51. Luke 13. 28. Hunger and Thirst, and all the Miseries and Punishments which Human Bodies are subject to, shall be inflicted in the highest Degrees. All the Organs of Sense shall be put to most exquisite Torture, and by that wherein Men have most sinned, they shall be punished. And lastly, the Torments of the Body shall be increased by that of the Mind, which I will speak of next.

The Ghostly Punishment of Hell, the Spiritual Pains of the Damned, the Torments of their Souls, shall be of the highest Nature, and even exceed those of their Bodies. For besides that their Souls shall suffer in the same Manner that their Bodies do, (it being not to be doubted whether Fire, tho' Corporeal, can act upon Immaterial and Incorporeal Beings when united to them, and torment them. And he that questions this is a Stranger to every Days Experience, that our Bodies have Influence on our Minds, and sensibly work upon them) besides this, I say, the Souls of the Damned shall suffer in a particular and special Manner, proper to themselves, as they are Souls. Now, this special Suffering or Torment of the Damned arises from these Five Things, their reflecting, 1. On what they once were, and enjoyed. 2. On what they did. 3. On what they might have been. 4. From a deep Sense of the Divine Wrath. 5. From the Despair which they are driven into.

First, The Torments of those in Hell proceed from the Remembrance of what they once were, and what they enjoyed, and have now lost, and are for ever deprived of. This we learn from Luke 16. 25. *Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy Life-time receivest thy good things: but now thou art tormented.* What the good things were that this Rich Man received and enjoyed, is briefly summed up in these Words, v. 19. *He was clothed in Purple, and fine Linen, and fared sumptuously every Day.* That is, there was indulged unto him a great Plenty of the Gaeries of this World, a Confluence of sensual Pleasures and Delights. But to have it said to him afterwards, *Now thou art tormented*, was the unspeakable Aggravation of his Misery, and that which gave the most poignant Sting to his Torments.

ments. And so it is with all the Rich and Wealthy, all the Great and Honourable that go down to Hell : The direful Reflection which they make is this, The Time was when we had all that our Hearts could wish, we had Honour, Preferment, Riches, Pleasures, Friends, and whatever else we crav'd ; but now all these are vanished, and we have nothing left us in the room of them but Anguish and Misery. This, this it is which renders their Condition so wretched

* Αὐτὸ γὰρ ἢ τὸ παρόντος πρὸς-
 ὅλην δεινὴ τὰς ὀπί τοῖς περτέροις
 ἀγαθοῖς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖται. Phi-
 lo de Vita Mosi.

and intolerable ; for this is a great and experimented Truth, That * the Disturbance which a present Evil makes, takes away the Sweetness of past Pleasure ; yea, moreover, it enhances the present Evil, and makes the past Pleasures to be loathsome and grievous. We read in *Roman Story*,

†Plutarch
 in Vita
 Camilli.

That *Marcus Manlius*, who gave the first Repulse to the *Gauls* when they besieged *Rome*, and drove them out that Night they assaulted the *Capitol*, for which he was honoured with the Title of *Capitolinus*, afterwards raised Tumults and Seditions among the People ; and for so doing was imprisoned, and then arraigned, and at last condemned to be carried to the *Capitol*, and flung headlong from the Rock there. On which the † *Historian* makes this Remark : The *Capitol* was the Witness of his greatest Glory, and the same was the Monument of his most Unhappy End. The like, but more sharp and cutting Reflections do the wretched Inhabitants of the Infernal Regions make on their past and present Condition : It terribly wounds their Souls to compare these together, and to find that these very things which are Witnesses of their former Happiness, are now turned into the Instruments of their Misery. Their pristine Honours and Acquisitions, their past Ease and Enjoyments contribute to their present Uneasiness and Pain, Disgrace and Confusion. Every sweet Morsel of Pleasure which the Sinner here took down with Greediness, will then come up again with Bitterness and Loathing. He will cry out, and lament in Hell, That *he received his good things*, which makes his present State so Evil and Painful.

And so as to the *Good Things* of an higher Nature, which the Wicked received here on Earth, they will find, that *those* likewise are an Aggravation of their Misery in the infernal Burnings. To remember, in those Regions of Darkness, what abundant Light was vouchsafed to them here, what Pains their Teachers and Instructors, their Parents and Friends took to inform them in the great Matters of Religion, and to bring them to the Knowledge of their Duty, how frequently they put them in Mind of it, how earnestly they called upon them to remember their Creator, and to serve him with Sincerity and Faithfulness, how sharply they reprov'd them for their Miscarriages, and the repeated Neglect of their Duty. To remember this, and how many Opportunities they had not only of advantaging themselves, but doing good to others ; this will lie heavy upon them, and be an intolerable Plague to them, when they consider what Favours have been heaped upon them ; when they look back upon their former Happiness, and survey the sundry Particulars of it, this will be their continual Punishment, this will renew their Anguish, this will make the Flames burn with unsufferable Violence. When in those flaming Prisons Men shall call to Mind how the good things received by them in this Life, which should have been made use of to God's Glory and the Welfare of their Immortal Souls, were abused by them to the Dishonour of their Maker, and the debauching and corrupting of their Minds, this will be a perpetual Source of Torment. When they shall call to Remembrance what ill Use they made of all the Means, Helps, and Advantages which they had for the promoting of their Salvation ; this will be a never-failing Spring of Grief and Pain in the Regions of Hell. The looking back on the past Offers of Grace, and the horrid Sense they have of their disregarding them, is that which will overwhelm those condemned Spirits with ineffable Torment. To remember the wholesome Admonitions and Exhortations of their Parents, and the Tears and Cries of their best Friends and nearest Relatives, and their wilful neglecting of them, and sometimes deriding them, will be a perpetual Ingredient of their Torment. And so will be

Secondly, Their Reflecting on what they have actually done, the many Delinquencies and Enormities which their Lives were polluted with, their Madness in committing those heinous Sins which they were sufficiently deterred from by the Threat-

Threat-

Threatnings of everlasting Woe; the reflecting, I say, on these things will pierce and wound their Souls to all Eternity. And then they will breathe out their too late Lamentations in such doleful Language, in such fruitless Wishes as these; O that I had not given way to the Spirit of Lust and Lewdness, of Wantonness and Luxury, which betray'd me to innumerable Miscarriages in my Life! O that I had not follow'd the Dictates of Malice and Revenge! O that I had never defil'd my Lips with Prophane Swearing and Blasphemy! O that I had never been addicted to Intemperance and Drunkenness! O that I had never been Unmerciful and Uncharitable, that I had never Injured and Oppressed the Poor, but that I had relieved their Necessities, and made them Partakers of my Abundance! Others will breath out such Vain Repentings as these, O what a Fool was I to act the Hypocrite, and only seem to be Religious, and make it a Cloak for my wicked Enterprizes! O how wretchedly was I besotted with the Pleasures and Pastimes of the World, so as to disregard the real, solid, and lasting Pleasures of a good Conscience! What a Madman was I to oppose the Ways of God and Religion, and to jeer and scoff at them, and to laugh at the sincere Professors of Godliness, to loath their Society, to reproach their Persons, to abhor their pious Counsels and Admonitions! Now I wish, I heartily wish I could but approach their very Shadow, happy were I if I could receive the least Benefit of their Prayers. O that I had believed those good Men, rather than the Father of Lies, and the great Destroyer of Souls! O that I had listned to them, when I heard them discourse of Heaven and Hell, of Eternal Happiness and Endless Misery in another World!

The Language of others will be, O that I had endeavoured to keep a Conscience void of Offence, both toward God and toward Men! O that I had minded the Great Concern, the One thing Necessary, the Saving of my Soul! O that I had been convinced that it was my truest Interest to know Christ and him crucified, to rely on his Merits, and to abandon my own sinful Will and Affections! O that I had served and worshipped God in that Way and by those Means which he had appointed, that is, That I had daily prayed unto him, and read and heard his Word, and strictly observed the Lord's Day, and had accustomed my self to all other Religious Exercises and Duties! O that I had been acquainted with the Practice of Humility, Meekness, Sobriety, Contentedness, Charity, and all other Graces and Christian Virtues which adorn the Lives of Christ's Disciples! O that I had diligently attended to the Reproofs and Exhortations of the Preacher! O that I had minded in time the things which concern Eternity! O that I had preferred Heaven before the Vanities and Follies of the Lower World! O that I had done these things, though my Condition had been never so poor and mean among Men; though I had met with Affronts and Disgrace, and Persecution, and even Death it self for discharging my Duty! But now too late I bewail this cursed Folly of mine, and I reap no Benefit by it, yea it is a great Part of my Torment.

Thus you may imagine you hear the Damned reflecting on their former Behaviour: And 'tis no empty Imagination, but the greatest Reality. For 'tis most certain, that the Conscience of past Enormities sticks and remains with them, and that causes those horrible Reckonings with themselves. This is *the Worm that never dies*, but is continually gnawing and griping. Whence proceed Distraction of Mind, incessant Terrors and Affrightments; for * *Wickedness condemned by her own Witness is very timorous.* Many have had Experience of this in this Life; and if the Pangs of Conscience be so dreadful here, how intolerable will they be hereafter?

Thirdly, The Extremity of the Torments of Hell arises from the Reflection which the damned make on what *they might have been*, that is, for ever Happy. O cursed Wretches that we were, will they then say: We cannot but acknowledge that Good and Evil, Life and Death were set before us; but we, like distracted Bedlams, preferred the latter to the former, and chose it with our full Consent. Happiness lay fair before us, but we wilfully disregarded it, and excluded our selves from it, whilst others attained to it that had not the Helps and Encouragements which were vouchsafed to us. We might have done well, and we might have been in Heaven and in the Enjoyment of Eternal Felicity, if we respect what was required on our Part: But the Fault is wholly ours, that

we

we are fallen short of it, and have plung'd our selves into endless Misery. Thus the Remembrance of the *Possibility* and *Easiness* of having been *Happy*, if they would, will for ever be the Plague of the damned. This is the Sting of Hell-Torments, that the wicked shall then look back, and say, We might have been Happy. The Soul losing what it was capable of, will be intolerably grieved and vexed. Especially when it considers that it parted with Happiness for so mean worthless Things, and some of which proved so troublesome, and all of them short and transitory. This, with the other Considerations which I mentioned before, will gall and wound the Soul. And sad Experience will make this Proposition good, that the greatest Heat in Hell is by *Reflection*.

Fourthly, The Torment of the Wicked in Hell flows from their Sense of God's departing from them, and of their lying under his *Severe Anger*. The most raised Capacity cannot comprehend the Misery of the Damned on this Account. Something of this may be apprehended from what is felt here on Earth by Deserted Souls, from whom God hath hid his Face, and the Light of his Countenance. Their doleful Outcries, their bitter Groans and Lamentations are in such Language as this, *Lord, why castest thou off my Soul? Why hidest thou thy Face from me? Make me to hear Joy and Gladness, that the Bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Hide thy Face from my Sins, and blot out all mine Iniquity: Cast me not away from thy Presence, but restore unto me the Joy of thy Salvation.* Now, if the Servants of God cry out and complain after this manner, when God's Favour is withdrawn from them, in what thick Darkness then must those be enveloped, who are for ever ejected out of God's Presence? What amazing and dreadful Apprehensions must fill their Minds, and distract their Souls? Especially, seeing they are not only separated from the Divine Presence, and all Participations of God's Favour, but they actually feel the Power of his Displeasure and Wrath, and are eternally hated of God. This alone deciphers Hell; this of it self is enough to represent the wretched State of those forlorn Souls, whose Portion is in the Burning Lake.

Fifthly, *Despair* is the Height of their Torments, which arises from the Apprehension of the Eternity of their Pains. Here in this Life the Sick and Diseased, the Pained and Tortured look for a Mitigation of their Distemper, and hope that their Uneasiness will wear off: And in all other Conditions that carry Grief and Pain with them, the Distressed are wont to cheer and comfort themselves with this, that these will not last always. But there is no such Comfort in Hell, there are the utmost Pains and Torments in that Place, but no Hope of Ease and Release. After infinite Successions of Years, the Malady, the Misery is the same, and no End of it is to be expected: Which is the most dreadful Thought the Damned can entertain, and nothing can augment their Misery more than this. *Then shall Men seek Death, but shall not find it: And shall desire to die, but Death shall flee from them.* The Damned would dispatch themselves, but are not able, and none else will so much befriend them as to do it. And as for God, they have a certain Knowledge that he is incapable of being reconciled and pacified. The Case being thus, that they are debarred of all Ease and Relief for the future, and that they must be eternally miserable, absolute Despair possesses them, and is their everlasting Plague.

But this is not all. But upon these things which I have mentioned there follows another, which is a perpetual Torment to them, and some Part of it is a Sin as well as a Punishment. As often as they consider what they once enjoy'd, and how they abused it, and how they have lost that Happiness which others have, and which themselves might have been Sharers in; and when they consider that they are the Deserved Objects of the Divine Wrath, and that their Case is desperate and irrecoverable, they then unavoidably exert an *Universal Hatred*, that is, a Hatred of *Themselves* first of all, for being the Cause of all the Evil they suffer. For this Reason they abhor themselves, and are continually loading themselves with Curses and Execrations. *Secondly*, They have a perfect Hatred to *all Men*, whether good or bad, whether they be the Inhabitants of Heaven, or their Companions in Hell. The former are abhorred by them, because they are good, and because they are Happy. From the Parable of the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, it appears that the Damned shall not be so separated from the Godly, but that they shall have some Measure of Knowledge and Ap-

prehension

prehesion of their Joys and Happiness. They shall see in the same Sort the Glorified Saints, and this shall increase their Torment and Pain. For it is miserable to look on Heaven with a mighty Gulph between that and the Place they are in. To see that others (whom they despised and hated, and do so now) are in a Blessed State, is a considerable Ingredient in their Hellish Misery. And therefore it is no Wonder that their Condition, with Respect to the Disposition of their Minds towards the Blessed especially, is expressed by * *gnashing of Teeth*, which denotes not only Hatred, but Envy and Wrath, and the utmost Vexation. When they know and consider that others are Happy, they must needs be fretted, and filled with Anger in the highest Degree.

*Mat. 8. 12.
—13. 42,
50.
—22. 13.
—24. 51.
Luke 13.
28.

And then, That they *bate the Wicked*, their Fellow-Sufferers in Hell, it is not to be questioned. And the greater their Love and Kindness was to them before, the greater is their Abhorrence of them now. For now their Eyes are opened, and they see who (together with themselves) are the Authors of their Misery, and therefore they bear an implacable Hatred and a never-dying Antipathy against them, and plentifully curse them, no less than themselves. And the same *Hatred* they bear against the *Devils* on a double Account, that is, not only because they tempted and enticed them to sin when they were on Earth, and consequently were instrumental in bringing them to that Place where they are, but because they are their present Tormentors and Executioners. And this mutual Hatred between them is Part of their Torment. *Lastly*, Their Hatred (so Catholick is it) extends even to *God himself*; for knowing and reflecting on their Condition, and God's Eternal Wrath towards them, they retain it with the utmost Disdain, Hatred and Abhorrence: Which are attended with Raging and Cursing, and Blaspheming of God. Which must needs derive the worst of Plagues and Curses, and the greatest of all Miseries on the Authors of them. Thus I have given a brief Account of the *State of the Damned*, and have shewed what are those several things that make up *Hell* and the *Forlorn Condition of the Reprobates hereafter*. Every thing that is Bad goes to the Constitution of them, every thing that is productive of Pain and Misery, and that of every kind, is of the Essence of them.

But yet this I must adjoyn, that these Ingredients are not alike, and of the same Degree to all the Damned. For as I asserted *Degrees of Glory in Heaven*, so 'tis as true that there are the *like of Punishment in Hell*. Christ seems to intimate this in *Mat. 5. 22.* where a Gradation of Capital Punishments among the *Jews* in their Courts of Judicature is mentioned by him, and applied to the *Eternal Punishments*. But there are other Places that are clear and unquestionable, as *Mat. 8. 12.* *The Children of the Kingdom shall be cast out into outer Darkness*, that is, those that profess Christianity, but live not according to it, shall fare worse than the Heathens, who were not acquainted with the Gospel; they shall be thrust down into † *outer Darkness*, the farthest off from Life and Happiness. We read in *Mat. 22. 13.* That the Guest, who notwithstanding the Favour vouchsafed to him of being admitted to the Marriage Feast, came without a Wedding Garment, *was cast into outer Darkness*, he was not only shut out of the Bride-Chamber (as other unworthy Guests are) but he was placed most remote from Heavenly Light and Happiness. That is a very plain Text to our present Purpose, *Luke 10. 12.* *It shall be more tolerable in that Day for Sodom than for that City.* And *Ver. 14.* *It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the Judgment than for them.* Whence it is undeniably inferred, that the Punishment of those that never had the Gospel offered to them, shall be less severe than that of the wilful Refusers of it, and consequently the Punishment of the Damned admits of Degrees. That likewise of our Saviour in *Luke 12. 47.* is a clear Testimony to this Truth, *The Servant which knew his Lord's Will, and did not according to it, shall be beaten with many Stripes*: Which hath Reference to the *Day of the Lord's coming*, *Ver. 46.* and therefore is spoken of the Punishment of Hell, which immediately succeeds the Judgment.

† Σκότος
ἐξώτερον

And the Reason of the thing it self (as well as the Attestation of Scripture) will induce us to believe, that Hell-flames are not equally hot to all, but that greater Punishments are prepared by the Divine Nemesis for some Sinners than for others. This appears from what hath been already delivered; for accordingly as the Enjoyment of the good things of this Life was more or less, so will the

Eternal Torments be hereafter; for after much Ease and Plenty, the Sense of Pain will be more intolerable. And this likewise will be proportionable to the Helps and Means, and the Opportunities of receiving or doing good which the Damned once enjoyed; for the Horror of Conscience will be answerable to the Neglect of these. Again, the Penalty of the Damned will be agreeable to the Heinousness of the Sins themselves, which arises from the Greatness or Multitude of them. *Vices* being not alike, the *Punishment* will not be equal; but some shall have lesser, and others a greater Degree of it. And I might add, that according to the Nature of their Sins will be the Sense of the Divine Wrath, and their Despair will be proportionably enhanced.

And sometimes the Punishment is increased according to the Guilt they have contracted by seducing and corrupting of others, who now lay this to their Charge, and upbraid them with it in Hell-flames. Which may give us an Account of the *Rich Man's* Behaviour in Hell; who being conscious to himself, that he had by his Evil Example debauched his Brethren that were yet alive, is desirous that they may take Warning by him, and reform and amend their Lives, that they may *never come into that Place of Torment* which he was now entred into. He earnestly requests, That *Lazarus* may be the happy Envoy to them, that by him they may have some Account of his forlorn and miserable Condition, and with it a seasonable Exhortation to Repentance. Whence proceeds this? Is there so much Love and Charity in Hell as to be concerned for Mens Salvation? It is hard to find the like upon Earth; for here Men court their Friends to Sin, and consequently to everlasting Burnings. It was certainly for his *own* sake that he shewed this Pity; for as miserable and wretched as he was, he knew he should be in a worse Case if his Brethren descended in that Place of Misery; for then he should have fresh Occasion to reflect on his Evil Life, and see before his Face the sad Effects of it in his Near Relations, to whose Damnation he had contributed above all others. And so upon sundry other Accounts it might be shewed, that the Pains of Hell are capable of being augmented. And lastly, I will conclude with this, That the Rewards of the Saints in Heaven being not all alike, (as I have shewed already) it is as reasonable to think and believe, that the Torments of the Wicked in Hell are unequal.

But notwithstanding this, *all* the Damned suffer an *Extremity* of Torments. The different Degrees of Punishment do not hinder this; for the Damned suffer as much as they are capable of, and the lowest Degrees of their Pain are greater than we can imagine. Hells Sorrows are compleat; for they fill all the Senses and Faculties. All the Members of the Body, and all the Powers of the Soul, which before were receptive of Pleasure, shall then be impregnated with the contrary. There are the Pains of Loss, and the Pains which accrue by what they are in Possession of. There is an Outward and an Inward Hell, and this latter is the most Intolerable. And if we speak of the *State* of the Damned, it may be said, that there are as many Hells as there are Causes and Occasions of Torment, which are Innumerable, the very Being it self being a Torment. So that Problem of the *Schools*, *Whether it be better not to be, than to be miserable*, will be placed beyond all Controversy and Dispute; for they will too sadly find it to be true, that it is far more eligible not to exist at all, than to be so unspeakably Wretched. Annihilation would be now an acceptable Gift, when their very Being is become Penal to them. I chuse rather to believe Christ than *Durandus* or *Twiss*, who tell us, that it is worse not to be at all than to be in endless Misery. But I have it from our Saviour, That *it had been good*, (that is, *better*) *for that Man, if he had not been born*, Mat. 26. 24. it is more eligible not to be, than to be Eternally Miserable, which is the Lot of all the Damned.

Before I put a Period to this Discourse, by adding the *Inferences* which naturally flow from it, I will take notice that the Light of *Nature* (for of that of *Scripture* I have spoken before) fails not to give us considerable Discoveries in this Matter. It is observable therefore, that those who had only the Law of Reason to conduct them, unanimously agreed in this, that there is a *Hell*, a Place of Torment after this Life for those that live wickedly here. There was a *Ferryman*, they said, to carry Souls over the *Stygian Lake*, and to land them in Hell; and when they came thither, there were *Three Judges* to examine and discuss their Errors and Faults, and to assign them Punishment according to their Offences.

fences. After these severe and inexorable Judges had awarded Penalties according to the Demerits of Offenders, the Execution of them presently followed. The Criminals are worried by *Cerberus*, and the *Furies* fall on them without Mercy, and lash and scourge their guilty Souls. *Danaus's* Daughters are forced to draw Water into Sieves, and Bottomless Vessels, which they can never fill, yet it is their task to do it. Poor famished *Tantalus* stands up to the Chin in Water, and is always catching at that which he must never enjoy. *Ixion's* Task is to turn about a Maffy Wheel continually. *Sisyphus* rolls a great Stone up a steep Hill, which duly returns, and makes his Labour endless. *Prometheus's* Heart is gnawn by an Eagle. And *Tityus* hath a Vulture feeding on his Liver. This is the Poets Hell. This is their *Orcus* (which was the First Latin Word for it) their *Tartarus*, their *Erebus*, their *Avernus*, for they used these several Names: and these were their Damned and their Punishments. From whence we are acquainted what was the Sense even of the very Pagans, namely, that there is a future Punishment and Torment for the Wicked. And though these particular Inflictions which are here assigned, are fanciful and fabulous, and therein suitable enough to the Heathen Ignorance, yet that which is represented by them is most True and Solid, to wit, that the Punishments of the Damned are not only painful and tormenting, but are such as have no End.

And the professed Philosophers among the Gentiles (as well as Poets) confessed a Place of Torments for unrighteous Souls. *Plato* the Great Father of Philosophy tells us, that they who live wickedly * shall be cast into the Prison of Condemnation and Justice, which is called *Tartarus*, and into *Acheron* and *Cocytus*. In another Place he declares, that † there ever was this Law and Constitution among the Gods, that those who live Righteously and Piously, when they leave the World, shall go to the Islands of the Blessed, and live there in all Happiness, free from all Evil; but that those who live Unjustly and Impiously shall be sent to the Prison of Penalty and Justice, which is called *Tartarus*. We are told by *Strabo*, that the Philosophers among the Barbarians, as well as the Greeks, had these Thoughts, and that the Indians and Brachmans deliver the like things concerning the Future State, and the Judgment which is to be passed in Hell on the Wicked. And it is remarkable that they all concur in this, that Hell is a Subterraneous Place. The Stoics more especially asserted this, as we learn from *Tertullian*, who speaking of this Sect saith, || They thrust down wicked Souls to the Places below. And ∴ *Lactantius* seconds him, telling us, that these Stoics, and particularly *Zeno* taught, that there are Infernal Regions or Seats of the Wicked, which are Dark, Filthy, and Horrible Caves, on purpose for the punishment of the Wicked. Thus the very Natural Sentiments of the Pagans led them to a Belief and Acknowledgment of Hell, and of the exquisite and never-ceasing Punishments that are there. Which may cause us to wonder, that among those that are called Christians, and converse with the Inspired Writings, there should be any (among whom *Hobbes* was once the chief) that professedly held there is no Hell or Future Torments; or, that there should be any that diminish the Torments of Hell, as * he who writes, that if hereafter we have not an Infinite Good to enjoy, it will be at least the worst Ingredient of Hell and Damnation, if not all that is to be understood by it. The not enjoying of the Chiefest Good is all the Punishment of the Damned, according to this Author. The Scriptures (which yet these Persons pretend to follow) give us another Account of Hell and Damnation, and let us know that they consist not only in a Privation of the Chiefest Good, but an Actual Infliction of the Greatest Evils. If we consult the Sacred Writ, we shall find that it is so, and then we need not lament the loss of those whole Volumes which *Democritus* and Two or Three other Philosophers wrote † concerning the State of those that are in Hell. The Scripture, and that alone, affords us a full and ample discovery of all things that are fitting for us to know relating to that Matter; tho' the several Notions of Hell, as it is a Place of Punishment, were common among the Gentiles.

* Εἰς τὸ τῆς κρίσεως τε καὶ δίκης δεσμοτήριον, ὃ δὲ τέτατον καλεῖται, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀχέρντα καὶ Κωκυτὸν. In Phædone.

† Νόμος καὶ αἰὶ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς, καὶ ἀνθρώπων † μὲν δικαίως † βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπόντα, οἰκῆν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν. † δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀδίκως, εἰς τὸ τῆς κρίσεως τε καὶ δίκης δεσμοτήριον, ὃ δὲ τέτατον καλεῖται, ἵεναι. Plato in Gorgia.

|| Reliquas animas (i. e. impias) ad Inferos dejiciunt. De Stoicis. cap. 54.

∴ Institut. Lib. 7. cap. 7.

* Mr. Norris, of Reason and Faith.

† Περὶ τῆς ἐν αἰῶνος. Laert. in vit. Democrit.

Having spoken of Hell, as it is a Place and State, and having described the Nature of it, I will conclude with these Two proper *Inferences*. 1. Let us think often of Hell. 2. Think of it so as to abandon our Sins, and reform our Lives. *First*, Let us often *think* and *meditate* on that Future State of Punishment. This should constantly be revolv'd in our Minds, and spread it self into our daily and hourly Contemplations, that though the Wicked go on in their Sins with a seeming Security, yet their Damnation slumbers not : The Impunity they enjoyed in this Life is drawing to a Close, and the Vengeance of Eternal Fire will succeed it in another. These Two Things especially we should be frequently entertaining our Thoughts with, the *Certainty* and the *Terribleness* of that Infernal State.

1. The *Certainty* of it. For though it is true, the bare Possibility of such a Thing should affright us : For a Wise and Prudent Man will not run the Risque, but will make sure provision against the worst that may happen : And though he could not absolutely prove that *there* is a Hell, yet he knows that it cannot be proved that there is *none* : Wherefore, that there may be one, is matter at least of Caution and Terror : But we have Arguments above this, and of a much higher Nature : We proceed not merely on the Possibility, yea or Probability of the Thing, but the undoubted Certainty of it. We are assured, if the Infallible Scriptures can give us Assurance, of the Truth and Reality of it. We have as good ground to be fully persuaded of it, as of any Doctrine contained in those Sacred Writings. And the *Reason* to persuade us is as strong, because Sin and Punishment are Relatives. The Condemnation follows the Crime ; the Penalty necessarily attends the Fault. Of the Sinners mentioned in *Rev. 21. 8.* it is said they shall *have their Part* in the Infernal Lake. Hell is allotted to them as their *Part* and *Portion*, it is *theirs*, it peculiarly belongs to them. Thus *Judas* went to his *own Place*, and of others that die in their Sins it may truly be said, that Hell is their proper Place and Portion ; Damnation is their Right, and they shall not fail of it. Many ignorant and sottish People persuade themselves,

* Ἀνθρώποι μὲν δὲ μέγας πῦρ
εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ δαίμονες ἐν δὲ
τοῦ δαίμονος δυνάμει μόνος ἐσὶν ἔτι
ἀσπ. De Præm. & Pœn.

that Death shall put an end to their Miseries here, and that afterwards there are none at all. This was taken notice of by *Philo* long since ; * " Men think (saith he) that Death " is the last Punishment, whereas in the Divine Judgment " this scarcely is the beginning of Punishments : For after " Death comes the Great Tribunal, and after that Hell,

" which no Sinner can escape. Some of the doating *Rabbies* reckon up some Sorts of wicked Men that shall be exempted from Infernal Pains ; but a *more sure Word* ascertains us that there is no manner of Exemption in this Matter, but that *the Wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the Nations that forget God*, *Psal. 9. 17.* Let therefore the *Certainty* of it sink deep into our Thoughts.

2. The *Terribleness* of Hell should be often considered and meditated upon by us. No Tongue can tell, no Language can set forth what is couched in that single Monosyllable *Hell*. The Cry of *Fire* in our Habitations is wont to be very affrighting and astonishing ; and the Effects of it, if it prevails and gets the Mastery, are much more dreadful. How astonishing and Frightful then should the Alarm of *Hell-Fire* be to us ? And it is certain, if Men did not think Discourses and Sermons of Hell and Damnation are mere Scare-crows, they would tremble at the solemn pronouncing of the Pains and Torments of the Damned. We should then inure our selves to the Thoughts and Contemplation of these Things. The hideous Cry of that Rich *Epicure* plunged in the Regions of Eternal Darkness should ever be in our Ears. With how dismal and concerned an Accent did he utter those Words in the midst of *Hell Flames* ? *Father Abraham ! Ob ! Father Abraham, have compassion on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the Tip of his Finger in Water, and cool my Tongue, for I am tormented in these Flames*, *Luke 16. 24.* Now he would be glad to be beholden to that sorry Beggar, whom once he scorned. Now the least Drop of Mercy will be thankfully accepted, though *Lazarus*, poor vile *Lazarus*, convey it to him. He desires an Alms of him, whom he suffered to lie at his Door without any. He would not allow *Lazarus* the *Crums* that fell under his Table, but now he passionately desires but a small Drop of *Water* from him. Even *Dives*, who despised the *Beggar*, is now become one himself ; but this is his Misery, that he begs and intreats when it is too late.

late. For this astonishing Reply he hears from his Mouth to whom he was so earnest a Suitor, *Between us and you there is a great Gulph fixed, so wide, so vast, so unmeasurable a Distance, that there is no passing between us.* Your Prayers cannot reach higher with any good Effect, your Requests are vain and unprofitable. This is the dismal Idea we ought to form in our Minds of that Future State of Punishment, though the greatest Part of Mankind will not attend to it. This was not understood or believed by the * French Commander, who used to say, He could be content to lye in Hell Seven Years, so he might win Calais from the English. Those vile Wretches attend not to this, who so often call upon God to damn them, as well as to damn others. In which they outdo the Devil, whose Language to Christ was, *I beseech thee torment me not,* Luke 8. 28. But these pray to be tormented and damned. Nor is this thought of by the Generality of the World, who indulge themselves in their vicious Practices, and being intoxicated with Worldly Pleasures and Delights, fall asleep, and hear not the dreadful Outcries of the Damned; or, (like those inhuman Parents, who caused their Children to be dragg'd through the Fire to Moloch,) drown the roaring of the Tormented, with Play, and Noise, and loud Diversions.

* Lord Cor-
des Gover-
nor of Fi-
cardy.
Grafton.
Vol. 2.

But what meanest thou, O thou Sleeper? Awake, rise, and look about thee: Set Hell-Torments before thine Eyes, hear the Roarings and Outcries of the Damned. We are told, that whilst Mr. Bilney the Martyr was in Prison, and expected to be burnt at the Stake, he often put his Finger into a Candle, to make an Essay of Burning, and to try how he could endure it. It would be of excellent Use to us to do the like in our Thoughts: By this means we may as it were make a Trial of the Everlasting Burnings. By Meditation we may represent those intolerable Flames to our selves. We may by serious Thinking set before us the miserable Case of the Damned, who lye under the Sense of God's Wrath, and are oppressed with unutterable Pains, and are out of the least Hope of seeing better Days, and being restored to Ease. We may do this, yea, and we must do it, that by the timely Consideration of Hell here, we may prevent the suffering of it afterwards. We should every day allot some Time to reflect on the intolerable Torments of the Place appointed for the Impenitent. May our Thoughts dwell so long on them, as to be able thereby to forsake our Sins, the Fuel of Hell-Torments.

Which brings me to the *Second Inference.* The Doctrine of Hell calls on us to repent of our Sins, and to turn unto God. Whenever we think of that Place, let us at the same time think and reflect on our evil Ways, and cease to rebel against God, and to violate his Commandments. Thus we must frame our Thoughts and Words; Are we guilty of many Offences against God, and thereby become liable to the Stroke of Divine Justice? Can nothing in this World protect us from its Shock and Fury? Are we loathed of God and his Angels, and must we go down to the Bottomless Pit, unless we have the Pardon of our Sins by Christ's Merits? Is this our Case? Then let us immediately lay hold on the Salvation published by the Gospel: Let us humbly submit to the Terms, and thankfully comply with the Conditions of it, and resolve to abandon all our Sins. Let me apply this to all sorts of Sinners, and call upon every one of them to reform their Lives. Let the Drunkard, and Glutton, and all the Sons of Debauchery think of the weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of Teeth in those Infernal Lodgings of the Damned, and never hereafter dishonour Religion, and abuse themselves by Intemperance and Luxury. Let the Unclean and Lascivious urge it home on their Minds, That Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge; and that these are particularly enumerated among them that *shall have their part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone*; and let them not dare to continue in their former Wantonness and Uncleaness. Let the Lyar remember that he also is in the number of those that shall have their Part in that Infernal Lake; and thence teach his Tongue to abhor all Falshood, and loving and making a Lye. Let the Prophane Swearer and Blasphemer think of Hell, and remember that Cursing and Blasphemy are the Entertainment of that Place; and let him no longer practise these hellish Sins. Let the Bloody and Revengeful Man think of the Divine Vengeance that will assuredly overtake him, and abide for evermore upon him in another World; and let him for the future change his Malice and Spight for those endearing Qualities of Love and Forgiveness.

Forgiveness. Let the unmerciful Oppressor ruminate on the future Torments of Hell, and thereupon resolve to bid adieu to all Acts of Violence and Oppression. Let the Prophaner of God's Holy Day, and the Ordinances of Divine Institution, consider in time the doleful Effects of despising what God hath ordained, and let him make Conscience of observing them duly hereafter. Let the Hypocrite call to mind what was said to the *Pharisees* that bore that Character, *How can ye escape the Damnation of Hell?* (*Matth. 23. 33.*) and let him forthwith throw off his Mask, and be Religious in good Earnest. Let all that nourish Atheism and Infidelity, read *Rev. 21. 8.* where they will find that the *Unbelieving* (as well as the other notorious Sinners there mentioned) *shall have their Part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone*, and hereupon let them renounce their Unbelief as a damning Sin.

Lastly, Let us think of *Hell*, and shun every *Sin*; for every Sin is a Breach of the Divine Law, and consequently deserves Eternal Punishment. Let none promise themselves (with those secure Wretches of old) that *with Hell they shall be at Agreement*, (*Isa. 28.*) and that they shall make Peace with the Devil. Let none be so presumptuous as thus to flatter themselves, till they are able to prove that that Cursed Spirit is merciful, that the Flames of Hell are cool and easy, that the Pains there are gentle, and the Torments tolerable, and that Eternity is but a short Time, and will soon have an End.

Of the Eternity of Heaven and Hell.

I Come now to the Fifth and Last Proposition contained in the Last Article of the Creed, and that is this, That the *Future Life* both of Happiness and Woe is *Everlasting*. For *Life Everlasting* here may signify the Life of the *Blessed* and of the *Damned*; the Happiness of one, and the Misery and Torment of the other. But I will treat first of Eternal Life in *General*, and then *particularly* of the Eternity of *Heaven*, and of the Eternity of *Hell*.

First, I will speak of Eternal Life in general, as it is now added in this Creed, but was at first wanting in all the Ancient Symbols, not only the *Eastern* and *Roman*, but that of *Aquileia*. Yet certainly there was great Reason to adjoin it; and a Creed is imperfect without it. I having then shewed before that there is a *Future State* or Life, now I am to prove that it is *Eternal*, that is, that it will never have an End. For though that is *Eternal* in the strict Sense, which is without Beginning and End, and consequently God only is thus Eternal; He alone hath *Life Everlasting* in this Sense, and therefore he is said to be *from everlasting to everlasting*, *Psal. 90. 2.* which plainly refers to this double Notion of Eternity, namely, its being without *Beginning*, as well as without *End*: Though, I say, this be the strict Acception of *Eternity*, yet when it is applied to Angels or Men, it signifies only Eternity *a posteriori* (as they say) *i. e.* a Duration without any Period. There was a Time when they were not; but having attained to Existence, they shall keep it for ever. And particularly as to Man, (who is the peculiar Subject of this Discourse) although his present Life be short and fleeting, yet there shall succeed it another, which shall be Endless and Eternal.

We have Proof of this in the Old Testament; for we find there that Eternal Life was revealed even before the Law. It was promised to *Adam* on Condition of his Obedience, and continuing in the State of Integrity; as we may gather from *Gen. 3. 22.* ----- *lest he put forth his hand, and take of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever.* Whence it is evident, that the Tree of Life which God gave *Adam* to eat of, signified that *Eternal Life* should be his Portion if he had obey'd. And under the *Mosaic* Dispensation it is clear that they had Notice of an Endless Duration after this Life; as these Words in *Dan. 12. 2.* testify, *Many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall awake, some to Everlasting Life.* This is an unanswerable Place for *Eternal Life* under the Old Testament. And that this was believed to be the Reward of the Faithful and Righteous, is manifest from the Lawyer's Question to Christ, *What shall I do to inherit Eternal Life?* *Luke 10. 25.* Which supposes that *Eternal Life* was revealed under the Law. And this is more than

than supposed in what Christ saith, *John 5. 39. Search the Scriptures; for in them you think you have Eternal Life.* Therefore Eternal Life is discovered in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Which baffles the Opinion which * Socinus and his † Followers have defended in their Writings, that *Eternal Life* was not known to the Fathers under the Old Testament, and that there is no Promise there of any such Thing. And truly 'tis no wonder that they who deny a *Future State* to have been known under the Old Testament (as we have before seen) deny that the *Eternity* of it was known then. But the contrary is a plain Truth, and of so great Importance, that our Church hath put it into her *Articles*; for in her 7th Article she thus speaks, [Both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ: wherefore they are not to be heard who feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.]

Under the Gospel an *Everlasting State* is more fully discovered and assured: *The Things which are not seen, i. e. the Things of the future State, are Eternal*, saith the Apostle; 2 Cor. 4. 18. *This is the Promise that he hath promised us, even Eternal Life,* 1 John 2. 25. And in all those Places which make mention of *Eternal Life*, and *Everlasting Life*, and in all those Texts which speak of *Eternal Punishment* and *Eternal Rewards* (which I shall produce afterwards) this Doctrine is asserted and confirmed. Besides, that it may be said to be written in the Tables of our Hearts, and suggested by the Light of Reason, as

* Philo hath observed: For Man would not enjoy his Being for a little Time only, but he naturally desires to assure it for ever. Thus the Eternity of the Future State is founded on the Innate Propension and Inclination of Mankind.

Again, 'tis built on the Soul's Immortality, and therefore having proved that, it follows thence that there is an Immortal and Endless State. And moreover, the Eternity of a Life to come will be found to be very Reasonable, if we add to what hath been said, that the inseparable and eternal Nature of God continually and incessantly prompts him to revenge Impiety, and to reward Holiness: And therefore there must be for that Purpose a State of Life that hath no End.

Let us, before we quit this First Head, gather from it the Excellency of our Religion, which treats not † of trivial and petty Matters, but of Life and Death, and the Eternity of Both. It shews us the Path that leads to endless Misery, but teaches us how to avoid it; it directs us to an endless Life and Happiness, and teaches us how to attain to them. As the Christian Religion upon all Accounts deserves our greatest Passions, and calls for the most zealous Prosecution; so in this Respect more especially, viz. That 'tis an Art of Self-Preservation, (a Thing which is so much prized among all Men) and it not only conduceth hugely to the bodily Welfare (which is fading and momentary) but it chiefly and principally promotes and procures the eternal Life, both of Soul and Body. This excellent Art of preserving of Life far surpasses all the Brags and Bravadoes of the Paracelsians and Rosy-Crucians, who have told us, they can make Men immortal, and keep these crazy Tenements of ours from all dilapidations. But Paracelsus himself, who was so great a Pretender, died at 47; and his Followers; for ought I hear, have been as successful in their bold Attempts. But here we are presented with a Reality, the Choicest of all Blessings, *Life Everlasting*, which renders the Christian Institution most lovely and desirable, most excellent and worthy.

Again, let us know that it infinitely concerns us to bear this ever in our Minds. Is there another Life after this, and is that Life *everlasting*, and shall we not seriously consider of it, and make it instrumental to the Effectual abandoning of all that is vicious and wicked? It is a reproach to Christianity that Men are generally seen to live, as if the Article of *Everlasting Life* were no Part of their Creed. With that Fool, spoken of in the Gospel, they are so provident as to lay up Goods, and much Goods, and for many Years; and yet they make no Provision for Eternity. Whereas this is the true Point of Wisdom, to provide for their Everlasting State, and to make all their Actions tend to that; and in a word, to make the Thoughts of an unchangeable Eternity a powerful Charm against every Sin. So much for the *Everlasting Life* in General.

* Socin. contr. Palæolog. part.

4. Epist. ad Erasm. Johan.

† Smalc. de Divin. Christi, cap. 2. Volkel. l. 2. cap. 19 & 21. Catech. Rac. de Prophetico Christi munere, cap. 5.

* Ἀνάμνησις δὲ ζωῆς καὶ μακροῦ αἰῶνος ἐν ταῖς τῆς φύσεως σήλαις ἀναγγελλομένη. De Monarchiā.

† Non de pileo aut compede, sed de æternitate aut Vitæ aut Mortis. Ter. tull. *

I pass from the *General* to the *Particular* handling of this Article of *Life Everlasting*. For this consists either in *Happiness* or *Misery*; and both of these are *Everlasting*. *Heaven* is *Eternal*, and *Hell* is so. I begin with the former, and I am to prove this Proposition, that the State of Happiness in the highest Heavens shall be everlasting. Not to mention again, that *Everlasting Life* spoken of in *Daniel*, which most certainly is meant of the Life of Happiness and Glory, because it is opposed to *everlasting Contempt* and *Confusion*; I will offer the *Psalmist's* Words in *Pf. 16. 11.* where he speaks the Sense of all the Godly and Faithful among the *Jews*, when he tells us that there are *at God's Right Hand Pleasures for evermore*. As *Heaven* is a State of *Perfection*, so is it no less of *Perpetuity*: As the Joys are full (which the *Psalmist* had said in the foregoing Clause,) so the Pleasures are *everlasting*. Rivers of Tears shall be dried up, and Rivers of Pleasures shall succeed in their Places, never-failing, ever-flowing Rivers. That the heavenly Enjoyments are perpetual and without Period, is clear from a Multitude of Passages in the Evangelical Writings, as *Luke 16. 9.* where we read of *being received into everlasting Habitations*; the same that our Saviour saith are in *his Father's House*, and which he stiles *Mansions*, because they are lasting and durable. To which perhaps the Apostle refers in these Words, *We have a Building of God, a House not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens, 2 Cor. 5. 1.* *We shall ever be with the Lord*, saith the same Apostle, *1 Thess. 4. 17.* Therefore he calls it *eternal Salvation*, *Heb. 5. 9.* And *St. Peter* assures the Faithful of an Inheritance *incorruptible, and that fadeth not away, reserv'd in Heaven for them, 1 Pet. 1. 4.* And both the Apostles mention the *eternal Glory* of the other State, *2 Tim. 2. 10.* *1 Pet. 5. 10.* And, lastly, *eternal Life* (as it hath Reference to the State of Happiness,) is expressly asserted in these following Places by Christ and the Apostles, *Mat. 25. 46.* *John 3. 15. 4. 36. 6. 54. 10. 28. 17. 2.* *Acts 13. 48.* *Rom. 2. 7. 6. 23. 1 Tim. 6. 12. Tit. 1. 2. 1 John 5. 11. Jude 21.* and in several other Places. And *Everlasting Life* (as our *English Translators* render it, tho' tis the same Word in the *Greek*) is mentioned in *Mat. 19. 29. Luke 18. 30. Job. 3. 16. John 5. 24. 6. 40, 47. Acts 13. 46. Rom. 6. 22. Gal. 6. 8. 1 Tim. 1. 16.* This is enough, abundantly enough to prove that the Life of the Blessed in Heaven shall be Lasting and Permanent, and that they shall live so, as never to dye.

If we enquire into the *Reasons* and *Grounds* of this, we shall find them to be such as these; First, this *Perpetuity* of Happiness is to be attributed to the singular Bounty and free Grace of God. For *Eternity* is not absolutely included in the Nature of Blessedness, no more than it is of the Nature and Essence of *Misery*. For every created Being, as it was made of Nothing, so it may be reduced to Nothing: And it doth not imply a Contradiction, that a Creature should have an End. *Beatitude* is no less true and real, because it may cease, seeing that *Eternity* is not annexed to it by any essential Tie. And if God had prescribed certain *Limits* and *Periods* to the Happiness of Man, we ought to have rested in it; and the *Truth* and *Reality* of our Happiness had not been disturbed. But it hath pleased God out of his infinite Goodness, to *Promise*, and therefore he will certainly confer an *Eternal Happiness* on those that faithfully serve him; so that they shall never be in danger of losing it. Those Rivers of Pleasure shall continually run; that Torrent shall never be stopped or dried up. *Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.* Our Claim to endless Life and Happiness is not placed in the Worth of any Work of ours, no nor in any Sufferings that we undergo; for the Sufferings of this present Life (saith the Apostle, *Rom. 8. 18.*) are not worthy of that Glory which shall be revealed in us. Be they never so great, they are not a just Price for Heaven. But the Lord looks down from Heaven, and takes Notice of what his Servants do and suffer; and graciously holds forth an *Eternal Reward* for what Himself hath wrought in them: And so tho' we have no *Right* to Heaven of our selves, yet have we a *Title* through the Love, and Bounty, and Free Grace of our Compassionate Father, and through the Satisfaction and Attonement which Christ Jesus his dear Son hath made for us. Thus Heaven and the endless Enjoyments of it are founded on the *Free Grace* and *Indulgence* of the Almighty.

Secondly,

Secondly, As they were intended to display the Divine Goodness and Benignity; so likewise they were designed to be an effectual Encouragement to our Diligence and Faithfulness. That Men may be powerfully stirred up to embrace Religion heartily, and to discharge their Duty sincerely and vigorously, and lead Holy and Godly Lives here on Earth, they are assured that they shall live eternally in Heaven. No less than *Immortal Glory* is propounded and ascertained to us, lest we should flag in our Christian Course, and faint under the Difficulties we are exposed to. To this Purpose, that Eternal Crown is held forth, namely, to excite us to run with Patience the Race that is set before us, to animate us in our Combat and Conflict, and to push us on to the obtaining of the Victory. Thus we see that God is not defective on his Part, to encourage us not to be so on ours. When we see that God hath provided an Eternity of Felicity for those that faithfully serve him in this Life, it must needs have a mighty Influence and Force upon us, and enliven our Faith and Hope, and actuate all our Endeavours, and invigorate all our Actions, and make us persevere in the Ways of Righteousness, maugre all Temptations and Hazards that we meet with.

Thirdly, If we respect the very Nature of the Thing it self, we cannot but conclude it reasonable to assert that the Happiness of Glorified Spirits shall run Parallel with Eternity. For though (as was said already) it is not of the Essence of Happiness to be everlasting, yet when it shall be considered that the Joys of Heaven are *Real*, and the Pleasures *Substantial* and *Solid*, it will thence follow, that they are like to be *Durable* and *Lasting*, and to know no Period. Even *This* may give some Account (but the chief one I mentioned before) of the Eternity of Heaven's Pleasures: Whereas those of *this World* are Counterfeit and Fantastical; and so 'tis no Wonder that they *soon vanish and disappear*; and seeing they are no better, 'tis no great Matter that they do so.

Having thus briefly established the Truth of the Proposition, and assigned the Grounds of it, I proceed to that which we ought to be most concerned for, the Practical Part. The same Important Inferences might be drawn from this Doctrine, that were before from that of a *Future State* and of *Heaven*, but with much more Advantage; for seeing there is not only a Future State, and that State is a State of Rewards, but likewise we have learnt that these Rewards are *Eternal*, we are farther to be influenced upon by this last Consideration. I will comprise all in these Three Particulars:

First, We are obliged to admire and extol the Divine Bounty in bestowing an Eternity of Happiness upon us. O the Transcendent Love of our Great Benefactor, who hath been pleased to make such *Ample Provisions* in another World for those who do *so little* in this! How high an Instance is it of the matchless Favour of our Gracious Lord, that the Labour of a *few Days* shall be recompensed with Happiness that shall last unto *Myriads of Ages*, and yet then be no nearer expiring than it was at first! Our Wishes, which are but weak and faint, our Resolutions which are infirm and unstable, our Holy Purposes and Endeavours, and all our Enterprizes in Religion which are lame and imperfect, are, by the Infinite Mercy of Heaven, rewarded with an Everlasting Recompense of Glory. Who can sufficiently magnify this ineffable Bounty, this unparallel'd Kindness? To him therefore, that hath done these Great Things for us, let us ascribe all Honour and Glory, and with Eternal Hallelujahs celebrate his Praise, who hath conferred Eternity of Bliss upon us.

Secondly, The Hope and Assurance of Everlasting Glory should inspire us with extraordinary Patience and Contentedness under all the Afflictions and Pressures of this Life. For what is Time in Respect of Eternity? What are our short Troubles and our Transient Sufferings, in Comparison of Everlasting Joys? Which is thus admirably expressed by the Apostle, *Our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and Eternal Weight of Glory*, 2 Cor. 4. 17. *First*, It is *Glory* that is the Recompense of our Afflictions, *Glory*, which is the Height of all Acquisitions, the Flower and Top of all Perfections, the Summ of all imaginable Fruitions, and a Happiness so Ample and Transcendent, that it is impossible it should admit of any Accession. Next, It is a *Weight of Glory*, i. e. a weighty or solid *Glory*: (which kind of speaking is a common

* Καθ' ὅ-
περ ἐλάλη-
σεν ἡ χάρις
ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

Grecism, and often used by our Apostle as well as other Good Writers. A *Weight* of Glory speaks, 1st, The inestimable Worth and Preciousness of it: As Metals receive their Value from their Massiness. Whence we may infer, that the Celestial Crown (which is so heavy and weighty) cannot be purchased at too dear a Rate. 2^{dly}, It is a *Weight* of Glory for the Substantialness of it. It is not like the Splendor of this World, which is empty and vain; but 'tis solid and real, a Kingdom that cannot be moved, a Crown that fadeth not away, an Inheritance Incorruptible. Again, the Apostle adds, that it is a *far more exceeding Weight* of Glory. Which is but a faint rendring of the* Original; but our Translators may well be excused, because the Apostle's Strain is so lofty and soaring that our *English* cannot well reach it. Only this we know, that the Ingeminating of the Word here (after the *Hebrew* Way of speaking, which is common with our Apostle, though he writes in *Greek*) denotes the *most Transcendent and Highest Excellency* imaginable, and therefore it most fitly sets forth that Glory which the Saints shall be possessed of in the other Life. Say then that your Afflictions are great and grievous, many and various: Aggravate and heighten them as you will, yet the Glory that is wrought by them *infinitely exceeds and surpasses* them. There is no Proportion imaginable between Finite and Infinite; and therefore this *Weight of Glory*, compared with the heaviest Pressures of this World, cannot but be *Superabundant and Superlative*. And, lastly, The Apostle gives this finishing Character of it, that it is *Eternal*: Which Consideration alone renders all Afflictions *momentary*, as they are here called. This *Weight of Eternity* counterpoises the heaviest Pressures and Calamities, and makes them *light*, as they are here stiled. Look up then to this Massy and Ponderous Glory in Heaven, and bear all the Sufferings of this Life with an undaunted Patience and Courage. Comfort your selves with this, that there is an Eternity of Blessedness to come, which will abundantly compensate for all the Hardships and Miseries of this World.

Thirdly, We ought to Live and Act as those that believe and hope for a Blessed Eternity. Is this the Recompense allotted to such short-lived Creatures as we are? How industriously then should we improve the fading Minutes we enjoy? How solicitous should we be in managing this short Pittance of Life, to the Glory of our Maker and Redeemer, and to the real Good and Edification of our Brethren? This certainly is a Natural Consequence from the Premises. It was observed of *Zeuxis*, that Famous Limner, that he was always very long and tedious in Drawing and Portraying and Finishing his Pictures. He spent more Time than any other Artists of that Age; and he gave this Reason for it, because *he limned for Eternity*. And yet his Eternity was but short: It may be, there is not a Piece of his left at this Day. But we act for *Eternity* in a higher Sense, and therefore we must draw with the greatest Deliberation and Exactness: Our Hands must be steady, and our Strokes accurate. And let us remember this, that what we do must be done all of it before we pass into that Eternity. This is the Time of Action: And one Day can effect more now than all Eternity afterwards. Yea, one single Hour may procure that Pardon, which Thousands and Millions of Years, nay of Ages, cannot then.

The next and last Point I am to treat of, is this, That the *Future State of Woe and Misery is Everlasting*. Hell is Eternal, as well as Heaven. The latter is not questioned by those that believe a Heaven, and therefore I have not much insisted upon it: But there have been and are those who assert a Hell, and yet cannot be persuaded but that it is a Temporary Punishment. There is Occasion therefore given me to enlarge on this Subject. 1st, I'll prove from *Scripture*, that the Torments of Hell are Eternal. 2^{dly}, I will give an Account of it from *Reason*. 3^{dly}, I will answer the *Objections* that are brought against it. 4^{thly}, I will conclude with what relates to our *Practice*.

First, There is nothing more plain and evident in *Scripture* than this, that the State of the Damned in Hell is Eternal. Which is easily proved from the† *Words* which are made use of in the *Bible*, to express Eternity or a never-ceasing Duration. For though it is granted that these Words are taken in a restrained Sense, and signify only a long Period of Time; yet in other Places, and particularly when they are applied to the Matter in Hand, they denote an Eternal Duration. It will not be amiss to give some Instances of this different

† Gnolam,
legnolam,
gnad, lag-
nad, gna-
de. Eis
αἰῶνα, eis
αἰῶνας.

Acception

Acception of the Words, that we may the better understand the Language of the Holy Scriptures. Those Expressions are sometimes used both in the Hebrew and Greek Copies to signify,

First, *An Indefinite length of time*, the Period of which is not known to us ; thus we read of the *Everlasting Hills*, Gen. 49. 26. that is, Hills of long continuance ; and therefore in another place our Translators render the same Hebrew Words *lasting Hills*, Deut. 33. 15. which is a great Fault in our English Version ; for the same Words (if spoken of the same thing) should always be rendred alike ; in which our Translators, as well as others, are defective. So *Gnolam* is used again in Jos. 8. 28. where 'tis said of the City *Ai*, that *Joshua* burnt it and made it a heap for ever, *eis aiōna*, LXX. that is, for a long time, but not determined. And this is the Import of the Word in *Psal.* 81. 15. and some other Places where a Time is spoken of that shall have an End, but it shall be very long before that come.

Secondly, Those fore-mentioned Words signify a long Season, but not Indefinite and Undetermined, but such as is *limited*, and hath a certain Period set it. Thus *Abraham's* Seed had the Land of *Canaan* promised to be given to them for ever, Gen. 13. 15. yea, for an ** everlasting possession*, Gen. 17. 8. And it is said to be given to them † for ever and ever, Jer. 7. 7. So the *Passover* was to be kept a Feast by an Ordination || for ever, which signifies only the Time of the Jewish Dispensation. The Servant whose Ear was bored, was to serve his Master * for ever, Exod. 21. 6. that is, till the Jubilee. *Samuel* was to appear before the Lord, namely in the Tabernacle, and abide there † for ever, 1 Sam. 1. 22. that is, as long as he lived. So the Greek that answers to the Hebrew Expression is of the same Import in 1 Cor. 8. 13. I will not eat flesh || for ever, that is, as long as I live, which our Translators render, *while the World stands*. So this way of speaking is used in the restrained Sense, in Matt. 21. 19. Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward * for ever, that is, as long as thou art a Tree.

* Gnolam. *aiōviov*. LXX.

† Gnolam regned gnolam.

|| Gnolam.

* Legnolam, *eis tōn aiōna*. LXX.

† Gnad gnolam, *ēws aiōn* ⊕. LXX.

|| *Eis tōn aiōna*.

* *Eis tōn aiōna*.

But, Thirdly, to come nearer to the business ; as these Expressions are thus made use of to signify a long Space of Time, so at other times is meant by them an *Endless Duration*, even Eternity it self : And this is always meant when they are applied to God, or to a Future State. As first, in the Old Testament, these Words express to us the Eternal Existence of God. As when he is Stiled the ** Everlasting God*, Gen. 21. 33. and when 'tis said, the Lord shall endure † for ever, *Psal.* 9. 7. And the Lord is King for ever and ever, *Psal.* 10. 16. And the same || Words are used in *Psal.* 29. 10. and *Psal.* 146. 10. and signify Eternity, because they are attributed to God. And so the like Expressions do, when they are used concerning the Future Life, as in *Eccl.* 12. 5. Man goeth to his House of Eternity, his Eternal Abode, or Habitation, where he must continue unto Endless Ages. For we may take this to be the meaning of Man's going to his Beth gnolam, which our Translators render *his long home*, and which is usually understood of the Grave : But we may rather extend it to a greater length, and apply it to the Future State of the Dead ; which is not only long, but Everlasting : and therefore the Words are most properly and strictly to be understood of this. Whence it was that they were rendred by the Septuagint * the Everlasting House, the word Gnolam being thought in this place to be of so large Extent. And accordingly we find that our own Translators render it thus, in another place, where it is applied to the Future State ; as in *Isai.* 33. 14. Mokede gnolam, Everlasting burnings.

* El gnolam. *aiōni* ⊕. LXX.

† Legnolam.

|| Gnolam, legnolam, *eis tōn aiōna*.

* *Oikos aiōni* ⊕.

* *Eis tōn aiōna*.

† *Eis tōn aiōna* ⊕ *aiōna*.

|| *Aiōni* ⊕.

* *Eis tōn aiōna* ⊕ *aiōna*.

† *Eis tōn aiōna* ⊕ *aiōna*.

Thus for the New Testament, it is plain that *Aiōni* ⊕ and *eis tōn aiōna*, and *eis tōn aiōna*, signify an Absolute Eternity, as first when they are attributed to God. Thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory * for ever, &c. Matt. 6. 13. And there is the like Doxology, with some † addition, in Gal. 1. 5. and 1 Tim. 1. 17. The || Everlasting God, Rom. 16. 26. Thy Throne, O God, is * for ever and ever, Heb. 1. 8. So in Rev. 4. 9, 10. Who liveth † for ever and ever. And in Rev. 5. 14. 10. 6. 15. 7.

Again, When the Future State is expressed by any of these Words, they always denote an *Eternal Duration*. Thus 'tis in *John 4. 14.* *Whoso drinketh of the Water that I shall give him, shall never thirst, or, according to the Original, * he shall not thirst to Eternity,* for so we are to interpret it, being guided to this meaning of the Words by what immediately follows, *But the Water that I shall give him, shall be in him, a Well of Water, springing up unto Everlasting Life.* Whence it is plain, that *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* hath reference to, and is to be explained by, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. And the like we may see in *John 10. 28.* *I will give unto them Everlasting Life, and they shall never perish, or, as 'tis in the Greek, they shall not perish unto Eternity:* They shall not incur the Danger of Hell's Everlasting Torments.

* Οὐ μὴ
διψᾷ εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα.

And so now I shall proceed to shew, that these Words which I have so often mentioned, or placed in the Margin, do express the *Eternity of Hell* to us, and are undeniable Proofs of this Doctrine in the New Testament. If any Man, saith our Saviour, *John 8. 51.* *keep my Saying, he shall never see Death, or, according to the Greek, he shall not see Death to Eternity, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,* that is, he shall escape Everlasting Misery: Therefore that Misery is Everlasting. He that shall blaspheme the Holy Ghost, hath not forgiveness, no not for ever, (not * for Eternity,) but is in danger of *Eternal Damnation*, *Mark 3. 29.* Which latter Words shew what is the meaning of the former ones, and confirm the Truth which I am now making good; namely, that the Future State of the Damned is without End. And as 'tis called here *Eternal Damnation*, so in *Matt. 25. 46.* 'tis called *Eternal or Everlasting Punishment*, and in *2 Thess. 1. 9.* *Everlasting Destruction.* And by St. Jude we are assured that the Apostate Angels are reserved in *Everlasting Chains under Darkness*, *Jude 6.* St. Peter tells us, that for prophane and blasphemous Seducers, *the Mist of Darkness is reserved for ever*, *2 Pet. 2. 17.* And the very same Words, as they are in the Greek, occur in *Jude, v. 13.* to attest the Certainty of the thing, to wit, that the Infernal Darkness is of Endless Continuance. These Expressions for ever and ever, are applied to the Torments of the Damned in *Rev. 14. 11.* *The smok of their Torment ascendeth up * for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night.* And again, *ch. 19. 3.* *Her smok rose up for ever and ever.* And further, in *ch. 20. 10.* *The Devil and the Beast, and the False Prophet, are cast into the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, and shall be tormented Day and Night, for ever and ever.* Which repeated Expressions signify a Duration that is absolutely without End. This is yet further proved from *Matt. 18. 8.* where the Fire of Hell is called *Everlasting Fire.* And accordingly the last Dreadful Doom runs thus, *Depart, ye cursed, into Everlasting Fire, Matt. 25. 41.*

* Εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα.

* Εἰς αἰῶ-
να αἰῶνων.

And so that place, *Jude 7.* *Suffering the Vengeance of Eternal Fire,* is to be understood, tho' it is produced by some against the Doctrine of Hell's Eternity: For, say they, here the Fire which burnt down Sodom and Gomorrah is called *Eternal Fire*, and therefore we cannot from that Epithet infer the Absolute Eternity of Hell. And the Words have been variously commented upon by others: It is said to be *Eternal Fire*, because 'tis, First, A Fire which consumed and burnt till there was nothing left to be consumed by it. Secondly, A Fire which shall be a perpetual and lasting Monument of God's Justice in all Ages. Thirdly, A Fire, which was the fore-runner of Eternal Flames in another World. Fourthly, A Fire determined, decreed, designed for those Sinners from Eternity. Fifthly, A Fire so violent and so furious, that it may justly be compared to Hell-fire: nothing else can set it forth. Thus all these Comments apply it to that Fire which came down from Heaven, and destroyed the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. But there is a Mistake all along; for tho', it is true, here is a plain reference to that Fire, yet the Apostle proceeds further, and means by *Eternal Fire* the Fire of Hell. He lets us know, that these notorious Sinners the Sodomites, who gave themselves over to Fornication, and went after strange Flesh, are set forth for an Example of God's Wrath and Indignation against such Offenders, suffering the Vengeance even of *Eternal Fire*, whereof their Temporal Destruction by Fire was a Representation.

This I apprehend to be the obvious and plain Sense of the Place; and if we compare it with the foregoing Verse, we shall be easily perswaded to believe it is the True and Genuine Meaning of the Words. For I would have it observed, that the Apostle speaks in the 6th ver. of the Punishment of Hell, *The Angels which*

which

which kept not their first Estate, but left their own Habitation, be bath reserved in Everlasting Chains, under Darknesse, unto the Judgment of the great Day. And as those Rebellious Angels were cast into Hell, so it happens no otherwise to the Wicked Sodomites, they justly suffer the Vengeance of Eternal Fire. Where I cannot but take notice that Eternal Fire answers exactly to Everlasting Chains, and consequently, that Hell-Torments are meant in both Places. And moreover, that these Places are parallel may be proved from these Words in the latter Place, in like manner, or according to the * Greek, in like manner to these, viz. the Angels, spoken of before; so that it is as much as if the Apostle had said, as the Angels for their Rebellion were secured in Everlasting Chains in the Bottomless Pit: So in like manner the Sodomites for their abominable Practices were punished with Eternal Fire in the same Place, which hath one of its Denominations, namely, the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone, with allusion to Sodom's being burnt down with Fire and Brimstone, and turned into a Lake. Thus I have made it evident from abundant Passages in the New Testament, that the Words which are rendred for ever, and for ever and ever, and eternal, and everlasting, are Proofs of the absolute Eternity of Hell.

* ὁμοίως
τοῖς
ἁγγέλοις.

But I have yet further Evidence of this Eternity from other Plain and Clear Passages in the same Inspired Writings. Thus it is said, that the Chaff, that is, the Wicked that go out of the World in their Wickedness and without Repentance, shall be burnt up with unquenchable Fire, i. e. The Fire of Hell, which can never be extinguished. Of this our Saviour speaks again in Mark 9. 43. and fixes the same Epithet on it, the Fire that never shall be quenched. And the same Words we have again, v. 45. And besides this, it is added concerning this Hell-Fire in the Neighbouring Verses, that there the Worm dieth not, and the Fire is not quenched, v. 46. which is repeated v. 48. All which being so often inculcated ascertains us of the never-ceasing Torments of Hell. There is a Worm that always Lives, and always Gnaws, and that is, an evil Conscience. There is a Fire that will incessantly torment the Damned, and it is never to be quenched. These Expressions may perhaps allude to Tophet, a Place in the Valley of Hinnom, (of which before) where they threw their Dead Corps, and all Filth and Garbage, which produced Worms and such like Animals: And where they burn their Children to Moloch, which might occasion the mention of Fire here. But that which is designed by these Words and Terms, is the confirming us in this Truth which I am treating of, that the Pains of Hell are for ever, and admit of no Conclusion.

Which we may be yet further convinced of from that remarkable Passage in the Parable of the Rich Glutton and Poor Lazarus, Luke 16. 26. Between us and you there is a great Gulf fixed: So that they which would (if we may suppose such a thing) pass from hence to you, cannot: Neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence. The Distance between Heaven and Hell is Immense; the Gulf is Great, there is no passing from one to the other: and the Gulf is fixed, which denotes the utter Immutability of these Two States, and consequently their Eternity.

To close all, if Heaven be Everlasting, Hell is so: For the same Word expresses the Everlasting State of the one and the other; These shall go away into Everlasting Punishment, but the Righteous into Life Eternal, Matt. 25. last v. The Greek Word is the same in both Clauses (as I have before observed) and should have been rendred alike in both. And thence it is reasonable to gather, that the Wicked shall be eternally punished in the strict Sense of that Word, as well as the Righteous shall be eternally happy in the strictest acception of Eternity. I question not but that all this doth fully prove the Thing I intended.

The Second Thing I undertook was this, to give a reasonable Account of this Matter, that is, to shew why an Eternal Punishment is inflicted on the Wicked.

First, It is necessary for the due Governing and Restraining of sinful Men. It was too boldly said of one of the Ancient Fathers, * If this be not true, viz. that the Wicked are punished with Eternal Fire, then there is no God; or if there be, he is one that takes no Care of Men, and there is no such Thing as Vertue or Vice. But this may be said with Modesty and

* Εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐστὶν, ὅτι καλῶς ταῖς αἰωνίῳ πῦρ οἱ ἀδίκαι, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός, &c. Justin Martyr, Apolog. ad Senat. Rom.

Safety,

Safety, that God is concerned as he is Ruler and Governor of the World, to check Sin and to encourage the contrary, and on that Account Eternal Punishment is as requisite as Eternal Rewards. For so predominant is Vice, and such is the Force and Charm of the present Allurements of the Flesh, that nothing less than an endless Misery is sufficient to be the Penalty of breaking God's Laws. *Origen*, who approved not of this, yet held the Belief of it to be profitable for the discouraging of Vice. And as for the other Opinion (which he espoused) he declares that it is best to keep it close, and not to divulge it among the People, lest they should from thence take the freedom to Sin. Thus he doth as good as retract his Error; for if the Threatning and Inflicting of Eternal Punishment be so useful and advantageous, then it is not unworthy of God to threaten it, and actually execute it. Yea, it is requisite he should do so, because we see that even the Consideration of *this* is scarcely sufficient to deter some Men from Sinning. What Effect then would the Threatning of *Annihilation*, or of *Temporal Punishment* have had, when *this* can so seldom prevail? If the Greater Menaces scarcely prove effectual, what would the Lesser have done? If the World be so Bad and Wicked now, what would it have been then, think you, when so severe a Punishment had not been to be expected? This shews, that the appointing Eternity of Punishment was the best Way for the Government of the World, and that the Sanction of such a Law is absolutely requisite for the checking of Sin and Vice. God saw it was necessary thus to back and enforce his Laws, for no less a Penalty was able to fright Men out of their Wickedness.

Secondly, Sinners offend against the Infinite Majesty of God; therefore their Punishment may justly be Infinite and Eternal. When we transgress the Laws of our Superiors, yea, when we offend and injure our Equals, it is not thought unjust to exact of us a Temporal Punishment, and that a severe one sometimes. How much greater then ought the Infliction to be when we wilfully and obstinately break the Laws of the Infinite Legislator? Now the Infinite Divinity of our Master and Sovereign is despised and affronted, and so we contract as it were an Infinity of Guilt. It is no wonder then that Everlasting Torments are decreed for impenitent Sinners, for the Injury done by Sin is against the Infinite God. Dr. *Hammond* and some others dislike this Argument, but I do not see that they have any Reason to do so; for though, it is true, the Sin it self is not absolutely Infinite, because it is the Act of a Finite Being, yet the Demerit of it becomes Boundless and Immense, as it is committed against the Infinite Deity. Thus the Eternity of Suffering is but commensurate to the Nature of Sin; the Demerit of which becomes Infinite, and therefore calls for Endless Miseries, yea transcends all Punishment whatsoever.

Thirdly, The Sins which the Damned committed here on Earth, are rightly interpreted as Endless and Eternal; therefore they deserve an Eternal Punishment. He that dies in his Sin, and repents not of it, doth as much as if he sinn'd eternally; for if he could have lived always, he would have always sinned. He did not leave off to sin, but to live: And the Will and Desire went with him to the other World. This is his Case, he would *never have ceased from Sin*, 2 Pet. 2. 14. and for this, it is just he should be *Everlastingly* tormented. His own Heart will tell him at the last Day, that tho' he lived here but *a while*, and so sinned but *for a Time*, yet he had a *Will* to sin *for ever*; and therefore he deserves to be punished for ever. The fore-mentioned Writer, and some other nice Men, look upon this way of arguing as Unsatisfactory, and think the Sinner ought not to be punished eternally, because he would sin eternally if he should live always: For, say they, God cannot justly punish for what is not, and for Sins that might be a thousand Years hence. But this way of Reasoning will soon vanish, if they consider these Two Things, 1st, That what *is not* with us, *is* with God; because he knows all Things, and consequently Futurities, and therefore these are *present* with Him. 2dly, That the Sins that *might be*, and which he foresaw *would be*, if he had not cut off the Lives of the Sinners, are justly reckon'd as if they *were*. We have no Reason then to refuse this Argument, tho' I am willing to acknowledge, that the main Stress and Weight lies upon that which I'm next to propound.

Fourthly

Fourthly then, Eternal Torments are most justly inflicted on the Damned, because they made these their Choice. Two Kinds of Extremities are put into our Hands by God, he sets before us Eternal Life, and Eternal Death; the one as the Reward of Obedience, the other as the Recompence of Disobedience. Wherefore if we wilfully reject the former, and chuse the latter, it is just with God to give us what we chuse. The Sinner leaves an Eternal Good for a short and temporal Gratification of his sensual Desires. For the Pleasure of Sin, which is but for a Season, he despises and neglects the Offers of Everlasting Happiness, and therefore he is justly recompensed with Everlasting Misery. For 'tis just that Men should have what they make Choice of; and especially when they persist in that Choice to the last. So that we see the great and chief Ground of the Eternity of Hell-Torments is the Choice God gives all Men in this World. He proposes to them a Blessing and a Curse, endless Happiness and eternal Woe; and they deliberately embrace the latter. Wherefore 'tis fit that if they chuse eternal Evil, they should bear it, and that the Choice of everlasting Death should be rewarded with no other. The Sinner wilfully destroys himself, and therefore cannot complain of God's Injustice. His shortest Sins are punished with endless Pains, because he had his Option given him by God.

Fifthly and Lastly, the Sins of the Damned are Eternal, not only in Desire and Will, as we said before, but they are actually so, and on that Account are punished eternally in Hell. If they could not cease here from Sin, how can they cease there? If Habits of Sin are not mortify'd now, they cannot hereafter: Yea, they increase more and more. As the Wicked lived here in the Hatred of God and Goodness, so they shall persevere in it always; and whatever Sin can be committed in Hell, shall be committed by them. So that their continuing in the Love and Practice of what is sinful, is justly punishable with those Torments that shall continue for ever. Their Natures cannot possibly be altered and bettered; for the working of the Holy Spirit is over; the Day of Salvation is at an End. Christ may as well be said to come and be born again, as to offer any Terms of Mercy to them again. For the Time is past, and there is no Place for Favour and Mercy: But they must always lie under God's Wrath without Remission, and undergo eternal Torments without any Ease or Cessation.

The Third Thing I am to undertake, is to answer the Objections which are raised against this Doctrine. Origen was the first Author of the contrary Opinion among the Christians. He held that * Hell-Pains are not eternal, but that the damned Souls and evil Dæmons shall be † saved at last: And that after certain Years there should be ‡ neither Devil nor Hell. For this was his Notion concerning Hell-fire, that the Wicked shall be purged by it, and at last escape out of it by God's Mercy. But this was a very false and groundless Conception that he had taken up concerning the Infernal Flames; for there is not the least Intimation from Scripture or Reason that these have any such purging Faculty. But if I may be permitted to offer my Conjecture concerning the Original of this Father's Opinion, I conceive it was a Relick of his old Platonic Notions. He had been a profest Platonist; and this was Part of that Philosophy, that human Souls pass out of one Body into another, till the vitiated ones were sufficiently purged and refined, and had expiated their Guilt and Depravity. This was the Platonic Opinion, and was derived from Plato's * Writings, which gave Occasion to Christians (that were Platonics) to deny the Eternity of Hell-Torments; for if they were sifted from one Body to another, then there was an Intermission and Cessation of the Pains of Hell, and at last an Exemption from them. So Virgil, who followed the Steps of the Platonists, tells us, that the Guilt of the Damned may be at length washed out or burnt out,

* Lib. 4, 5, 6. contra Celsum.
† *Περὶ ἀποχαιρ.* l. 1. c. 6. & lib. 3. cap. 6.
‡ Homil. 12. in Jos.

* De Re-pub. lib. 10. & in Gorgia.

— — — † Sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igne.

† *Æn.* 6.

And

And yet he makes the Infernal Pains of *some* to be Eternal,

————— *Sedet, æternumque sedebit*
Infelix Theseus. —————

|| Ἰδὸν μα
 ἀμαρτίν-
 ματα. In
 Gorgia.

Yea Plato himself tells us, that some great and incorrigible Sinners shall suffer perpetual Pains, and never be redeemed; tho' other lighter Offences, || curable Sins (as he calls them) shall be expiated. Thus we see they are not fully determined about the Point, and Origen was not consistent with himself if he was a Platonist. However, the whole is a groundless Error, and fitter for Poets than Philosophers, and for Pagan Philosophers rather than a Christian one, such as that Father became. He, as many others of those Ancients, was mistaken, and fostered a fond Persuasion. This certainly was such, viz. That the Pains of Hell are not Eternal.

But let us hear what Arguments he used to defend this erroneous Opinion. He made use of those Words in Mat. 5. 26. *Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing*, gathering thence that the Damned might pay the utmost Farthing, and so be freed from the Prison of Hell. But this is a very false Inference, and clearly against the Design of the Place, which is to inform us that none can pay that utmost Farthing; that is, none of the Damned are capable of making Satisfaction to God, and thereby delivering themselves from that infernal Prison. Whence one of the Fathers shews from this very Text, that the Torments of Hell are without End, because no Man is able to satisfy the Divine Justice by his Sufferings, tho' they be never so long. And as for that word *till*, which may seem to imply, that the Wicked may come out thence, when they have paid the utmost Farthing, and so signifies the Possibility of their coming out; we are to know that in the Stile of the Scriptures that Word is equivalent to *never*, and shews that the Thing spoken of was never done or came to pass. Thus it is said in 1 Sam. 15. 35. *Samuel came no more to see Saul until the Day of his Death*; which is as much as, He never came to see him after such a Time. So in 2 Sam. 6. 23. *Michal the Daughter of Saul had no Child until the Day of her Death*; that is, she never had a Child. And in Isai. 22. 14. *Surely this Iniquity shall not be purged from you till you die*; that is, not at all. So it is said *he knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son*, Mat. 1. 25. that is, he never knew her. The like Sense is here, the Damned cannot come out of their hellish Durance, *till the utmost Farthing be paid*; that is, they shall never come out, and the utmost Farthing shall never be paid.

Origen perverted another Text, Mat. 12. 31. *It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in that which is to come*; and would prove thence that all Sinners shall hereafter be forgiven, and be freed from the Pains of Hell, tho' now Forgiveness is denied to some, namely, such as blaspheme the Holy Ghost. But this is very weak and vain arguing, for these Words do not import that there is any Forgiveness in the World to come, yea they plainly and directly assert that there is none, and there never shall be any: For so 'tis expressed by our Saviour in another Evangelist, *He hath never Forgiveness, but is in Danger of eternal Damnation*, Mark 3. 29. But if you ask why 'tis expressed otherwise in the former Place, I conceive this to be the Reason, to let us know that Sinners shall be both temporally punished in *this World* for their Sins, and eternally in *that which is to come*.

But the main Argument used by Origen is this, that the Doctrine of the Eternity of Hell-Torments doth not become a good natured and Merciful Man, and that it is also inconsistent with the Divine Goodness and Mercy. The former of these is taken notice of by St. Augustine; there are, * he saith, some merciful Doctors that will not believe Eternal Damnation, and he tells us that they were † imposed upon by a certain kind of Human Benevolence; or rather he might have said, a Foolish Pity. And it is as Dangerous as it is Foolish, for the Persuasion that it produces concerning the Cessation of Hell-Torments hath led many into the Commission of the greatest Sins and a continuance in them. And if we preach this Doctrine to others, we shew but little Pity and Kindness to them, whilst thereby we encourage them in their Sins, by taking off that Restraint which

God

* De Civ.
 vit. Dei.
 lib. 21.
 c. 17.
 † Humanâ
 quâdam
 benevo-
 lentiâ mi-
 hi falli vi-
 dentur.
 Enchirid.
 c. 67.

God hath appointed to be a Check to Sin. And if it be said, that the denying of Hell to be Eternal is a good-natured Opinion, and shews a sweet merciful Temper: Then, say I, to hold there is *no Hell* is a better natured Opinion and sweeter yet. And therefore, the best way is to expunge the mention of Hell out of the Bible, and utterly to renounce the Thing it self, as well as the Eternity of it, that we may shew our selves to be singularly *kind-hearted* and *compassionate*, and even as good natured as the *Turks*, who hold that the *Devils* shall be saved by the *Alcoran*. But let us not deceive our selves and others, and under the fond pretence of Mercifulness entertain a Persuasion which will certainly betray us to that Everlasting Destruction which we deny. Let not our Pity to Damned Souls endanger the Damnation of our own; whilst we encourage our selves in Sin here by the expectation of a Release from the Infernal Sufferings hereafter.

And then, whereas it is alleged that the perpetuity of Hell-Torments is not consistent with the *Goodness and Mercifulness of God*, this is a very vain Pretence, unless it could be proved that the Divine *Mercy* and *Justice* are inconsistent. Till this can be done, it is reasonable to assert (especially because the Assertion is founded on the Divine and Infallible Oracles) that the Infinite Source and Author of all, God, the Merciful Creator of the World, the Gracious Benefactor of Mankind, will inflict Endless Torments upon impenitent and obstinate Offenders: For he is *Just* as well as *Merciful*: His Proneness to Pardon doth not make void his Severity in Animadverting on Sin. Yea, it is God's *Goodness and Mercy* to threaten Eternal Torments: For by them he would effectually deter us from Sinning, and make us good. Nay, let me add this, if it were possible, he would have threatned greater than those that are Eternal, to demonstrate His Infinite Desire to save Sinners. Punishment then is the Result of Kindness as well as Justice. And in this the Divine *Mercy* appears, that some are punished Eternally, that others may Repent, and be Saved, and be Eternally happy. And finally, let it be considered, that *Divine Mercy* hath been displayed in this Life, even towards the worst of Men: And therefore it is fit that *Justice* should appear in some single Instance in the other Life: And nothing can make it more signal than the *Eternity* of its duration. *Origen* therefore, and those that take up his Persuasion, concerning the Cessation of Hell-Torments after some Revolutions of Time, on the Consideration of God's *Merciful Nature* (as well as *Man's*) have nothing of weight to plead for themselves.

Other Objectors against the Doctrine which I have been establishing, tell us, that it is inconsistent with the *Justice of God*. What Equity is there, say they, in punishing the Sins of a short Life with Torments that shall never have an end? * *As God observes the Laws of Justice in every thing*, saith one of the *Racovian* Writers, *so here in this Matter he is exactly just, for he inflicts no Punishment on any Sinner that exceeds his Demerits: And there can be no Demerits so great as to bear proportion with everlasting Torments*. And *Socinus* holds the same, and we are told by one of our own Doctors, that † *at present we* (himself and some of *Socinus's* Followers) *can hardly tell how to reconcile Eternal Misery with the Justice of God*. But I have answered this Scruple already in the Account which I gave of the Eternity of Hell-Torments, and I have shewed, that there is a *Proportion* between the Sin and the Penalty, and consequently no *Injustice* is done. And I have proved, that it is requisite for the Governing of the World, that the All-wise and Supreme Ruler of it should threaten Everlasting Punishments to those that break his Laws. And from the whole I made it appear, that the Doctrine of Eternal Torments is as reconcilable to God's Justice, as his Promises of Eternal Happiness are to his Goodness. Let me add this likewise, that though we could not very readily reconcile the endless Pains of Hell with the Divine Justice, and other Attributes, yet we ought to think it reasonable to believe the Certainty of them, because the Holy Scriptures do manifestly and expressly declare them to be True, Real, and Certain: And thence we may confidently conclude, that they are consistent with God's Justice and Goodness, and all his other Attributes.

* Ut Deus in omnibus justitiæ tenax est, ita hic quoque super neminem extendet pœnam meritis ejus majorem. Nulla autem esse possunt peccata tam gravia, quæ sempiternis cruciatibus possunt æquari. Woltzen. Comment. in Mat. 24. 46.

† Archbishop Tillotson's Sermon on the Eternity of Hell-Torments.

There is another *Objection* to be answered, and it is very speciously amplified after this manner; The Evil or Pain inflicted on an Offender by way of Punishment, is intended either in order to the good of the Offender himself, that he may be amended; or for the Security of the Public; or for the satisfying of the Person offended and injured. And therefore, a Desire of Revenge, or Delight in another's Evil or Punishment, any further than as it is serviceable to the good of the Offender, or the whole Community, or the Injured Party, is against all Reason, and the Nature of Punishment, and is unworthy of God, and therefore is not to be attributed to him: But such is the punishing of the Damned eternally; there is no Good arises thence; for the Transgressor himself is not bettered by this Severity, nor doth the Public receive any Profit, nor is God advantaged by it: And consequently it is unreasonable to believe there is any such thing. This seems somewhat plausible; but if we search into it, we shall find that there is nothing of Weight or Moment in it.

For as for the *Two First Ends* of Punishment, which are mentioned, they belong wholly to this Life and not to the other. In this World, the inflicting of Punishment is for the Amendment of the Offender; but yet not always; for Capital Punishments, which bereave Men of Life, cannot be thought to be for that end. Therefore, we have no reason to deny *Eternal Punishments*, because the Persons punished are not amended by them. Then as to the Public Good, or the Warning or Amending of others, this is an End proper to the Punishments of this Life, and therefore it is unreasonable to apply it to the future Punishments of the Damned. But as to the *Third End* and Design of Punishments before-mentioned, that agrees to the *Eternal* one as well as those that are *Temporal*: For it is in respect of God, the injured Party, that this Severity is used; namely, to satisfy his Justice in the punishing of Sinners. For the Design of Punishment is to Assert and Vindicate God's Honour. He is injured by Sin, and therefore he seeks Reparation of this Injury by the Infliction of a severe Penalty. Thus the true End of Punishment is observed in those that are *Everlasting*.

And besides, this is another End and Design of Penal Inflictions, to be a just Return to Sinners for their former Misdoings. They might have done well here, and would not: Hereafter they are punished for it, and this Punishment is but the Fruit and Just Compensation of their wilfully breaking the *Divine Laws*. Let us then make a Difference between *Temporal* and *Eternal Punishment*, and take notice that the *Ends* of them are different; and then we may easily answer what hath been above objected. *Temporal* Inflictions are chiefly designed to reclaim the Offender, or they are for Example to warn others that they offend not in the like Nature: But that which is chiefly intended in the *Eternal* Severity, is the reparation of God's Honour, and the satisfying his Justice, together with the Compensating of the Sinner for what he hath committed, and giving him the Fruit of his Doings, which is now become his Due, and is no other than what he deserved. Yea I will add also, that in this *Eternal Punishment* the Future Good of Persons is regarded: For the Threatning of it was to deter Men from coming into those *Eternal Flames*. The appointing of endless Torments was designed for the Warning and Admonishing of Sinners, and to prevent their future Ruin.

Another *Objection* against the *Eternal Duration* of Hell-Torments is to be frequently met with in the Writings of the *Socinians*, or rather it is a downright Denial of this Doctrine; for they hold, that the Wicked shall be utterly extinguished and annihilated: And then it is impossible they should suffer any Torments. Mr. Hobbes is for the Annihilation of the Wicked, but not presently: * He freely acknowledges that the Torments themselves are *Eternal*, and there shall never want wicked Men to be tormented in them, but none shall be *Eternally* tormented: For the Damned, after they have suffered a Season, shall be destroyed and dye. This is founded on the Words *Perishing*, and *Dying*, and *being Destroyed*, which are applied in Scripture to the Wicked: Whence they gather, that the Wicked shall be deprived of all Being; and particularly Judas is called the Son of Perdition, † because he perishes for ever, and hath no Existence. But nothing can be more vain and idle than this; for *Destruction*, *Death*, *Perishing*, do not import in Scripture, Annihilation, or bereaving of Being, but Unhappiness and Misery,

* Levitat.
chap. 38.

† Volkel.
l. 3. c. 33.

Misery, as I have shewed || elsewhere, and have fully answered this Objection about the Annihilation of the Wicked ; to which I refer the Reader.

|| The Socinian Creed, ch. 5.

Only I will take notice of a groundless Fancy which some of these Men have committed to Writing ; and that is, that the Wicked shall be burnt up and consumed in that Fire which shall at the last Day consume the World : Those Wicked, they mean, that at that time are *surviving* (for as for those that are dead, they hold that they shall never rise) those shall be consumed and reduced to nothing ; which they prove from 2 Pet. 3. 10. *The Earth and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up* : Among which Works Man is the chief. But this is a bad Proof, because hereby is proved more than they designed, and more than they allow of : For if Men be meant by the Works that are in the Earth ; then the Godly also, who are the chiefest and choicest Works of God on the Earth, shall be burnt up and utterly consumed. Which shews the Folly of this Interpretation.

Among the Opposers of this Doctrine of the Eternity of Hell-Torments, I cannot but reckon the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, who * tells us, That though God hath threatned Eternal Torments to the Wicked, yet we cannot conclude thence that the Damned shall suffer these Torments ; for God need not inflict them unless he please. He grants, that by Virtue of his Truth and Faithfulness he is obliged to perform his Promises, but *he is not obliged to execute what he threatens*. And to this purpose he instances in God's threatening to destroy Nineveh, which yet he did not execute. Thus he makes void and null all the Threatnings of Eternal Torments which we find in Scripture. In one Moment he extinguishes the *Unquenchable Fire*. But if we examine this bold Performance or Pretence rather, we shall discover it to be very vain and impertinent, and (which is worse) derogatory to the choicest Attributes of God, namely, his Truth, his Wisdom, his Justice. And also it will appear, that it makes null all the other Threatnings of the Bible, yea and shocks all Revealed Religion, and lastly, takes away the Certainty of the Performance even of God's Promises ; all which I am now to make good.

* In his Sermon of the Eternity of Hell-Torments.

First, This Assertion of the Archbishop, That God is not obliged to execute what he threatens, and therefore Hell-Torments may prove to be not Eternal, tho' they are so expressly and so often threatned as such in Scripture, is derogatory to the Truth and Faithfulness of God : For these are seen in the performing of his Threatnings, no less than of his Promises. They were the Words of a Bad Man, but have great Truth in them ; God is not a Man, that he should lye, neither the Son of Man, that he should repent. Hath he said, and shall he not do it ? or, hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good ? Numb. 23. 19. Here we see, that not to do what is said, not to make good what is spoken, is Lying and Repenting ; and far be it from us to impute these to the Most High. The Strength of Israel will not lye, nor repent, said Samuel to King Saul, for he is not a Man that he should repent. Which Words are spoken concerning the Dreadful Threatnings which God had denounced against Saul and his House : And they let us know that these Threatnings must be fulfilled and executed, or else Lying and Repenting will be imputed to God. So with Respect to the Comminations of Destruction to Jerusalem, 'tis said by God himself, *I the Lord have spoken it, it shall come to pass, and I will do it : I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent*, Ezek. 24. 14. If we hold that God may dispense with his Absolute Threatnings, and that he is bound to inflict the Penalty denounced, we rob God of his Veracity, and make him unfaithful, and even a Lyar. But in the Reality of the thing, it is inconsistent with his Holy and Pure Nature to have such a Character fixed on him : For he *abideth faithful*, 2 Tim. 2. 13. He will make good his Threatnings of Punishment, and he will therein shew himself True and Faithful. For, as it is there added, *he cannot deny himself*, it is impossible for him to be worse than his Word. By Virtue of his Veracity he is obliged to execute what he threatens. I would have this Text considered by the Friends of our Archbishop.

And whereas he produces and alleges the Instance of the Ninevites, to prove that God can recede from his Threatnings, and doth not thereby diminish his Faithfulness : I answer, That that Instance is nothing to the Purpose : For the Destruction of that People was threatned, but not executed ; because they by their Repentance prevented their Ruin. But in the present Case it is supposed,

* Serm.
Vol. 7.
p. 219.

that there is no Repentance; for they are the *Impenitent* only that are *Damned*, and therefore the Penalty of Eternal Torments in Hell cannot be dispensed with on the Account of their Repentance. It is acknowledged by this Person, in another Place, speaking of the *Divine Threatnings*; that Repentance is the *only Condition* that is implied in the *Threatnings* of God, and will effectually bind the Execution of them. Which shews, that he clashes with himself, and doth not attend to his own Reasoning. God cannot remit of his Threatnings, if Sinners continue Impenitent, as in Hell. Therefore he must suppose Repentance there, (which, I do not see he pretends to) or else he must hold that the Threatning is executed, and that there is no remitting of the Punishment denounced. And indeed, neither he nor any Man else can do otherwise, unless they deny God's *Faithfulness*, which consists in being true to his Word, and consequently in fulfilling his Threatnings. And this is an Unchangeable Law of Everlasting Righteousness, and according to the Nature of God himself: Therefore it cannot be omitted. God may do more than he hath any where threatned; but he cannot do less, for this latter is a Breach of his Word. So that we see, that by Virtue of his *Veracity*, God is obliged to execute the Threatnings of Everlasting Fire. And he that denies it, (as this Writer doth) doth as good as tell the World, That though God plainly and expressly declares that the Wicked shall be punished with Everlasting Fire, yet he intends not the Execution of this Threatning, but abuses Mankind and imposes upon them, by false Notions and Apprehensions, by making them believe that his Design was to inflict an endless Penalty on them, whereas he designed no such thing.

Secondly, Not only the *Truth*, but the *Wisdom* of God is impeached by the Archbishop's Assertion. Which I briefly evince thus: If, notwithstanding God's Denunciation of Eternal Misery to the Impenitent, there is Hope that it may never be executed, and that God will not be so severe as his Threatning imported, then all the Terror of his Threatning is taken away, and that by himself; and so he hath cashiered and nulled his own Laws and Sanctions. And can any one reconcile this with the Wisdom of God? Is it consistent with this Attribute, that God should take a Course by his severe Menaces to deter Men from sinning, and yet give them Hopes that there is no Ground of fearing the Execution and Accomplishment of those Threatnings? No, certainly: This argues Weakness and Inconsiderateness rather than Wisdom: And therefore we must be forced to own it for a Truth, That God is obliged to inflict that Everlasting Punishment which he hath so often threatned.

Thirdly, The Denial of this is a derogating from the *Justice* of God. For he is by his Natural Justice obliged to keep his Word, both in Respect of Punishments threatned and Rewards promised. And tho' these latter be the Result of the Divine Goodness and Mercy, yet the performing of the Promise is an Act of *Justice*; as is clear from the Apostle's Words, *He is Faithful and Just to forgive us our Sins*. His Justice is shewed in Acts of Mercy, of which *Forgiveness of Sins* is one of the most Signal. He having out of his free Bounty been pleased to promise this Blessing, and Eternal Life and Happiness to his Servants, he is *Just* in fulfilling the Promise. So on the other hand, he having seriously and in good Earnest denounced Threatnings against the Impenitent, and therein given a Proof of his Natural and Essential Hatred of Sin, and of his Severity against Sinners, he is engaged thereby to perform what he hath threatned, and that by the Law of his own *Righteousness* and *Justice*: So that it is necessary he should inflict those Judgments which he threatned. This is *Justice* properly so called, for Justice is to give every one his own; and Eternal Punishment is a Sinner's own, not only because it is his Desert, and because the Nature of the Divine Laws, and God's Hatred of the Breach of them, and the Vindication of his Honour make it so; but because God hath obliged himself by his Word to give him this as the just Recompense of his Sins. So that there is *wrong done* to the Party if he be not punished according to what was denounced against him.

Fourthly, I further add, that our Reverend Prelate's denying that God is obliged to execute his Threatnings concerning the Eternal Torments of Hell, doth make void all the other Threatnings in the Bible. There are a great many Curses and Judgments denounced in Scripture against the Wicked, some whereof have respect to their Souls, and some to their Bodies; some relate to Temporal Matters, and

and others to Spiritual; some to their own Persons, and others to their Relations, and to Posterity: But all of these, as dreadful as they may seem to be, are but mere Mornings and Scare-crows, if that Doctrine be sound, that God is not obliged by his Faithfulness and Truth, or any other Attributes, to execute what he threatens. And so there may be a Relaxation as to all Punishments and Judgments denounced against Sinners: There may be a Dispensation as to all Future Punishment, as well as that which respects this World. It is likely, God will not inflict any Penalty after this Life, for he is not obliged to it: For it is not the Duration only that is included in the Threatning, but the Punishment it self, and consequently Hell, as well as the Eternity of it, is made null. This is founded upon that Writer's Way of Arguing; for if God's Faithfulness and Justice do not engage him to execute his Threatnings against Sinners, then there is hope that Punishments of all Kinds, whether in this Life, or the other, may be suspended, yea and wholly vacated. Away then with those Mock-Threatnings and feigned Terrors which we find in our Bibles. It is high time that they were rased out of that Book.

Fifthly, This Prelate's Assertion nulls all the Promises (as well as the Threatnings) in that Sacred Volume. To what purpose are there promised unto Holy and Righteous Persons, many Blessings and Privileges that have relation to this Life, and to that which is to come? Yea, why are the Everlasting Joys of Heaven propounded to them, seeing they may all fall short of these? For God's Truth and Faithfulness are no more concerned in fulfilling his Promises than his Threatnings: But according to the foresaid Doctrine his Faithfulness is not concerned for the accomplishing of these latter. Therefore there is as much Reason to question the Performance of God's Promises, as his Threatnings, and to disbelieve the Eternity of Heaven's Rewards and Happiness, as to deny the Eternity of Hell's Punishments, (and so indeed we read that Origen, who denied this latter, denied also the former, and held that the Saints in time should decline and apostatize, and be thrust into Terrene Bodies): I say there is as much Reason to reject the one as the other, if the abovesaid Notion be true.

Nay, I will add, there is greater Shew of Reason for the doubting of the Eternity of Heaven's Pleasures, than of Hell's Torments; for we might argue thus, That seeing the former is a mere Act of Grace, it is in God's Power to suspend the actual bestowing of it: And besides, it is undeserved, and none can claim it as their due. But, on the other hand, Hell is a due Punishment to the Wicked; and therefore it is Necessary, because it is Due. And 'tis a receiv'd Maxim, that Acts of Justice must be done before those of Mercy. But if you say, God's Word is past for the Rewarding of the Righteous, and he will not recall it: So we say, the Word is past for inflicting Endless Punishment on the Ungodly, and he will not recall it. Thus you see how vain and groundless the Archbishop's Hypothesis is, that God can recede from his Threatnings, but not from his Promises. I have shewed, that the Faithfulness and Justice of God are equally concerned in the executing of threatned Penalties, and in the bestowing of promised Rewards. He can no more depart from his Threatnings, than his Promises; because both are Arguments of his Veracity and keeping his Word.

Sixthly and Lastly, This Doctrine and Invention of the Archbishop is a Way to evade the Truth and Certainty of all Revealed Religion. For what Assurance have we of all its Parts, but that they are the Result of God's Good Will and Pleasure? And we know that they are so, because God's Written Word hath assured us of it. There we find it Revealed, that the Design of Christ's Coming into the World was to save Sinners, and that this Christ is both God and Man, and that he suffered on the Cross for our Sake, and rose again from the Dead, and ascended into Heaven for the accomplishing of our Salvation, and shall come from Heaven to Judge the World, and that after that Judgment the Godly shall be Rewarded with Eternal Life in Heaven, and the Wicked shall be punished Everlastingly in Hell. Now, if we doubt of the Performance of these latter, we may as well call in question all the former Articles of the Christian Faith: For there is the same Foundation for them all, to wit, the Discovery made of them in the New Testament. Wherefore the Threatnings of Everlasting Punishment to the Impenitent cannot but be accomplished, because otherwise the rest of the Revealed Doctrines would become precarious, and the Truth of the Holy Scriptures

Scriptures would be shaken, yea quite destroyed. But if the Scriptures be true, and there be any Reality in the other Articles of the Christian Religion, then this concerning *the inflicting of Endless Torments on the Ungodly* is true and real, and there shall certainly be such an Issue and Event, and it cannot be frustrated. For there is no Reason to think that God will abate of the Terms of the Gospel, and be less severe towards Sinners, than he hath revealed in express Words. It is vain and unreasonable Presumption to expect that God will act contrary to his Word, and defeat his own solemn and repeated Threatnings. But rather it is most reasonable to conclude, that the Almighty will be strict and rigorous in the Executing of his Mercy, and punish the Damned according to his Declared Will.

To finish this Discourse, I am now in the last place to add an *Inference* or two.

First then, They fondly flatter themselves, who dream of a Cessation of Torments in Hell. There are too many that are guilty of this, and 'tis a dismal Consideration that they are encouraged in it by those whose Office it is to root out of their Minds such pernicious Notions and Conceits. So the *Papists* tell us that some have been delivered from Hell: Thus *Plato* the Philosopher's Soul was rescued by Christ's Descent thither. Pope *Gregory* the Great prayed to God that the Emperor *Trajan* (of whose Vertues the Good Man had so great an Esteem) might be delivered out of Hell, and his Request was heard, saith *Damasen*. The same was granted to the Soul of *Falconista* (a Heathen Woman) upon the Prayers of St. *Thecla*. The Wicked Son of some Governor was fetched out of Hell-Torments by the Prayers of St. *Agnes*. And so another was rescued by the Intercession of *Macarius* the Monk. *Bellar. lib. 2. de Purg.* Which idle Legends and Forgeries are owing to Men's Credulity and Self-flattery, and to their fond Pity and Compassion, which prompt them to believe and hope that the Punishment for Sin after this Life shall have an End; that the Divine Vengeance will be pacified; and that the Damned shall be taken into Heaven at last, Devils and all. But let us assure our selves (and I hope what I have said will contribute towards it) that these are mere Fancies and Delusions, and will prove destructive to our Souls.

Secondly, Tremble at the Thoughts of these *Everlasting Burnings*. Possess your Minds with the Dread of this Idea of Hell, that it is *for ever and ever*. O Eternity! that vast Gulph which swallows up all our Thoughts and all our Words, all our Conceptions and Expressions! No Numbers, no Measures can reach it, for it exceeds all Arithmetic. And when you have thought of never so many Millions of Years, 'tis nothing to Eternity. This therefore is the greatest Aggravation of Hell-Torments, that they shall never have an End. It would be some Relief to Men's Minds to think that one Day they shall be rid of all their Pain and Anguish. The Expectation and Hopes of being once Rescued from these, would in some part help to support them. But *this*, this is it which Aggravates and Increases the Dolors and Distraction of the Damned, and renders their Condition desperate, that after so many Thousands and Millions of Ages spent in Torments, yet it shall be but as the beginning of them. Think on this, and Tremble.

Thirdly, Be not offended at God's *forbearing of Sinners* in this World. For there is Reason why he spares them, and suffers them to go unpunished. A Thousand Years with him are but as One Day, nay, Ten Thousand Years are but as one single Minute; Yea, with the Damned in Hell they are no more. Seeing then the Divine Justice reserves the Wicked to that Eternity of Punishment, we have no Reason to quarrel with Providence, because their Punishment is put off for a few Days or Years, and that in the mean time they live at Ease, and enjoy their Pleasures. That of the *Psalmist* should be thought of by us, *When the wicked spring as the Grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish; it is that they may be destroyed for ever*, Psal. 92. 7. Why then should we fret at their Flourishing State here, and envy them for their Prosperity? To prevent this, let us consider that Eternal Misery, Incessant Pains, Endless Tortures shall be their Portion hereafter.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, (and which is the principal Inference from the Whole) let the Thoughts of the Eternity of Hell-Torments put us upon this Resolution, Never to be such Fools as to sin *some few Moments*, and by so doing to expose our Bodies and Souls to *Eternal Torments*. Shall incorrigible Sinners feel Eternal Pains hereafter for their past Sins? then let us in good Earnest despise this World, and all its Pleasures (tho' never so charming) which have any Allay of Sin and Vice in them. Let us not run our selves into Eternal Woe and Misery, merely to satisfy a craving Lust. Yea, let us undergo here any Pains and Tortures, to prevent those hereafter. This is a Maxim of Prudence, that a present Evil is to be born, that we may avoid a Future Evil, which we see in *probability* will be much greater than the present One, especially if it will *certainly* be. Much more then are we to endure the greatest Grievance and Calamity in this World, when we know that by it we shall avoid an *Eternal* Misery in the other. Let us then be so Wise and Prudent as to do or suffer any thing in this Life, to secure us from the Everlasting Burnings in the World to come.



TREATISES
AND
DISCOURSES
ON THE
Principal Heads of Religion,
Which Compose a
Body of CHRISTIAN DIVINITY.

The Second PART.
OF
The Lord's-Prayer :
WHEREIN
Is Treated of PRAYER, and what we are to Pray
for in the several Branches of the *Lord's-Prayer.*

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OF PRAYER.



IN TENDING, by the Divine Assistance, to treat of *The LORD'S PRAYER*, which was dictated by Christ the Wisdom of God, and given to be the Pattern of all Prayers, it is requisite, that before I enter upon the Particulars contained in this Prayer, I speak first of all concerning *Prayer* it self. To *Pray*, or Call upon God, is sometimes taken for the Whole Worship of God; as in *Psal.* 14. 4. *Acts* 2. 21. *Rom.* 10. 12. But here we are to take it in a restrained Sense, for that particular Duty of our Religion which is distinct from all the rest, and consists in making our Devout Addresses at the Throne of Grace, both with relation to our selves and others. Here I will shew, 1. The *Nature and Kinds* of this Duty. 2. The *Ends and Usefulness* of it. 3. The *Qualifications* that must attend it. And 4. I will *Apply* the Whole, and there take Occasion to Answer the *Objections* which are levelled against the Doctrine.

First, As to the Nature and Kinds of Prayer, you must know that Prayer is either Mental or Oral. First, There is *Mental* Praying, or the Prayer of the Heart. Of this some interpret those Words of God to *Moses*, in *Exod.* 14. 15. *Wherefore criest thou unto me?* We do not read that *Moses* spake to God at that Time; only in his Heart he desired God's Help at that extraordinary Season, (*viz.* when they were come to the *Red Sea*,) and this is called *Crying*. They that inwardly and silently pray in their Hearts, cry aloud, and this Voice soon reaches Heaven. It is said, that *Hannah*, that devout but disconsolate Woman, continued praying before the Lord, 1 *Sam.* 1. 12. and yet it is added in the next Verse, that *she spake in her Heart, only her Lips moved, but her Voice was not heard*. Whence you may gather, that though the Tongue be silent, yet the Heart may speak, and that speaking in the Heart is Praying. Hence we may understand that of *Clement of Alexandria**, The whole Life of a Good Man is a continual Prayer, and a Conversing with God. *St. Augustin* defines Prayer to be *Colloquium cum Deo*, a holding Discourse with God, which is to be done by the Heart chiefly. And this is that Prayer, which according to *St. Chrysostom*†, is from the Depth of the Soul. Therefore *St. Hilary* said well, *Prayer consists not so much in Words as Affections*. And according to *Damascent*, *Prayer is the Ascent of the Mind*

* Εὐχὴ μὴ αὐτῶ ὁ βίος ἀπὸ
καὶ ὁμιλία πρὸς Θεόν. Strom. l. 7.

† Ἀπὸ τῆ βάθους τῆς διανοίας.
Orat. 5. de Incomprehens. Dei
Naturâ.

unto God. Mr. Perkins hath rightly expressed it, *Prayer consists in the Affection of the Heart: The Voice is but an outward Messenger thereof*. This Mental Prayer the Apostle speaks of, in *Rom.* 8. 26. *The Spirit makes Intercession for us (i. e. makes us pray or intercede) with Groans unutterable*: And what are these Groans, but the most Affectionate and Vehement Desires of the Heart? And these are acceptable Prayers before God. * *The Sigh of a true Christian is a Prayer*, saith *Luther*. * Colloq. Of this Praying of Sighs and Groans, of this Invocation of the inward Affections, it is not improbable the Apostle speaks, when he enjoins the *Thessalonians* to *pray without ceasing*, 1 *Thess.* 5. 17. i. e. to be always lifting up their Souls to God by the secret Prayer of their Hearts. This we can do at all Times and in all Places; and this we ought to do, as we have a Sense of God and Religion upon our Minds.

* Colloq. Mental.

But 2dly, There is *Oral Prayer*, or the Prayer which is put up to God with the Voice: And this is our Duty likewise. Not that I mean it is our Duty to pray without the Heart, (for no such Praying is accepted of God,) but we must not only pray with the Heart, but we must, when we have Opportunity, and as we see Occasion, pray with the Voice. The Mental Prayer is thought by some

* Spond.
ad An.
1623.

to be sufficient: This was the Doctrine of the *Illuminati* in Spain about * Four-score Years ago, who were the same with the *Quietists* lately, whose Founder is *Molinos* a Spanish Priest of Naples, who seems to assert, that Mental Prayer and Contemplation are the only Devotion. But this all Wise Men explode, because it runs counter to the Holy Writ, where Oral Prayer is so often enjoined and commended. Yea, this is that which the Holy Scriptures usually mean by Prayer. And of this I am now to speak, and to give you a particular Account of the Nature of it. There are these Three Things which are requisite to the constituting of it: Or, if you please thus; There are these Three Parts of Oral Prayer, as it is taken in the largest Sense.

The First Part or Act of Prayer, is *Confession*. In Prayer we lay open our Hearts and Lives before God, who knows and sees them better than we do ourselves. We must own our Guiltiness before the Tribunal of Heaven. Yea, we must not only do this in general, but we are obliged to make a Confession of our particular Sins and Offences against God. To which Purpose it will be requisite to examine our Hearts and Lives, and to be acquainted with our selves, and to take a Survey of all our Miscarriages. And we must mention the several *Aggravations* of our Offences; which likewise cannot be done without a particular and distinct Review of all our past Actions.

Secondly, *Petition* or *Impetration* is another, and indeed the most signal Part of Prayer. This is Twofold; 1. For *Our Selves*. 2. For *Others*. When we pray, we desire and beg something for our selves, and that either for our Souls, or for our Bodies. We are to be most of all concerned for the *former*; and therefore in Prayer we are more especially to crave something that relates to Them; *viz.* Conversion and Sanctification, Pardon and Justification; that God would vouchsafe to enrich us with all the Graces of his Holy Spirit; that he would assist and help us against all Temptations, and tread Satan under our Feet; that he would enable us to mortify and subdue our manifold Lusts, and effectually teach us to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present World, and that at length he would bring us safe to his Heavenly Kingdom. Neither are we in our Prayers to be unmindful of our *Bodies*, and the Temporal Concerns relating to them. We consisting of the *Inward* and *Outward Man*, (as they are called by the Apostle) ought to be interested for both. When therefore we betake our selves to Prayer, we are obliged to present before God our Bodily Wants and Grievances, and to implore a Redress of them. When we are reduced to Penury, we ought to beseech him to supply our Necessities: When we are weak or sick, we are bound to desire him to heal our Infirmities, and to bless us with Health: When we are reproached and reviled, we are to pray that our Good Names may be cleared, and our Credit vindicated. And under whatsoever other outward Distress or Oppression we labour, we ought to apply our selves to our Gracious Father, Protector, and Deliverer, and earnestly invoke his Aid and Relief.

Again, Prayer is petitioning not only for *Our Selves*, but for *Others*; and that also, first in Behalf of their Souls; that God would reveal his Will to Mankind, and discover the Riches of his Grace to those that are at present Strangers to it; that he would vouchsafe Repentance to the greatest Sinners, and reclaim the most vile and notorious Offenders; that he would forgive our most implacable Enemies, and turn their Hearts, and change their Natures, and save their Souls. And then with respect to the Bodies and external Concerns of Men, we must pray in general for the distressed and afflicted Part of the World, for all those whose Condition is sad and calamitous. Particularly, in Prayer we must remember the State of those Persons we live with; we must implore the Divine Mercy in Behalf of the Nation and Government we are more nearly concerned in. When any of the Family wherein we live, of the Company which we converse with, of the Kindred we are related to, stand in need of our Prayers, and especially when they desire them, we cannot excuse our selves from making Addresses for them at the Throne of Grace, and beseeching the God and Father of Compassion to remove those Calamities they lye under, and to extend his Mercy to them, according to their particular Necessities and Grievances. But the *Publick* calls for our Prayers chiefly, because we are all interested in that. Wherefore we are engaged to beseech Heaven, that

that we may be freed from those Judgments and Curses which our Impiety and Prophaneness, our Divisions and Distractions have brought upon us, and that we may be preserved from Wars, Pestilences, and Famine, and that we may long enjoy the Blessings of Peace, Health and Plenty, that God would avert from us all Evil and Misery, and confer upon us all the Good Things of this Life which he sees convenient and fit for us.

Where by the by you see that that particular kind of Praying which is called *Deprecation*, and is the form of our *Litany*, viz. a praying to be delivered from what is Evil, properly belongs to this Act of Prayer which I am now speaking of, viz. *Petition*. Thus the Ancient Devotionists framed their Praises; thus *Jacob* directed his Prayer to Heaven, *Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my Brother*, Gen. 32. 11. This was the Language of the distressed Israelites, *Deliver us out of the Hand of our Enemy*, 1. Sam. 12. 10. *Deliver me from the deceitful Man*, Psal. 43. 1. *Deliver me from the Hand of strange Children*, Psal. 144. 11. and in many other Places he uses this Form. And our Blessed Saviour hath taught us to say, *Deliver us from Evil*. Let us then learn to deprecate the Anger and Wrath of God, to beg the averision of those Evils, which are either incumbent on us, or impendent over us.

The Third Part of Prayer is *Thanksgiving* or Praising of God. When we are upon our Knees before him, we are not only to confess our Miscarriages, and to beg for what we or others want, but it is our Duty to praise God for what we have. We must not forget to make a thankful Return for all the Divine Goodness and Bounty which we so plentifully partake of. We are to make a Rehearsal of the particular Blessings vouchsafed to us by the Almighty, and to Extol and Magnify his Name for them. This is a necessary Part of Prayer. As we begin it with Confession, so we must end it with Praise. There are many Examples of this in the Prayers that are recorded in the Holy Writ, and particularly in those that are inserted into the Book of *Psalms*. And after that great Body of Prayers which this Book consists of, you may observe that the Six last are *Psalms of Praise*, and the Five last of them carry *Hallelujahs* in their Front. It is most certain, that Prayer was appointed to set forth the Greatness and Majesty of God, and all his Divine Excellencies and Perfections, but in especial manner his Goodness and Mercy to us. And that this is an *Evangelick Sacrifice* we are assured from that Exhortation of the Apostle, *Let us offer the Sacrifice of Praise to God continually, that is, the Fruit of our Lips, giving thanks to his Name*, Heb. 13. 15. *The Fruit of our Lips*, or (as the Prophet *Hosea* expresses it with a more particular Allusion to Sacrifices) *the Calves of our Lips* are to be offered up daily: But because this is a general Way of Speaking, and so includes Prayer, of which I spoke before, therefore the Apostle here limits and restrains it to *Thanksgiving*. This, as well as the other, is our Prayer daily: When we sacrifice to God by devout Confession and Petition, we must also remember that Part of Religious Oblation which the *Psalmist* commends to us *Psal. 50. 14. Offer unto God Thanksgiving*. When we pray, we are not only to acknowledge our Sins before God, and beg of him good Things for ourselves and others, but we are to own him to be the gracious Author and Donor of all we enjoy: We are gratefully to acknowledge and celebrate his manifold Benefits which he daily heaps upon us.

These are the essential Ingredients of Prayer, and you'll find them set down by the Apostle in 1 *Tim. 2. 1. I exhort that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men*. Here are *Supplications*, the same with *Deprecations*, or praying to be delivered from Evil; which tacitly implies and supposes *Confession* of those Sins for which the Evil and Punishment were sent. Next, here are mentioned *προσευχαι*, i. e. *Petitions* for all good Things: And because this generally is the main and principal Part of our Addresses to God, therefore this gives denomination to the Duty of Prayer. But largely speaking, the other Parts of this Office are truly and properly called *Praying*: As that which is mentioned here in the Third Place, *ἐντεύξεις* *Intercessions*, i. e. *Petitioning* or *Praying for others*. Lastly, Here are added *εὐχαριστιαὶ* *Thanksgivings*, i. e. *Praising God for all his Mercies*. The different Parts of Prayer are thus distinctly reckoned by the same Apostle in another Place, *Phil. 4. 6. In every Thing by Prayer and Supplication with Thanksgiving let your Requests be made known unto God*.

Amplius Requests, is a general Word here, and couches in it *Prayer*, *Supplication*, and *Thanksgiving*; and all of them are comprehended under the common Notion of Invocation or Praying.

Prayer, which is thus comprehensive, is either *Private* or *Publick*. The former is Two-fold, *in the Family*, and *in Secret*. Governors of Families are obliged to pray with those that are their respective Charge. It is likely, the Apostle exhorts to this in *Col. 4. 2.* where directing his Discourse to Masters of Families, he gives this Rule, *Continue in Prayer, and watch in the same with Thanksgiving*: See that you use those necessary Parts of Prayer, Petition and Thanksgiving. Let your Children and Servants joyn with you in this necessary Duty: And I advise you to *continue* in it, *i. e.* every Day, Morning and Evening, take the most convenient time, when your whole Household can come together; and then with united Devotion call upon God in the Name of Christ Jesus the Redeemer. Supplicate the Divine Goodness in behalf of your selves and those who are committed to your Trust: Praise and Extol the Infinite Mercy of Heaven extended Hourly to You and Yours.

But you must remember to pray in *Secret* as well as in your Families. Separate your selves from all Company, and being alone by your selves pour out your Petitions unto God. The Sacred Records of the Bible acquaint us, that King *Hezekiah*, and those Two eminent Prophets *Jeremiah* and *Daniel* did so. The Blessed Jesus did the same, of whom it is recorded that he often retired from all Society, and went and prayed apart. It becomes all his Followers to imitate him herein, and to set apart some time, once in a Day at least, for Secret Prayer to God. To this Purpose mark our Saviour's Words in *Mat. 6. 6.* *When thou prayest enter into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut thy Door, pray to thy Father which is in Secret.* Hence I reasonably infer, that *Closet* or *Secret Prayer* is our Duty. But if our Saviour had not commanded it, we could not but conclude it to be a very requisite Task, because First, hereby we may more freely lay open our Condition before our Heavenly Father. We have many Things to say to God which it is not fitting to acquaint Men with. Secondly, We are to chuse Privacy that we may be the more Intent in our Devotions, and that we may avoid all Distractions and Avocations. Thirdly, This is requisite to shew our Sincerity, and therefore you may observe, that our Lord enjoins this Secret Prayer in opposition to the Practice of the Hypocritical *Pharisees* who affected to pray openly, and in the very Corners of the Streets. But, saith our Saviour, *When thou prayest thou shalt not be as the Hypocrites are*, for they love that way of Praying, that they may be seen of Men: *But when thou prayest, enter into thy Closet: Give a Proof to your selves that you are Sincere and Upright by Praying often in Secret, when no Eye sees you but God's.*

But there is *Publick*, as well as *Private Prayer*, and that is our Duty no less than this. By *Publick Prayer*, I mean joining with the Congregation or Assembly of God's People in Prayer. That Holy Man *David* was remarkable for this, as may be gathered from the 26th, 27th, and 42d *Psalms*. And this is not an Old Testament Duty only, but it was the Practice of the Saints in the New Testament. The Apostles were continually in the Temple praising God, *Luke 24. 53.* And we find them all together at Prayer in *Acts 13.* And again, *Acts 2. 42.* we read that the Three Thousand Souls that were converted, continued stedfastly not only in the Apostle's Doctrine but in Prayers. When *Peter* was cast into Prison by *Herod*, Prayer was made by the Church for him, *Acts 12. 5.* Thus *Publick Prayer*, *i. e.* the joynt Petitions of the Servants of God assembled together to worship him in a more solemn Manner, are founded on the Primitive Practice of Christ's Church. And besides, they are commended to us by irrefragable Reason, for Devotion is inflamed, Piety excited, and Grace cherished in a marvellous manner by this Praying in Consort, by calling upon God not only with one Heart, but with one Voice. Hitherto of the Nature of this Duty.

Secondly, The Ends and Usefulness of Prayer are to be considered. The Office of Prayer was Instituted First, In respect of God. Secondly, For our own Sakes: Thirdly, Because of our Brethren.

First,

First. In Respect of God, who will have Creatures pay Homage to him, acknowledge him their Benefactor, and testify it by Prayer. Prayer then is the Service and Homage that we pay to our Lord and Sovereign. And our very Make and Constitution declare this to us; for we entirely depend upon him, and cannot one Moment subsist without him: Wherefore 'tis rational and fitting that we should own his Protection and Assistance, and confess before him the Miscalriages of our Lives, and implore the Divine Mercy and Pardon, and ask all good things of him. Prayer is a Sacrifice offered to God, and to him alone. In Prayer we turn our Hearts to him that made us, and gave us our Being. Prayer is an Acknowledgment of God, and an Expression of our Dependance on him. Therefore it is the very Notion of a Creature, an Intelligent Creature, to pray, he being (as hath been said) a Dependent Being: And so it is included in the Nature of God to be prayed to by those whom he made. He that prays confesses God to be Omnipotent, and only able to help him: He puts his Trust in him, and really *makes him his God*. Whence the Poet wisely,

** Qui rogat, ille facit.*

* Martial.
l. 8. Epigr.

For the Design of Prayer is to acknowledge the Divine Author of all things, the Supreme Governor and Sovereign of the World: More especially the Intent of it is to represent God's Mercies and Benefits to us, and to cause us to call to mind the Divine Goodness towards us, and to excite us to a becoming Gratitude. In Prayer we offer up our Souls and Bodies to God, and to his Service. Also, we pray to inure our selves to a constant Sense and Apprehension of God's Omniscience and Omnipresence. We pray to him likewise, that thereby we may hold Converse and Communion with him, and have our Souls lifted up to Heaven, and our Affections closely and intimately joyned to him. In brief, we glorify God in a singular Manner by this Sacred Office of Prayer. Thus you see what the *Ends* of Prayer are in Respect to God.

Secondly, This Duty was instituted and designed for *Our Sakes*. The Profit of it is ours, and this is very great, as appears hence; because it is a proper and powerful Means to derive on us Temporal and Spiritual Blessings.

1. God hath appointed Prayer as a Means to convey Temporal Mercies to us, and to hinder all Kinds of Bodily Judgments and Plagues from seizing on us. *Let me alone, that I may consume this People,* saith God, *Exod. 32. 10.* whereby is signified to us that *Moses's* Prayers, who at that time besought the Lord for that People, were the Cause that they were not consumed. *The Lord repented of the Evil which he thought to do unto them.* Prayer pacifies the incensed Majesty of Heaven, and conciliates his good Will. Thence the Hebrew Word *Palal* signifies both to Pray and to Appease. Prayer was of that Force, that *Joshua* by it stopt the Sun in its full Career, and caused it to stand still. *Jacob* is said by his Strength (i. e. his fervent Prayer) to have had Power with God, and to have prevailed, *Hos. 12. 3.* Almighty God is pleased to bid us command him, *Isai. 45. 11.* which is done by importunate and zealous Prayer. How efficacious Prayer is *St. James* acquaints us from that Eminent Instance of *Elias*, who by this alone opened and shut the Heavens, *He prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not for the Space of three Years and six Months. And he prayed again, and the Heavens gave Rain, and the Earth brought forth her Fruit, Jam. 5. 17.* Prayer is the Key that locks and unlocks the Clouds, that gives or with-holds Rain. In *2 Kings 6. 17, 18.* you will find by a rare Example, that this opens and shuts the Eyes of Men: The Prophet by this caused his Servant to see a whole Host of Men, but smote the Syrian Army with Blindness. When *Jehosaphat* ~~himself~~ *himself* to seek the Lord, and when all Judah gathered themselves together to ask Help of the Lord, the Effect of this was wonderful and amazing, as you may inform your selves from *2 Chron. 20.* To wave all other Examples in the Old Testament (which are very numerous) I will remind you only of *Solomon's* Prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, *1 Kings 8.* where he suggests unto us the manifold Advantages which accrue by the right Performance of this Duty. If Wars infect a Nation, this is the surest Procurer of Peace: If Death and Famine rage in a Land, this restores Plenty and Abundance: If the Heavens be as Brass, and the Earth as Iron, this dissolves them and

and makes them relent into Showers. On the contrary, if excessive Rain and Water be our Grievance, this soon dries them up. If the Pestilence reigns in our Streets, this Holy Breathing can purge the Air, and dispel the infectious Vapours, and bring back Health again. In fine, whatever Calamities, whether private or publick our Sins have procured us, devout and penitential Prayer is able to remove them, and to crown us with all the Blessings which this Life affords.

* Euseb.
Nicephor.
Orosius.

The Glorious Angels are commanded by Prayer, as we learn from *Acts* 12. 5, &c. When Prayer was made without ceasing of the Church for Peter then being in Prison, one of those Ministering Spirits was fetched down from above to conduct him out of that Durance, and an Iron Gate flew open of its own accord to make way for him. The Christians of old, in the Emperor *Antoninus's* Army in the *Sarmatick War*, * obtained Thunder and Lightning by Prayer against their Enemies; for which Reason they were called the *Thundering Legion*. And on this followed as wonderful an Effect; for the Emperor who had with a fresh Persecution disturbed the Peace of the Church, became now mild and favourable to the Christians: And truly he had Reason to be so; for by their Prayers his Army was crowned with Victory. Prayer is of that Vertue that it is able to divert all Judgments, and to bring down all Blessings. It mightily prevails with God, and (if I may so speak with Reverence) forces and extorts Mercy from him. One said of *Luther*, who was wonderfully prevalent in Prayer, *That Man could do what he would*. It is true, in its Proportion, of every Pious and Godly Supplicant, he can do as he pleases, he can wrestle with Omnipotence, and overcome: He can besiege Heaven, and take it by Violence. The Apostle *St. James* expresses the Efficacy of Prayer briefly, but fully, *and it availeth much*, *Jam. 5. 16*. It is very strong and powerful, *it can effect much* (as the Greek may be rendred) nothing is able to resist and vanquish it: You see this is true as to things Temporal: Let us examine next what its Power is as to those that are Spiritual.

2. Prayer is a powerful Means to derive all Spiritual Blessings on us. It is a Help against all Sins, and promotes all Vertues; and that First as a Blessing goes along with it, it being a Duty commanded. It is not to be doubted that God will succeed and prosper his own Ordinance. His Appointment is sufficient to assure us that it shall have a good Effect and Issue. Secondly, It is thus helpful as it hath a Natural Vertue to restrain Sin and to promote Grace and Holiness. From what hath been said already it is manifest, that Prayer doth include in it several Graces; for when we pray as we ought, we acknowledge that we owe all to God, we hope and trust in him, we glorify God and pay him that Honour which he hath reserved for himself. Besides, we give Proof of our Repentance, we express our Thankfulness, we exert frequent Acts of Love and Zeal. But that which I am to make good at present is, that Prayer promotes all these Vertues, and many more, and effectually furthers a Holy Life.

I will make this evident from the following Particulars: 1. In Prayer we solemnly place our selves before God, we professedly present our selves in his Sight, and we call on him who sees all our Actions and will certainly take an Account of them. The Sense of this Divine Presence, the Impression of this All-seeing Majesty before whom we appear, and to whom we must be accountable, cannot but strongly influence our Hearts and Lives, and cause us to renounce our Sins, and to cleanse our selves from our Impurities, not only when we come before him, but through the whole Course of our Lives. How can we approach the Throne of Grace with unmortified Lusts and unsanctified Lives, when all these things are naked and open to the Eyes of him with whom we have to do, with whom we daily converse by Prayer? 2. Hereby we come to know our selves (which is a great Part of Wisdom) and by that means to be sensible of our Guilt, and to reflect upon our Sins with an Abhorrence of them. 3. In our Prayers we confess our Offences with Shame and Blushing, and on this account our constant approaching to God in this Religious Service must needs be a Furtherance to Vertue and Goodness; for we are Ashamed of what we are engaged to Renounce. If it be shameful to be Vicious, then this is a cogent Argument that we should embrace the contrary. However, it is a good Guard against the Commission of Sin for the future; for having called our selves Fools for what we have

have done, we have thereby some Restraint upon us from doing the same thing afterwards. 4. By Prayer we solemnly testify our Unwillingness to commit Sin, and our Desire of the contrary; for else why do we make this the Matter of our Prayer? When we freely disclose and faithfully discover our Malady, our Disease, we shew that we long to be freed from it, to be cured and healed. Wherefore this is very useful to engage us to a godly and righteous Life. 5. At the same time that we shame our selves by *Confession*, we include in our *Petitions* certain Purposes and Resolves against Sin, and we lay an Obligation on our selves to live godlily, by solemn Promises which we make of doing so. And on this Consideration Prayer exceedingly contributes to Holiness, and is very subservient to the Designs of Righteousness and Piety. 6. Prayer is a proper Means of obtaining Grace, and advancing all Holiness, because it wonderfully fixes the Mind, and brings it to a Settledness. When in Earnest we employ our selves in this Holy Exercise, we arrest our Thoughts, we become more than ordinarily serious, we consider what we do, we act deliberately, and with great Concernedness of Mind: Which very Things are in themselves direct Enemies to Sin and Wickedness; for the want of Serious Advertency is the Cause of most Disorders in our Lives. By Prayer then we are made to Attend to the great and necessary Business of Religion, and so it conduces in its own Nature to a strict and holy Conversation.

Again, 7thly. If it be performed in a due manner, it must needs do this, because it excites and rouzes us, it powerfully moves and stirs up the Soul. Thence the Natural Sloth of it is expell'd, and we come to be very apprehensive of what we do, and what our Condition is, and we grow Active in our Lives: And now there is great Hopes of doing our Work successfully, and that we shall make considerable Progress in Religion, and the Ways of Godliness. 8. The daily Exercise of Prayer puts us in mind of our weak Natures, our continual Wants and Necessaries, and for that Reason is very useful in our Lives, and is serviceable to restrain Pride and Arrogance, and to keep us always in a humble and submissive Posture. This sets our Infirmities and Failings continually before our Eyes, and represents the Naughtiness of our Hearts to us, and consequently disposes us for Humility, and begets in us mean and debasing Thoughts of our selves, which are the Ground-work of all Piety. 9. Prayer is a proper Means to make us like unto God; for by frequent conversing with him, we shall learn to resemble him. Communion begets Likeness. We coming often before him, bear the Idea of him in our Minds, and are as it were transformed into it. By looking constantly upon him, we gain his Image. By being so frequently in his Presence, we cannot but imitate him. Lastly, The Use of this Holy Exercise is to divert us from the World, and to fix our Minds on Heaven. For by Prayer we abstract our selves from all Secular and Worldly Affairs, and wholly employ our Thoughts about Things of an higher Nature. Thus it is the Noble Design of *Prayer* to make us heavenly-minded, to prepare us for communing with God hereafter, to fit us for another World. Hearty Desires and Prayers are the Two Wings of the Soul whereby it ascends to Heaven, and converses with the Divine Majesty. From these short Hints I think I have fully demonstrated that *Prayer* naturally serves to the Purpose of *Holiness*, that it is hugely instrumental to all Piety, and capacitates the Soul for the Reception of Grace and God's Spirit. Yea, from what hath been suggested, it is evident that this Religious Performance is an Help not only to *Goodness* but *Happiness*.

Thirdly, Not only in Respect of God and of Our Selves, but also in Regard of our Brethren, this Duty is necessary. As you derive all kinds of Blessings on your selves, so you may upon them likewise, by fervent Prayer. God intended that we should be beneficial to our Brethren by this means: For as all Christian Duties and Graces were designed not only for the promoting of God's Glory and our own real Good, but the Benefit of Others; so it was the Intention of Heaven, that *Prayer* in particular should be serviceable to the Welfare of those that we converse with in the World; that all Men should receive Advantage from those Addresses we put up to God, and in some measure be bettered by them. Prayer is an Act of Kindness and Charity; and we can thus shew our selves Charitable, when all other ways of doing it are denied us. Yea,

there is no way wherein we can be more beneficial to others, than in this. If we perform this Duty aright, we are in a Capacity to convey a Blessing to all Mankind ; to help and relieve them in their Distresses, whether they be Spiritual or Temporal ; to be instrumental to procure them the Good Things of this Life and of another. And thus I have shewed what are the *Excellent Ends* of this Sacred Office of Prayer. How great Care should there be, that we perform it *aright* ? Otherwise it will never reach these Admirable Ends which I have mentioned.

* Περὶ
προσευχῆς.

Thirdly, therefore, I am to assign the due *Qualifications* of Prayer, which is the next Thing I undertook. Every Prayer will not reach the Ears of God, and derive Blessings and Favours unto us. This the Great *Plato* was sensible of, when he composed his Treatise ** of Prayer*, a whole Dialogue, where he shews the Follies and Miscarriages of Men in their petitioning the Gods. It is necessary therefore that I give you some Directions for the right ordering of your Addresses and Supplications to the Almighty. *In general*, we are to direct our selves by this, That Prayer must be according to the Rule of God's Word ; for no Prayer is acceptable that is not regulated by this. But then this Word tells us *particularly*,[†] that we must pray in or by the Spirit ;[†] that we must perform this Duty with Humility and Reverence ;[†] that we must do it with Resignation to God's Will ;[†] that we must discharge it with Faith ;[†] that it must be attended with Brotherly Love ;[†] that it must be accompanied with Hatred of Sin, and hearty Repentance ; lastly,[†] we must pray continually.

I begin with the first Qualification of Prayer, which is this ; it must be *in or by the Spirit*. This is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures of the New Testament ; and it is as commonly misunderstood. I will therefore diligently and impartially enquire into those Texts which speak of *praying in the Holy Ghost*, and *praying in or with the Spirit* (for by the way, we may take notice, that there is no praying *by* the Spirit in Scripture, according to our Translators, though I deny not that the Greek *τῷ πνεύματι* might be rendred *by the Spirit* ; and so *ἐν πνεύματι* might be translated ; as is clear from the Acception of the Preposition *ἐν* in *Mark* 12. 36. which our Translators rightly render *by* ; and 'tis easy to produce several other Places where the Preposition is so rendred :) I will enquire, I say, into those Texts which are appropriated to this matter, and endeavour to acquaint you with the true Meaning of them. Whereever you meet with the foresaid Expressions in Scripture, they always signify one of these Three Things (which I desire you seriously to observe, because it will give you a true Understanding of the so much controverted Point of *Praying by the Spirit*.)

1. *Praying in the Holy Ghost*, or *with*, or *by the Spirit*, signifies an Extraordinary and Miraculous Gift of Praying, bestowed by God upon the Apostles and some other Christians in the First Ages of the Church. And this Gift was Twofold. 1. That of praying in an Unknown Tongue. 2. A Supernatural Ability of praying in their Mother-Tongue. Of the former of these you read in 1 Cor. 14. 14, 15. *If I pray in an Unknown Tongue, my Spirit prayeth, but my Understanding is unfruitful. What is it then ? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also : I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the Understanding also.* From which Words, and those immediately foregoing, we may infer, that the Gift of Prayer at that Time was Part of the Gift of Tongues. The Christians had a Faculty of Praying on a sudden, even in Strange Tongues, unknown both to the Speakers and Hearers. And therefore *praying with the Spirit*, and *praying with the Understanding*, are opposed one to another : The Former is praying in an unknown Tongue by the special Ability given by the Spirit : The Latter is interpreting into the Known and Vulgar Tongue that which was pray'd in an Unknown Tongue. And the Apostle calls it *his Spirit* (*my Spirit prayeth*, saith he) because it was particularly given to him, as well as to other Apostles and Christians in that Age. And though he saith *my Spirit* in one Verse, yet it is *the Spirit* in the next, where he applies it not only to Praying but to Singing. *I will sing*, saith he, *with the Spirit* : Whence it appears that the Apostles had an Inspired Faculty of Poetry in a Strange Tongue. They could on a sudden compose Psalms fit to be sung, which are called *Spiritual Songs*, Eph. 5. 19. because they were indited by this extraordinary Gift of the Spirit.

I will

I will only further take notice here by the by, of the Absurdity of a * late Author's Interpretation of *προσέυχεται τῷ πνεύματι* in the forecited Place to the *Corinthians*; where by *πνεῦμα* he understands *Breath*, and so according to him the Apostle speaks of *Praying with the Breath or Voice*. Which is a manifest mistaking of the Apostle's meaning in this Place, and indeed in the whole Chapter. For you will learn from the 1. ver. that his Design was to speak of *πνευματικά* *spirituals* (which in the 12th v. he calls *πνεύματα* *Spirits*) i. e. Gifts of the Spirit; and accordingly he all along, but more especially in the 14th and 15th ver. Discourses of those marvellous Endowments of the Spirit which were then in the Christian Church: Wherefore, there is no Reason to think that *πνεῦμα* is to be taken in the Sense which that Ingenious Writer suggests. The comparing of the 2d v. of this Chapter with those just now mentioned, will make this more evident; for thence it will appear how the Apostle uses this Word *πνεῦμα*; and it will be seen that *πνεῦματι λαλεῖν* is of the same Nature and Purport with *τῷ πνεύματι προσέυχεται*, for as to *speaking by or in the Spirit* (as we render it) is when a Man by the extraordinary Gift of the Spirit utters very Divine and Heavenly Things (called here *Mysteries*) though he is not understood, because he speaks them in an unknown Tongue, so to *pray by or in or with the Spirit* (for there is no Preposition prefixed to the Word, and therefore we may translate it any of these Ways) is by virtue of a miraculous Gift to utter Things in Prayer in an unknown Language.

But it is likely there was another extraordinary Gift of Prayer in the Primitive Times, viz. in a Language that was known and understood, i. e. their Mother-Tongue. And so the extraordinary Gift of Prayer in the Apostles Times was praying by immediate Inspiration. To this Sort of Prayer it is probable St. Paul refers when he gives this Charge to the *Thessalonians*, 1 Epist. Chap. 5. ver. 19. *Quench not the Spirit*. Which is adjoined to *Despise not prophesying*; and thence I gather that the one is spoken of the extraordinary Way of *Praying*, the other of the extraordinary *Preaching* in those Days: For those that were *Prophets* at that time prayed and prophesied (i. e. interpreted the Scriptures) by the immediate Impulse and Dictate of the Spirit. The former of these is, that *χάρισμα ἐνχρῆς*, that Gift of Prayer which among other miraculous Donations St. Chrysostom saith, was bestowed upon the First Planters of the Christian Church who were to pray in Publick for the rest. It consisted in this, that the Holy Ghost immediately suggested to them both the Matter and Words of their Prayer. Now, neither of those extraordinary Gifts, which I have mentioned, do concern us: Not that which was part of the Gift of Tongues, for it is acknowledged by all that that is ceased, and we may as well expect to *Sing by the Spirit* as to *pray with the Spirit* in this Sense. Nor doth that other Endowment, viz. of *Praying by immediate Inspiration* belong to us, for this (no less than the other) is ceased also, at least as to any constant use of it; as the most Pious Men, and such as have the most intimate Commerce with Heaven are ready to confess. The Gift of Prayer now is not the Product of Immediate Revelation, and consequently, *praying in the Holy Ghost* in this Sense is not a Qualification of our Prayers.

2. *Praying in or by the Spirit*, is according to the Stile of Scripture praying by the Assistance and Help of the Holy Spirit. Thus St. Jude is to be understood, who exhorts the Christians to *pray † in the Holy Ghost*, v. 20. For this being joyned with *building up themselves in their most Holy Faith, and keeping themselves in the Love of God*, and other Expressions which relate to the common Salvation, I thence gather, that it is not meant of any Miraculous and Extraordinary Endowment, but of some usual Gift which all Pious and Sincere Christians had conferred upon them. And what can this be, but their being assisted by the Spirit in their Prayers? The Apostle therefore tells us what *Praying by the Spirit* is: *The Spirit helpeth our Infirmities*, saith he; *for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: But the Spirit it self maketh Intercession for us with Groanings that cannot be uttered*, Rom. 8. 26. Of our selves, and without the Direction of the Spirit, we know not what is to be the Matter and Subject of our Petitions; for it is not said we know not *how* but *what* we should pray for. Not the Words, but Things to be petitioned for are intended here. Unless the Holy Spirit Guide and Actuate us, we are not able to tell what is best for us, and what is most conducive to God's Glory. Wherefore *the Spirit maketh Intercession for us*, i. e. helps us to inter-

* Sir N.
Kn. in loc.

† Εν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

cede for our selves, and to pray for that which will certainly tend to our Welfare, as well as to God's Honour. Thus the Spirit is inwardly assistant to us, and it is impossible to pray aright, and so as we shall be acceptable to God, if we are denied this Aid and Guidance. As all our other Actions and Duties in Religion are rendred effectual by this, so in a more especial manner are our Prayers. Then we may be truly said to *Pray by the Spirit* when we are enabled by this Divine Helper to pray as we ought.

But *Thirdly*, Spirit is meant not only of the Third Person in the Holy Trinity, but of our Spirit or Mind: And accordingly, *praying in or with the Spirit*, is praying in or with our own Spirit, Soul, or Mind. This, as I conceive, the Apostle speaks of in Eph. 6. 18. where he enjoins us to *pray with all Prayer and Supplication* * in the Spirit. Which comprehends these following Things in it.

* εν Πνεύματι.

First, Praying with the Understanding. It is true, in one of the forecited Texts *Praying with the Understanding* is opposed to *Praying with the Spirit*: But in the Sense that is now before us, it is consistent with it, and indeed is a considerable Part of it: For Religion being our *reasonable Service*, we ought to serve God with our Intellectual Part, we ought to know what we do when we worship him. Though Praying in an Unknown Tongue was one of the Gifts conferred on the Apostles, for the same end that other extraordinary Gifts were bestowed, viz. to convince Infidels of the Divine and Almighty Power of the Donor, and consequently to perswade them of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and to win them to the embracing of it; yet now when Christianity is Propagated and Established, and there is no more need of Miracles, it is absurd and unreasonable to call on God in a Language that we understand not. Wherefore, the Church of Rome is justly condemned for practising the contrary, and thereby making the Office of Prayer a Mechanical and Senseless Thing. He cannot be said to *Pray in the Spirit* who Prays not with his Understanding, and Knowledge of what he saith. Nor,

Secondly, Can he properly be said to do so, who prays not with *Attention* and *Seriousness of Mind*. The Gentile Worshippers had a Sense of this: they thought it not fit to worship their Gods in a careless manner, but they were to do it with composed and steady Minds. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*, tells us, that it was one of his Injunctions, that before all solemn Prayers and Devotions the People should be warned to attend, to lay aside Secular Thoughts; and to mind the Business they were about. In Christianity this is to be observed much more. He that gives leave to his Thoughts to wander whilst he is calling upon God, he that is minding of other Matters whilst he pretends to be employed in this Divine Service, knows nothing of the *Spirit of Prayer*. Wherefore, here again, some of the Vulgar Devotionists among the *Papists* are to be censured, who jabber over their Prayers by rote, and attend not to what they say. They run over the Petitions of the *Pater Noster* with no more Devotion than Mariners do the Points of their Compass. Too many *Protestants* are no less guilty in this kind, by being heedless and careless in their Approaches to God, and not joining Inward Attention to their Outward Devotion. But if we are able to say with the Devout *Psalmist*, *Our Hearts are fixed*, our Hearts are firmly set on that Pious Work which we are engaged in, then we do in some measure *pray in or by the Spirit*.

Thirdly, *Sincerity* is another Qualification of *Spiritual Prayer*. When thou Prayest, saith our Saviour, thou shalt not be as the Hypocrites are: And what that is he tells us immediately after, viz. that they may be seen of Men, Mat. 6. 5. They pray to gain Applause, to be thought to be zealous above others, to have the Repute of Religious and Heavenly Persons. And others perform this Duty not out of Conscience and Obedience to the Divine Command, but to gratify some other unlawful Desire, and to accomplish some base and unworthy Design. But the loudest Cries of such Men (though they seem never so formal and solemn) are accounted by God no other than brutish Howling, as he himself saith by the Prophet *Hosea*, Chap. 7. v. 14. *They have not cried unto me with their Heart when they howled upon their Beds*. This is it which renders their Petitions so displeasing to God, namely, that they are not with their Heart and Spirit. They dissemble with the Almighty, and do not inwardly and from their Hearts wish for what they beg. Thus some Covetous Men may be heard sometimes perhaps to pray against

against the Love of the World, but there is no Agreement between their Lips and Hearts. It may be some Proud Men may pray for Humility, but they do not cordially desire the thing. St. *Austin* confesses that when he was Youthful he prayed for Continence, but whilest he did so, he had no desire to be heard. There is such a thing among *Lawyers* as *quietè clamare*. There is even among some *Christians* such a thing, they cry, but it is done very faintly, and they do not care to be heard. How many Persons pray that God would keep them from Sin, and yet wilfully run into it? After they have been begging that their Lives may be strict and holy, they go and indulge them in loose and vicious Enterprizes. But such Praying is no other then Mocking of God. So likewise when they pray for the Good Things of this Life, they seldom do it with a Sincere Intention; i. e. they desire them not for God's Glory, or their and others real Welfare, but for some evil and sinister Ends. This, as St. *James* saith, is *Asking amiss*, and he gives the Reason why, viz. because they ask these things *that they may consume them on their lusts*, Jam. 4. 3. Who can say, or who can think that this is a Prayer from a pure Heart and upright Intentions? Who can imagine that this proceeds from a Right Spirit? None that understand what Spiritual Prayer is, can entertain any such Thoughts and Apprehensions. We must be Hearty in our Prayers, we must really intend what we pray for, before we can truly be said to pray in the Spirit.

Fourthly, To pray in or with the Spirit, is to discharge this holy Duty with the greatest Earnestness and Fervency of Spirit. The Spirit of Prayer is an Ardent and Vehement Affection in Prayer. This is called the Spirit of Supplications, Zech. 12. 10. and is there promised to be poured forth on the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, i. e. the Faithful Servants of God, and the true Israelites. This in the Stile of Scripture is to pour out our Hearts before God, as the Psalmist exhorts the Godly to do, Psal. 62. 8. This is to pour out the Soul before the Lord, as 'tis said of that sorrowful but pious Suppliant, 1 Sam. 1. 15. This expresses the Vehemency and Intensity of her Praying. This is (according to the Hebrew Way of speaking) to pray with Prayer, as 'tis said the Prophet Elias did, Jam. 5. 17. but we render it he prayed Earnestly. And this Earnest Praying is called in the Verse before *ἐν σπύριτι*, effectual fervent Prayer; for tho' that be but * one word in the Original, yet our Translators render it by two Words, because they could not find one that was able to express the full meaning of it. Perhaps this Epithet refers to the *ἐν σπύριτι*, such as in the Primitive Times were possessed with Spirits; and then from this manner of Expression we learn, that Righteous and Godly Men are, whilest they pray, possessed, filled, acted by a Divine and Holy Spirit, they are wonderfully moved and transported by this, and they shew it by their Fervency and Vigour. This is meant in that place before cited, *The Spirit maketh Intercession for us with Groans that cannot be uttered*: We are to understand by these unutterable Groans those Ardent Affections, those Earnest and Zealous Movings of the Heart which Holy Men feel whilest they are Praying. These cannot be uttered, they cannot be spoken in Words; and therefore these oftentimes are felt where there is no Vocal Prayer, where there is no Outward Shew or Appearance of Praying; But (as it follows in that place) *He that searcheth the Hearts, knoweth what is the Mind of the Spirit*; i. e. though others know nothing of these Passionate Desires and Fervors of the Heart in Prayer, yet God who searcheth the Hearts is acquainted with them. And this Ardency of Soul is well set forth by the Apostle in Col. 4. 12. *Labouring fervently in Prayers for you*: And in Rom. 15. 30. *I beseech you, that you strive together with me in your Prayers to God for me*. *Ἀγωνίζεσθαι* is the word in both Places, (only in the latter the Preposition *σύν* is prefixed to the Verb) and so the Expression is a Metaphor borrowed from the Combatants in the Grecian Games, who strove and contended for Mastery. The like we are to do in our Prayers: It is required of us that we contend, fight, wrestle; We must combat with Heaven, and strive with the Almighty, with all humble Reverence speaking to him, as *Jacob* to the Angel, *I will not let thee go, unless thou bless me*. We must Address our selves to God with Intensity and Ardour of Mind, with mighty Affection of Heart, begging and crying as for our Lives. This is the Spirit of Prayer.

* ἐν σπύριτι
ἔστιν.

And

* Bagnah
quæſivit,
oravit,
precatus
eſt: cale-
factus fu-
it, effer-
buit, ebul-
livit.

And this Earnestness, this Striving, this Fervency, will discover it self sometimes in a loud and passionate Elevating of the Voice, and other Tokens and Signs of a deep Affection: Herein imitating our Saviour, who *in the days of his flesh offered up Prayers and Supplications, with strong Crying and Tears*, Heb. 5. 7. This Earnestness sometimes causes a vehement Repeating of the same Words, a doubling and redoubling of the Request, of which we have several Instances in David's Prayers. These are the Effects of the more Ardent Sallies of the Soul, and the boiling up of Divine Love and Zeal in it. It is true, Inordinate and Extravagant Passion is no Attendant of Evangelical Devotion; but a Due Fervor and Height of Spirit must be its constant Companion. I have observed that the * Hebrew Word, which signifies to Pray, signifies also to be Hot. We may improve the Criticism to our present Purpose, and suggest to our selves how necessary it is that Prayer and Heat should go together. And to promote this Spiritual Warmth and Vigour, we must take care to approach the Throne of Grace with a deep Sense of what we appear before God for, with a thorough feeling of our Wants and Necessities: Then we shall like Poor and Necessitous People, be very Earnest and Zealous in our Petitions; we shall cry mightily unto God to help and relieve us; and we shall apply our selves to him with all our Force and Strength. Ask your selves then, whether you are Warm at your Prayers, or whether you are of the Number of those who Pray so coldly and indifferently, that they cannot be said to hear themselves? How then can they expect that God should hear them? The *Eccho* doth not use to answer and resound a faint *Whisper*. It is certain that our Prayers are not answered, unless we put them up with some Vigor and Life, with great Fervor and Devotion. But if we be Cold and Dead at this Work, if we be Indifferent whether we receive the Things which we pray for or not, it is a certain Argument that there is no *Spirit of Prayer* in us.

*Wilkins's
Gift of
Prayer.
To the
Reader.

And thus I have shewed you what it is to *Pray by the Spirit*, which is the first and main Qualification of our Prayers. Now, I cannot but remark to you here, that the Spirit of Prayer is much mistaken by some Men, and those very good and pious too, I mean some of those who think it to be a Faculty of *Extemporary* Praying. Many are of this Opinion, and they assert that no Man prays *by the Spirit* who hath prepared his Words and Matter before-hand. But these Persons seem to confound the Notions of Things, and make the *Gift of Prayer* and the *Spirit of Prayer* to be all one, which is a gross Error and Mistake. It is rightly owned and confessed by * one that hath treated of the *Gift of Prayer*, that is, as 'tis to be acquired by Study and Premeditation, that the *Performance of the Duty of Prayer in a spiritual manner is from Infusion from above, and doth not fall under the Rules of Art*. These two, the *Gift* and the *Grace* of Prayer are distinct from one another, and one may, and oftentimes doth, subsist without the other. I have shewed that that *Spirit of Prayer* which we are capable of, is praying by the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, and praying with Understanding, Attention, Sincerity, and Fervency of Soul. God accepteth of no Prayers which are not thus qualified. But as for the *Gift of Prayer*, or the Ability to conceive and utter Prayer without Premeditation, this is not absolutely required to the Acceptance of our Prayers, nor is it a necessary Condition of the Prayers of the Gospel. For,

First, I do not read that this is mentioned among the *Ministerial Gifts* for the Edification of the Church, nor among the *Requisites* of a Bishop or Pastor in the Epistle to Titus. If any shall here allege those Words of our Saviour in Mark 13. 11. *Take no thought before-hand what ye shall speak, neither do ye meditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost*. I Answer, 1. This Promise made to the Apostles was Extraordinary: and therefore we must not depend on immediate Assistance and Inspiration, because they had it. 2. This was promised in time of Persecution, and therefore it is not to be extended to all times. 3. This Promise refers to their speaking before a *Magistrate*, not their speaking in Prayer among one another. 4. If it related to Prayer, it might as well relate to *Preaching*; and then it might now be alleged to prove that Ministers must not think before-hand what they shall speak, nor premeditate what they shall deliver. But this is not granted by any Persons of Sobriety and Consistence of Reason. The short is, that this Promise of our Saviour was an Extraordinary Encouragement to the Apostles, and is to other Chri-

Christians in the time of their Persecution, yea, and to Christians in all Ages, when there is Occasion : They shall be assisted and supported after an unusual Manner by the Holy Spirit ; they shall be enabled to speak with Boldness before the Tribunals of Princes and Judges, in Defense of themselves and that Faith which they profess. This, I conceive, is the true meaning of the Words ; and accordingly they are no Argument against what I have said.

2. Let it be consider'd that some of the most eminent Servants of God never had this Gift of Prayer, *i. e.* the ability to express their Desires to God at all times on a sudden, and that with great Easiness and Readiness. For to this Gift there are requisite a good Memory, a present Recollection of Matter, a voluble Tongue, besides Use, and often exercising themselves. Now, these are not the Attainment of all good Men, and consequently they have no Gift of Prayer. Yea, some able and eminent Ministers of the Church (acknowledged to be such by those that are not of this Opinion) have either been destitute of this Ability, or did not exert it, especially in their *Publick Ministry*. Of this sort were *Luther, Melancthon, Calvin*, three of the most renowned Reformers Abroad. And at home it is certain that *Cartwright, Perkins, Hilderham, Sibbs*, and others (some of them Non-conformists) always used a set Form of Prayer before Sermon, and that always the same. He that consults the Lives of these worthy Persons, and other excellent Divines, shall find that this is true. *Dr. Taylor* the Martyr used the Common Prayer Book in private, when he was in Prison. *Bishop Usher* used always one and the same Form, and gave this Reason, because in Prayer he spoke to God, in Preaching to Men. From this and other modern Examples which I could produce, it appears that a Man may be a Godly and Holy Person, and yet not pray by Gift. And this is not to be wondered at, for tho' he that hath the Spirit in his Heart will not want Words in his Mouth, yet he may not be ready in uttering them, especially in Publick.

3. As God doth not bestow on all good Men the Gift of Prayer, so he confers it sometimes on very bad ones. Nay, I may truly say that as some of the best never had or used this Gift publickly, so some of the worst have attained to it, and practised it with great Applause. In *Queen Elizabeth's Time*, *Hacket*, that blasphemous Wretch, and treacherous Villain, effected all his Work, and carried on his whole Design by this alone. He strangely wrought upon all Sorts of Persons, by his wonderful Readiness and Volubility of Speech in Prayer : And he deceived himself by it likewise ; for from this Gift he proclaim'd himself a Saint, and Person of real Grace and Holiness. And from many other Instances it might be proved, that Quickness of conceiving and uttering Words in Prayer is a Donative, which the vilest Men are Sharers in. And it must needs be so, because Invention and Memory, Fancy and Elocution, together with Boldness and Confidence, are the Gift of Nature, or the Improvements of Art : Wherefore the most profligate Sinners are as capable of them as the worthiest Saints of God. Surely then the mere Gift of Prayer (which is constituted of these) is no great Excellency in it self. There is no special Grace required to it. This External Act or Exercise of Religion is no real Sign of true Sanctity. All sober Divines hold that it is but a common Gift of the Spirit ; and consequently it is not a discriminating Work of Grace. Yea, there may be true Grace without a Gift of Prayer. Hear what the Learned and Pious *Usher* saith, in his Sermon on *Heb. 4. 16.* where speaking of the Gift of Prayer he hath these Words, *One that shall never come to Heaven may be more ready in this than the Child of God ; for it is a Matter of Skill and Exercise : But the Spirit of Prayer is another thing.* I have particularly told you what it is, and I need not here repeat it.

But I will add this ; tho' the Gift of Prayer and the Spirit of Prayer may be separated ; *i. e.* there may be the Gift without the Spirit, and there may be the Spirit without the Gift, yet they may be, and oftentimes are, joined together. And this *Conjunction* of the Gift of Prayer with the true Spirit of it, is most excellent. The former is very useful and desirable : The latter is much more : But both together are best. And here I will adjoin this, that the Influence of the Spirit in Prayer reaches to both *Words* and *Affections*, the Spirit helps us to utter Things suitably ; and at some times suggests Words and Expressions to us. This, I conceive, it doth by bringing Things to our Remembrance, as is promised in *John 14.*

26. It brings to mind what is fit and seasonable to be said. Likewise, by moving the Heart and Affections the Spirit helps us to utter such Expressions as are fit, for *out of the Heart the Mouth speaketh*. Words follow the Warmth of Affection. Thus it is evident that the Spirit doth sometimes furnish the Faithful with Words, tho' generally there is a Gift or Art of Praying, which is really distinct from the spiritual Performance of it. We should endeavour to excel in *both*, that we may be the more ready and dexterous in this great Duty of our Religion, and be the more useful to our Brethren. Especially it is to be wished that these two may concur in the *Ministers and Dispensers of the Gospel*, who are to represent the Condition and State of the People unto God, especially on emergent Occasions. Though (as I have said before) the Ability to conceive a Prayer be not absolutely and necessarily requir'd of a publick Instructor of the Congregation; and therefore is not expressly prescribed by the Apostle, who sets down the Offices of a Person of that Character; yet it must be acknowledged that it is very commendable, and very serviceable to the Church. A Minister should be one generally that is able to pray for others, when on any fit Occasion he is called to it. And because this is a Gift learnt by Study and Use; therefore those that are designed for the Sacred Function should use themselves betimes to it, and by continued Practice, fit themselves for this Employment, if they find that they can attain to it. Otherwise it is not to be expected from them, and no wise and prudent Persons will require their Performances in this Kind, as knowing that Prayer doth not consist in a ready and expedite commanding of Words.

† Colloq.
Mensal.
Chap. 37.

And having thus taken Occasion to speak of the *Gift of Prayer*, we may also from what hath been said, judge of a *Form of Prayer*, and be able to confute what some have maintained that this is inconsistent with a *Spirit of Prayer*. Which is a great Mistake; for from that Account which I have given of praying *in or by the Spirit*, it is evident that a Man may pray by a Form, and at the same time pray *in or by the Spirit*, *i. e.* (as I have explained it) he may pray with Understanding, Attention, Sincerity, and Fervency: For none of these are absolutely hindred, much less excluded by using a set Form of Words; no, nor by *Reading* those Words. Those that oppose this do commonly *read the Psalms* that they sing, and therein confute themselves; for if reading of *Psalms* (many of which consist wholly of *Prayers*) and at the same time singing them be lawful, the reading of *Prayers* is not unlawful. Wherefore *Luther's Words* are here very apposite, and ought the rather to be considered, because they are his, so worthy a Man of God, † *My earnest Advice is*, saith he, *that no Man contemn written or set Prayers; for whoso prayeth a Psalm, the same shall be made thoroughly warm*. According to his Judgment we may read one of *David's Psalms*, and make it a Prayer; or we may sing it as well as read it, and then also we may be said, and that truly, to pray. And it is moreover the Judgment of this Holy Man, that both these Ways are so far from hurting and prejudicing our Devotion, that they exceedingly *warm* and edify it. Nay, let me add, that whereas some complain that reading of Prayer is a hindrance to Devotion, and a stinting of the Spirit, it may rather be instrumental to fix them, whilst hereby we become more Attentive to the Exercise we are employed in, and a Stop is put to our gadding Eyes.

* Under these Articles of the Creed
[I believe in the Holy Ghost:]
[The Holy Catholick Church.]

As for praying in set Words in publick, I have shewed on another Occasion, not only the Lawfulness but the Expedience of it, and therefore I shall not insist upon this here: But let me offer this to be considered, that not only our Church, and some other Reformed Churches use a set *Liturgy*, but even some of those who refuse our Churches Publick Service, use a Form, yea Forms of their own: That is, they premeditate, they study and prepare a set Form of Words, and compose them into Prayers; and these they make use of in their Families, but especially in the Congregation, and thereby do confess that a set Form is lawful, and that it is best in Publick. And truly as to *others*, their *Ex-temporary Praying* is no less than a *Form* to those that hear it, who never think or premeditate of what they pray: Nor indeed can they, because they take the Words that fall from the Mouth of him that prays, which are no other than a Form to them. So that whilst the Minister prays by the Spirit (*i. e.* according to their Notion, who place it (at least in Part) in conceiving of Prayer) the People

People do not pray so, for 'tis the same with a composed Prayer to them. Whence it appears that no Man can reasonably condemn a set Form, and that those that do it condemn themselves.

But if we speak of *Private Prayer*, I conceive that the middle Way is most eligible, i. e. we should make use both of conceived Prayer and of that which is composed to our Hands. We have Examples and Commands for both in Scripture: *Take with ye Words, and say unto him, Take away all Iniquity, and receive us graciously*, Hof. 14. 2. *When ye pray, say, Our Father, &c.* Luke 11. 2. (for this was at first designed to be a Private Prayer). And of Christ himself it is said, *He went away again, praying the third time, saying the same Words*, Mat. 26. 39, 42. There were some set Words, some determined Expressions which he was pleased to make use of often, as finding them very useful and congruous. But at other times it is not to be questioned that he took Liberty of Expatiating, he confined not himself to any particular Words. Nor do the Apostles, whom we read of in the *Acts*. And in the *Old Testament* there are conceived Prayers of *Moses, Nehemiah, David, Daniel*, and others. And herein we may imitate them; according to our present Circumstances and Disposition we may either present our Petitions in new Words, or we may use the same that we did before; we may either call upon God in Words conceived *ex tempore*, or prepared before. There is this Difference between them, the Mind and Affection lead the Words in Extemporary Prayer, but the Words make way for and draw on the Heart and Affection when we pray in Terms already composed. Therefore, according to my Apprehension, when we find our Minds very forward, lively and active, it is best to set them on work, and let them go before the Words. But when our Minds are not in so good a Temper, but are somewhat indisposed; then the latter way of Praying is more convenient, for then the Words may stir up the Affection. Thus they may be *both* useful. Nay, sometimes a prescribed Form is more conducive to Devotion than the sudden Conceptions: For in most Persons these are not so sudden but that there is a considerable Pause; whilst they are praying they are studying, they are hunting after new Matter or new Expressions: Thus (I say) it is with the Generality of those that use no Forms, their Praying is a laborious Work of their Invention. But when we have not the Words or Matter to seek and invent, the Devotion is then close and entire, the Affections are more engaged.

Wherefore I apprehend, that in private we are not wholly to refuse set Forms of Prayer, nor wholly to confine our selves to them, but to act as we find our selves, and as we see good. And I question not but this *Variety* is very serviceable to Devotion. Sometimes *Forms* seem dull and heavy, and then the enlarged Soul is to lay them aside. At other Times *Conceived Prayer* seems to be flat and frigid, and then the pious Worshipper is to betake himself to his composed and well-digested Oraisons: For 'tis certain, that if upon a diligent Enquiry he finds that these promote his Devotion most, he is obliged to use these most: And so on the other side. But here I will insert a Caution, *viz.* that those who most frequently, and with great Ease and Satisfaction to themselves, exercise their Gift without a Form, are to take care that they over-value not themselves or others because of this Accomplishment. They must not use this Gift in an unlawful manner, that is, so as to despise those that have it not, or to make it instrumental to Pride and Conceit, to Ostentation and Vain-Glory. And on the other hand, there is this Caution to be taken by those who generally pray by a set Form, namely, that they avoid Formality, and place not their Devotion in the External Part only. To say over so many Prayers by Rote is a mean Piece of Religion. They who do this only, may be said to *read* or *say* Prayers, but not to *Pray*. Again, these Persons are to take care that they do not by using of a set Form, wholly exclude conceived Prayers, which may be of Use to them when the other cannot be had. That of a Prelate of our Church is to be remembered, who speaking of this Matter, complains that * *some have so confined themselves to Crutches, they cannot go without them.*

* Bishop
Wilkin's
Gift of
Prayer.

To conclude: It is not expressly set down in Scripture, whether we should always pray by a Form, or without it: Wherefore seeing this is not determined by the Inspired Writers, I infer, that it is best to use both Ways, and not to tie our selves to either. At several distinct Times they are both to be preferred.

* Dr. Preston, of the New Covenant.

He that can pray *most fervently* by a Form, prays best: And I say the same of him that can pray so without one. As we find our Hearts and Minds disposed, so we are obliged to use either conceived or written Prayer. For it is a great (though a prevailing) Mistake, that one cannot pray by the Spirit, and pray by written or composed Words; that the using of a Form and Praying by the Spirit are utterly inconsistent. It is not to be doubted that the Holy Spirit may assist that Man whose Prayer is comprised in set prepared Words; he may and doth assist him by enabling him to feel his Wants and Necessities, to be sensible of God's All-sufficiency, to be sincere and hearty in his Addresses, and to offer up such Petitions as are accompanied with inward Affection. For, as * a pious Man saith well, *When a Man comes with Holy Affections to the Lord, this is the Spirit of Prayer.*

The Second Qualification of Prayer is, that it be attended with the profoundest Humility and Reverence. First, That of *Ecclesiasticus* is to be remembred, *Before thou prayest, prepare thy self*, Chap. 18. Ver. 23. Men fit themselves for making their Addresses to an Earthly Prince. Surely then we ought not to rush into the Presence of the King of Kings *unprepared*: We must dispose our selves, and be in Readiness to discharge this solemn Office of our Religion. This Preparation consists in these Three Things; 1. It is necessary that we seek unto him who only can prepare our Hearts, and rightly dispose our Minds in his Service and Worship. Thus saith David, *Let my Prayer be set forth before thee as Incense, and the lifting up of my Hands as the Evening Sacrifice*, Psal. 141. 2. Prayer is a good Preparative to Prayer. We had need pray that we pray not amiss. Some Ejaculatory Petitions should precede our more solemn ones. 2. We ought to prepare our selves by entertaining our Thoughts with the Contemplation of the Glorious Majesty of him to whom we are to speak. Our Souls must be filled with an awful Sense of the Infinite Perfections of our Maker, whenever we approach unto him. 3. This Preparation is wrought by thinking seriously of our own mean and vile Condition, viz. that we are but Dust and Ashes, frail, infirm and precarious Creatures. Wherefore when we betake our selves to our Prayers, we must do it in a humble Sense of our Unworthiness, saying with the Submissive Pilgrim and Patriarch, *We are not worthy of the least of all the Mercies which God hath shewed unto his Servants*, Gen. 32. 10. We must sue to Heaven *sub formâ pauperum*, we must acknowledge our poor and low Condition: And if we do this freely and sincerely, our Meanness and Poverty shall be no Bar against us, but shall rather further our Suit, and even plead in our Behalf. Nor must we only approach the Throne of Grace in an entire Sense of our Meanness, but also of our Sinfulness. We must be thoroughly apprehensive how this hath debased and degraded us, and hath made us unfit to look up to Heaven, and to receive any Mercy thence. Thus our Weakness must make us revere God's Power, and our Sinfulness must make us tremble before his Purity and Justice. He that speaks unto God must do it with Fear and Reverence, considering not only that he is a frail Creature, but that he is a wretched Sinner.

Secondly, Having thus prepared your selves, in the next place be careful of the Words which you utter in Prayer. To which End fix that of Solomon on your Minds, *Be not rash with thy Mouth, and let not thy Heart be hasty to utter any thing before God*, Eccl. 5. 2. Our Words as well as our Hearts are to be looked to, when we come before God, to put up our Petitions to him. Our Speech must be such as becomes humble Supplicants, our Language must testify our Reverence of the Divine Majesty. I do not mean by this, that all our Prayers should be elaborate and exactly studied, that we should affect an Apparatus and Pomp of Words, that we must be curious and quaint in our Addresses to the Almighty. No: This is so far from being required, that it is a Fault. We must not be nice in our Religion, especially not in our Prayers. As 'tis with Parents, the imperfect Stammerings of their little Children carry with them something pleasant and delightful, their first Essays of speaking are acceptable, they pass for Good Rhetorick, and prevail more with them than the most Articulate Oratory: So is it with our Heavenly Father; he accepts of the imperfect Petitions of his Children, and requires no more than they are able to give. In their Privacies and Solitudes he sometimes suffers their half Words, yea, inarticulate Groans to go for good Praying: But when they pray with others, and lead the Devotion for

for the rest, they are concerned to be more careful of their Expressions, and to deliver their Thoughts and Desires in fit and decent Words, such as may best express the Awe which they have of the Great God before whom they appear, and may beget in others a Reverence of his Majesty. It is a great Fault to give way to lavish Expressions, and to sally out indiscreetly into unfitting Words in Prayer. Many who are otherwise Good and Pious, do not sufficiently consider this; but they are obliged to do so, and they ought to take Care of their Words, and to chuse such as are fit to express their Wants and their Desires, their Sense of their Sins, and of God's Justice and Mercy.

Again, we must by no means affect to heap up Words, remembering what the Wise Man saith, (for it may be applied even on this Occasion) *In the Multitude of Words there wanteth not Sin*, Prov. 10. 19. Here therefore we must use great Caution, and attend to our Saviour's Injunction in Mat. 6. 7. *When ye pray, use not vain Repetitions, as the Heathens do.* As to the Word *Βατολογία*, which is here translated *using of vain Repetitions*, it is thought by some that it is a Proverbial Word taken from one *Battus* a Stuttering Cyrenian (whom *Herodotus* speaks of) who repeated his Words often. Others think it is borrowed from a vain foolish Poet of that Name, who (as *Suidas* relates) filled up his Verses with frequent Repetitions of the same Things. But why may we not assert, that this Word which our Saviour here uses, is a Compound of a Hebrew and Greek Word (as there are several Examples of the like) to signify the much speaking which he here reprehends? For if we consult some of the best * Hebrew Criticks, we shall find that *Batta* imports an useless and idle multiplying of Words.

* *Batta*, inconsideratè loquutus est. *Avenar.* *Battah*, multum garrivit, effudit temerè, collaviem verborum inanium emisit, *Avenar.* *Buxtorf.* Sic sumitur Prov. 12. 18.

What this *Battology* is that Christ forbids, may be gathered from what he subjoins (as the Heathens do) viz. when they cry to their Gods. An Instance of which we have in the Prophets of *Baal*, 1 Kings 18. 26. Their Pagan Custom was to make as great Noise as they could, that so their Gods might be sure to hear them. So we read of the bigotted People of *Ephesus*, that all with one Voice, about the space of Two Hours, cried out, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, Acts 19. 34. But the Learned *Selden* hath a Notion by himself concerning this *Βατολογία* which our Saviour speaks of; † it refers (he saith) to the *πλυνονομία* of the Heathen Gods and Goddeses: *Luna* had several Names, as *Isis*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, *Lucina*, *Trivia*, &c. Yea, *Isis* was called *μυριωνομος*, from this Usage of heaping a Multitude of Names and Titles on their Deities. They reckoned that the more they had of these, the greater was the Honour that was conferred upon them. Such was the Ignorance of the Heathenish Devotion, that they were wont to pray to their Gods by repeating all their Names together, and interposing nothing but *O hear us*. It is not improbable that Christ alludes to this Rite of Invocation, and other vain Repetitions, which were used in their Prayers. This he condemns, and at the same time disallows of any the like Practice in others, any undue and unnecessary repeating of Words when they call upon God.

Christians as well as Heathens are blameable on this Account. As the Papists, who approach too near the Pagan Superstition, when they so often repeat their *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Maria's*, and the Name of *Jesus*. And when they recite the Creed and the Ten Commandments (as the ignorant People among them do) in this way of a Prayer, this surely is vain Repetition. So likewise is their praying in an Unknown Tongue; for what is this but an useless mumbling over a Heap of Words, and a delighting in the empty Sound of them, without knowing the true Meaning of them? Others, besides those of the Christian Religion, are guilty of vain Repetitions; as, 1. Those who rehearse the same things merely to lengthen out their Prayers. Certainly this Tautologizing is not only vain, but something worse, i. e. very scandalous and prophane, and a horrid Abuse of this Sacred Ordinance. 2. Such is the Reduplicating of the same Words and Petitions out of mere Affectation; that is, when there is no Emphasis that requires it, when it no ways proceeds from or is serviceable to the Affection of the Speaker, when there is no Reason imaginable to say the same Words, to mention the same things over again. Such Repetition is not only vain but ridiculous. 3. When Persons repeat the same Words or Matter without Heart and Spirit, it is empty and vain, and unworthy of a Religious Worshipper. Christ

† De Dis
Syr. Pro-
legom.
c. 1.

forbids here such Lip-labour, such insignificant reiterating of the same Expressions, for it is not the Voice but the Mind that is accepted of God. In short, our Saviour here condemns all lengthning out of Prayer without true Zeal and Devotion. This is *Battology*, this is *vain Repetition*.

But all *Repetitions* in Prayer are not vain. Ingeminating the Words is sometimes from Vehemency and Fervor, and accordingly it hath been usual in the Church's Prayers in all Ages. And if repeating the same Words, and praying the same Prayers, and expressing our selves in the same Manner over and over again, be vain Tautology, then our *Own Service* is full of it. The very same Words are twenty times used by *David* in one *Psalms*, viz. the 136th. And in several of his other Prayers (contained in the Book of *Psalms*) the Words are often repeated. And I observed before that our Blessed Lord used the same Prayer Three times. Thus *Repetition* in Prayer may be, and often is the Result of Fervency and Earnestness of Spirit. But otherwise, as it is used in the Circumstances before-mentioned, it is vain and sinful. Yea, if you consider that our Saviour himself, in this Verse, explains the Word *βασιλογία* by *πολυλογία*, *much speaking*, then he doth here more generally forbid and condemn all *superfluous speaking* in Prayer, as well as the particular Species of it, *vain Repetition*. The unnecessary using of too many, (as well as the same) Words is unlawful. We are not only forbid to use Tautologies, but all Redundance of Expressions. Garrulity and Intemperance of Speech are to be avoided in our Prayers as well as in common Discourse. It is irreverent and prophane to indulge the Incontinence of the Tongue on this Occasion. It is a great Sin to study to lengthen and eke out our Prayers by multiplying of Words, by striving to be loquacious, and to say as much as we can.

Here then we must distinguish, as before concerning *Repetitions* in Prayer, so now concerning the *Length* of Prayer. All long Prayers are not blameable, for it is certain that the Length it self is not unlawful: and it is as certain that Brevity it self is not culpable. As *Repetitions* in Prayer were used by Christ (as you have heard) so long Prayer was practised by him; for in *Luke 6. 12.* it is said, *He continued all Night in Prayer to God.* But as this was in an extraordinary Person, so it was on an extraordinary Occasion, just before the chusing of his Apostles for the great Work of the Ministry, as the next Verse will inform you. So may Holy Men, if some extraordinary Occasion happens, enlarge their Prayers: As I doubt not but *St. Paul* did when he was to take leave of his Friends at *Troas*; for it is said, *He continued his Speech until Midnight*, *Acts 20. 7.* and tho' it is not expressly said that he prayed, yet it is not to be questioned that he did so, seeing he was to depart from them on the Morrow, and seeing his long Preaching to them is mentioned, *v. 9.* which undoubtedly was accompanied with Prayers. And as *St. Paul's* long Preaching here cannot authorize any Ministers preaching at that length, unless there were the like Occasion; so neither can our Saviour's Praying all Night, or the Apostle's extending his Prayers to an unusual Length, be a Warrant to us to imitate them on ordinary Occasions. No: If we look into the Practice of Pious Men in Scripture, we shall find that they presumed not to imitate this Length, though they are sometimes more large and copious than at other times: As may be seen in *David's Psalms*, most of which consist of Prayers. Though if any should instance in the 119th *Psalms*, it is to be said with Truth, that that is not an entire Prayer, but a Mixture of Prayer and Meditations. Peruse the Prayers of Patriarchs, Priests, Prophets, Kings, Apostles, or any others recorded in the Old and New Testament, and you will see that there is no very long Prayer in all the Bible. *Solomon's* Prayer of Dedication (when the Temple was finished) is the largest of any that are recorded.

Yet are not Prayers of a very considerable Length hereby disparaged; for first, it is likely that some of the Prayers which are recorded in Scripture, are not wholly and entirely set down, no more than the Sermons of our Saviour and the Apostles. Wherefore as we do not measure our Sermons at this Day by the Length of those in the New Testament, so neither are our Prayers to be commensurate to those which we find there, or in any other Part of the Bible: For 'tis not to be doubted that some Things are omitted for Brevity's Sake. Again, there are some Examples of very enlarged Devotion, as you have heard, in the sacred Writings, and therefore we have no Reason to condemn them. More-

over

over, in time of great impendent Plagues and Calamities, much more when they are actually inflicted on us, and on such other Occasions as were before named, a great Length of Prayer may be very necessary, and it is unreasonable and impious to deride it. But in the usual and constant Course of our Devotion, where we have frequent Opportunities of making our Addresses to God, this Extension of our Prayers is not requisite. Yea, we are to be very careful that we be not lavish and profuse in our Words. Solomon hath given us a Rubrick for this, *God is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth: Therefore let thy Words be few*, Eccl. 5. 2. Considering the unspeakable Majesty of God who is encircled with infinite Glory in Heaven, do not rudely and irreverently come before him, delight not in an unnecessary Effusion of Words, but rather lay a Restraint on thy Speech, and briefly and succinctly represent thy Desires in fit and becoming Expressions; for thou art to know this, that it is not the Multiplicity of thy Words that commends thee to God. For this very Reason the *Lord's-Prayer* was enjoined, as you may gather from the Context in *Matth. 6*. After our Saviour had reformed the Heathenish Custom of *vain Repetitions* and *much Speaking* in Prayer, he immediately thereupon furnished his Disciples and Hearers with this *Brief Form* of Prayer, that so they might pray in few, but significant Words. After *this manner therefore pray ye, Our Father, &c.* If you consult the 7, 8, 9th Verses, and observe their Dependance, you will find that this Prayer was purposely prescribed them, to be a Check to that superstitious using of *long Prayers* which some were guilty of.

But to speak *distinctly* in this Matter, (that I may not be misunderstood), long Prayers (as I have said before) are not unlawful merely because of their Length, but on some other Accounts: Which I will now name. They become unlawful, 1. When they are devoid of inward Devotion. The Publican's short Prayer, *God, be merciful to me a Sinner*, was acceptable, not because of its Brevity, but because it came from a penitent and contrite Heart. For the same Reason a long Prayer will be so too; but if it wants this, it is impossible it should. The Prolixity of the Prayer can never compensate the Absence of an internal Principle. 2. Long Prayers are sinful when they are made out of Vain-Glory and Ostentation: When Men make the Length of their Prayers the Measure of their Zeal and Godliness. 3. When they make it a Pretext for worldly and covetous Ends. The Pharisees were rebuked, because *for a Pretence they made long Prayers*, Mark 12. 40. *i. e.* (as 'tis there explained) they used them as a Cloak to cover and disguise their Design of *devouring Widows Houses*. Christ, who himself prayed a whole Night together, checks these Pharisees for their long Prayers: Which plainly shews that the *Hypocrisy* of their Prayers, and not the bare *Length* of them, was disallowed by him. 4. When this proceeds from a vain Conceit that such Prayers, and no others, are pleasing to God, then we may pronounce them unlawful. If with the Pagan Devotionists (as our Saviour here speaks) *they think they shall be heard for their much speaking*, for their needless Tautologizing, for their impertinent and superfluous Circumlocutions, then certainly their Prayers are vitious. Of this Sort are the *Papists*, who esteem Prayers by the Number and Tale of them: They drop a Bead at every one of their *Pater Noster's* and *Ave Maria's*, and then reckon them up at last, and comfort themselves that they have so many Prayers on the String, so many *Pater Noster's* filed. They rely much upon this, that they extend their *Devotion* (for they will call it so, although it deserves not that Name) to such a Length and Tediousness, even so far as to turn it into a *Penance*. But this is a gross Mistake; and to correct all such fond Opinions of long Prayer, our Saviour offers this Argument, *v. 8. The Father knoweth what Things ye have need of before ye ask him*. Prayer must not be tedious, because God knows before we pray, what we stand in need of: Therefore we are not to think that he needs our Prayers, to be acquainted with our Condition. *Non Narratores sumus, sed Rogatores*, saith St. Jerom well: We do not so much tell him, as ask of him. * It is one thing (as he saith) to inform the ignorant, another to beg of him that knows.

Thus I have briefly let you see *what Circumstances* render *long Prayers* unacceptable to God. But otherwise these are pleasing to him; that is, if they be on great Emergencies, on solemn Times of Humiliation, either publick or private, if they be made on any other due Occasions, if they be accompanied with inward

* Aliud est ignorantem narrare, aliud petere à sciente.

ward Fervour and Devotion, if they be sincere and cordial, if they be for good and pious Ends, if they be void of all superstitious Conceits. As to be tedious and over-long in our Addresses to God is blameable, for it is irreverent to be too concise in them: For it argues our Disrespect of the Divine Majesty, it shews we grudge the Time which we spend in the Worship of God: It is a Sign that we have no Love of Devotion, and that we are weary of God's Service. And thus I have shew'd how our Prayers are to be qualified as to that *Reverence* which is required of us, especially with Regard to our Words. It is said in *Gen. 4. 26.* that *Men began to call on the Name of the Lord.* But some of the Learned *Hebrews* read it, *Men prophaned the Name of the Lord.* There is a great Affinity in some Persons between Prophaneness and Prayer. Many whilst they pray, prophane God's Name by an irreverent multiplying of Words, not becoming the Solemnity of Prayer to God. This we must be careful to avoid.

Thirdly, We must testify our *Reverence* when we pray, not only in Words but in *Gestures.* The outward Deportment of the Suppliant must discover him to be humble and submissive. It is true, *David* prayed sitting, *2 Sam. 7. 18.* And all Postures have been used in Prayer by some of God's Servants, whom you read of in Scripture. But standing and kneeling are the most frequent Postures. From *Easter to Whitsuntide* the old Christians prayed standing, whence the Places they met in, and the Devotions they performed, were called *Stations.* But the latter Posture especially is most approved of and practised: With benighted Knees the holiest Men have poured forth their Supplications to God. *St. Paul* is an Example of it very often. We are told from *Hegesippus*, that *James* surnam'd the *Just*, the Brother of our Lord, had Knees as hard as those of Camels, by using constantly this Gesture in Prayer. And 'tis said of the devout *Baldwin*, the Second King of *Jerusalem*, that he had contracted an insensible Brawn on his Knees by continual praying. This may seem somewhat Extravagant; but we are certain of this, that we ought with all Lowliness, and particularly by Kneeling, to signify our Humility before God, when we offer our Prayers to him. A proud Beggar is the most shameful and absurd Thing in the World. Petitioners must come in an humble Posture. When we supplicate Heaven, we are to approach with a Submission befitting those that deserve nothing that they ask. In short, our Gesture and Behaviour in Prayer ought to be solemn and decent, such as becometh the Majesty with whom we have to do, such as both testifies and promotes our Humility and Reverence. Thus the Apostle particularly takes notice of the Gesture in Prayer, *1 Cor. 11. 4, 5.* Every Man praying, must be uncovered: Every Woman praying must be covered.

Fourthly, Let me add, that to keep up the *Reverence* which is to accompany this Duty, it is advisable that we generally observe set Times of Prayer. For Prayer being so solemn and composed an Office of our Religion, it is proper to appoint convenient Seasons for the performance of it, that considering when they are, we may so order our secular Affairs that we may be ready to attend them. Heaven gave a Blessing to every Days Work at the Creation, as we read in the First of *Genesis.* And we must every Day, Morning and Evening, beg the Divine Blessing on our Works. The *Jews* had their appointed Times of Prayer, and the very Apostles and Primitive Christians observed them, as it is particularly recorded of *St. Peter* and *St. John*, that they went up together into the Temple at the Hour of Prayer, *Acts 3. 1.* though not to joyn with the Jewish Worship, yet to Pray and Preach at those Seasons, when the People were come together. And it is well known, that even after the Temple and Jewish Religion were abolished, the Devout Christians set apart Certain Seasons for their calling upon God. We shall render this Duty more Sacred and Reverend if we imitate them herein.

Against this usage the *Quakers* stand up and say, it is not lawful to pray at set Times, because we cannot pray unless the Spirit moves us to it; now we know not at what time that will be, and therefore we must not appoint Times of Praying.

To which I answer, Is it not strange, that they should always have the Spirit of God (as they confess themselves, for that they say is the *Light within them*): Yea, they tell us that this Spirit is in the worst Men, because it is in all Men) is it not strange that they should assert this, and yet tell us that they are not moved

ved by this Spirit but upon occasion? I ask of them, is the outward Act of Prayer more derived from the Spirit than the inward Acting of Grace and Holiness, which are acknowledged by them to be constantly in them, and in some of them to Perfection? Who can believe this? Is it any ways probable, that the Internal Parts of Religion and Worship (which are the main and most difficult) are continually (as they grant) performed by them, and yet that the Bodily and External Acts of Worship (which are in respect of the other very easy) are not at their command? Who can imagine that there is required a special Motion and Influence of the Spirit for these, and not for those? Which yet they do suppose when the former can be done at all times, but the latter at some certain times only, viz. because they have not the Assistance of the Spirit. I do not see how there can be any Answer returned to this.

Again, the Folly of their Opinion appears from this, that wicked Men are bid in Scripture to pray unto God. *Pray unto God*, saith the Apostle to *Simon* the Sorcerer, *that the Wickedness of thy Heart may be forgiven thee*, Acts 8. 22. He was to pray, though he was wicked, and even before the Holy Spirit effectually moved him. Why then do these Men say that it is not lawful to pray without a special Motion of the Spirit? According to this it must follow, that the Apostle advised *Simon* to do that which was sinful and unlawful: You see the absurd Consequence of their Opinion. To conclude this Second Qualification of Prayer; let us call upon God with all *Humility* both of Body and Soul, and let us express a *Holy Fear* and *Reverence* of that God with whom we have to do in this Sacred Institution of Prayer.

This Third Condition likewise is required in our Prayers, that they be accompanied with a perfect Resignation of our selves to God's Good-Will and Pleasure. You must ever bear this upon your Minds, that you are engaged to acquiesce in God's disposal, and therefore you must not restrain and limit the Holy One of *Israel*. Say, that you have long expected the arrival of this or that Blessing, say, that you have with great fervency implored them: yet you must be content to be dismissed without the Attainment of them. It was a Saying of the Jewish Doctors, *Make not thy prayer fixed*: The Meaning of which was, that we should not prescribe to God in our Requests; we must not confine him when we pray, to give just what we ask. This hath oftentimes proved very harmful, as we read that *Rachel* who so impatiently cried out, *Give me Children or else I die*, died in Child-bearing. Nothing would satisfy the murmuring *Israelites* but Flesh; and behold, whilst it was yet in their Mouths, the Wrath of God came upon them. *Israel* had a King given them, which was the Thing they so vehemently desired and longed for, but it was with the Divine Anger and Displeasure. Let us from these and many other Instances be warned not to be too eager in requesting any Temporal Enjoyments. Indeed we must pray absolutely for Grace and God's Spirit, because it is impossible for us to be happy without these: But seeing we may be happy in the absence of some other Things, we are to pray for them only conditionally. It may be there is something in the Manner of Expression in those Words of the Psalmist, *Look upon mine Affliction and my Pain, and forgive all my Sins*, Psal. 25. 8. He desires God to look upon him in his deplorable Condition, in his Troubles and Streights which he at that time lay under, he requests God to consider his Soul in Adversity, and then to deal with him as he thought good. But he prays against Sin in another Stile, he absolutely desires to be freed from the Defilement and Guilt of it, *Forgive all my Sins*: However thou art pleased to deal with me as to the Concerns of this World, refuse not my earnest Prayer for the Pardon of my Sins. A true Convert would rather be freed from that which displeases God, than what afflicts his outward Man. He is bid to take with him Words, and say (say peremptorily) *Take away all Iniquity*: that is, by no means deny me this Request, that my Sins may be blotted out: But he is not to be so positive when he begs the removal of outward and bodily Evils. His Language is that of his blessed Master, *If it be thy Will, O Father, let this Cup pass from me: Nevertheless not my Will, but thy Will be done*. We must learn to resign our selves wholly to the Divine Pleasure, to be willing to have our Cross removed when our Heavenly Father is willing. Our Demeanor must be like that of a well-governed Patient, who is not importunate to have the Medicinal Applications cease till the Physician thinks fit. Let us be sensible of the Equity of this, whenever

whenever we present our Petitions to God ; let this be done with an entire submitting our Wills to his.

The *Fourth* necessary Qualification of Prayer is, that it be put up in Christ's Name, and through his Mediation. For we are to remember that he is now entered into the Holy of Holies, there to intercede for us. His appearing there in his Flesh, wherein he suffered and died for us, is the most powerful way of Intercession in our Behalf. And therefore now, *through him we have access unto the Father*, Eph. 2. 18. Which in the Language of the same Inspired Writer in another Place, is *to come unto God by him*, Heb. 7. 25. to expect to be heard for the Merits and Intercession of Christ. For his Sake alone it is that we hope to be accepted, and to have a gracious Answer to our Petitions ; for God will be merciful to those, for whose Sake his Son assumed that Flesh which he now presents in Heaven before his Father. *We have*, saith the Apostle, *a merciful and faithful High Priest*, Heb. 2. 17. And again he mentions this *Great High Priest that is passed into the Heavens*, Chap. 4. ver. 14. and thence he makes this Inference, *Let us therefore come boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need*, v. 16. It is through the Intercession of our High Priest that our Prayers are heard, and therefore we are bid to *ask in his Name*, John 14. 13, 14. in the Name of our Mediator and Intercessor, and who is to present our Supplications to God the Father. For we cannot expect to receive Grace or Comfort, or any Spiritual Blessing, but by virtue of the Covenant and Promise made in him, and by virtue of his Office, which is to offer up our Prayers to God. To which purpose that is a remarkable Passage which we meet with in *Rev. 8. 4. The Smoke of the Incense which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God, out of the Angels Hand.* The Petitions, the Prayers of all the Servants of the most High must pass through Christ's Hand, who is the *Angel of the Covenant* : For that Place speaks not of one of the common Order of Angels, but of an extraordinary Minister or Messenger of God, even Him that is the Head of all Angels and Men, and is no other than the Second Person in the ever Glorious and Undivided Trinity. Let us then offer up our Prayers to the Eternal Father in the Name of his only begotten Son, *in whom* (as the Apostle saith in behalf of himself and all true Believers) *we have Boldness and Access with confidence by the Faith of him*, Eph. 3. 12.

Which brings me to speak of the *Fifth Requisite* of Prayer, which is *Faith*. The *Prayer of Faith*, saith St. James, *shall save* (i. e. recover and restore) *the Sick*. When it hath this excellent Qualification, it works Wonders, and is accompanied with a kind of Omnipotency ; for Christ saith, *What Things soever* (be they never so difficult) *ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them*, Mark 11. 24. And though this Passage of our Saviour, and that other of St. James be primarily meant of the *Faith of Miracles*, yet they are in due measure true of the ordinary Faith of Christians. *What Things soever* of this Nature they pray for *Believing*, they shall certainly be in possession of. For by Faith (as one chief and principal Instrument) the Prayers of the Saints become effectual, and they obtain what they please. It is *Unbelief* that produces a contrary Effect ; this is that which enervates all our Addresses, and renders them successless. Be mindful then of St. James's Rule, *If any of you lack Wisdom* (and with the same Reason I may add, if any of you stand in need of any other Grace, or of any Benefit either Spiritual or Temporal) *let him ask of God, who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth none, and it shall be given* (it shall be granted to him according to his Request) *but let him ask in Faith, nothing wavering*, Chap. 1. 5, 6. Let him act Faith in Christ the Redeemer, and the Purchaser of all Blessings to Mankind, and he cannot miscarry. He shall either obtain the particular Thing which he desires, or something that is greater and better for him. We must remember this, that all our Confidence is to be grounded on our Mediator or Advocate : Wherefore let us rest assuredly on Him, who by his powerful Intercession will make our Prayers efficacious. If we desire then to be successful in our Requests to God, let us pray in Faith.

Sixthly, *Brotherly Love* is another requisite to Prayer. As Christ speaks of the Legal Oblations, so may I of these Spiritual Offerings, *First be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy gift*, Matt. 5. 24. And our Saviour applies this particularly to Prayer in *Mark 11. 25, 26. When ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought*

ught against any. God will not hearken to you when you ask the Pardon of your Sins, unless you forgive your Brother's Offences against you, when he desires it of you. And this Forgiveness comprehends in it all Love and Friendship to our Brethren, and the Abandoning of all Hatred, Ill-will and Malice. This Condition is required by the Apostle in every Prayer, *1 Tim. 2. 8. I will that Men pray every-where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath.* When we call upon God, we must not nourish Anger and Choler in our Breasts, we must wholly cast off the Desire of Revenge, and be willing and ready to pass by Injuries, to forgive those that have done us wrong, and to promote their real Good, whether as to their Bodies or their Souls. We must lay aside all Rancour and Malice, and all Ill-will; we must banish the quarrelsome and contentious Spirit, if we expect to succeed in our Supplications to Heaven. It was once *Lucian's* Droll upon the Philosophers, that with the Noise and Jangle of their School-Disputes, they had made *Jupiter* so deaf that he could not hear the Petitions which they put up to him. Well may this Reflection, but with great Seriousness, be turned upon the Contentious Wranglers of our Times: It is to be feared that the Noise of their uncharitable Cavils and Clamours hinders their Prayers from being heard by the most High. But it is Meekness and Peaceableness, Mutual Agreement and Brotherly-Kindness that must commend us unto God, and render our Petitions (as to what is required on our Part) acceptable. Especially we ought to shew a singular Love to those that are of the Household of Faith, to those whom we believe to be of the Number of the truly Religious and Holy, to those whom we often joyn with in our Devotions, and who lift up their Hands to Heaven with us. A particular Respect, a peculiar Friendship and Affection are due from us to these, according to the Example of the Primitive Christians, who were remarkable for their Mutual Love and Agreement. The Sacred Records acquaint us that they relieved one another's Wants, they supplied one another's Necessities, they maintained a Common Charity. This was the constant Attendant of their Prayers, and 'tis no wonder they were Effectual. *Wouldest thou, saith St. Austin, have thy Prayer fly to Heaven? Make it two Wings, viz. Fasting and Almsdeeds.* Repentance and Love promote its speedy Flight thither. Of the latter I have now spoken: I come next to speak of the other.

Seventhly, Repentance and Hatred of Sin are necessary to render our Prayers successful. *If I regard iniquity in my heart, saith the Psalmist, the Lord will not hear my Prayer,* no, though it be never so long, never so loud, *Psal. 66. 18.* And the Son of this Good King assures us, that God will be so far from hearing our Prayers, if we regard Iniquity, that he will abhor and detest them. *He that turneth away his Ear from hearing the Law (i. e. he that refuses to attend to Instruction, and to renounce his sinful Ways and Practices which are forbidden by the Law of God) even his Prayer shall be abomination, Prov. 28. 9.* Prayer, which in it self is a Sweet-smelling Savour, an Acceptable Sacrifice to God, becomes loathsome and abominable, yea *Abomination*, when it is separated from the Practice of Holiness, and the Observance of the Divine Laws. And that this is really so, we have a notable Instance of it in the Jewish People. When *Joshua* and the Elders lay prostrate before the Ark, praying unto God, (which seemed to be a very commendable Act in them), they were commanded to rise from the Ground, and leave off praying: *Get thee up, said the Lord unto Joshua, wherefore liest thou thus upon thy Face? Israel hath sinned, and they have transgressed my Covenant which I commanded them, for they have even taken of the accursed Thing, &c. Jos. 7. 10, &c.* Add Action to your Prayers, destroy this accursed thing, and then your Addresses shall be heard. This informs us, that God doth not regard our Petitions unless we reform our Lives, and take Care to perform what God hath commanded us.

See how God upbraids the sinful Nation of the Jews, for their Oblations and Prayers, *Isai. 1. 11. &c. To what purpose is the Multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord? When ye come to appear before me, who hath required these Things at your Hands? Bring no more vain Oblations, (observe in the Worship of God's own Appointment, when 'tis not accompanied with that Holiness and Uprightness of Life which he requires, is but Offerings of Vanity, as the Original hath it) Incense is an Abomination to me: it is iniquity, even the solemn Meetings. They are a Trouble to me, I am weary to bear them: and when you spread forth your hands, (i. e. in Prayer)*

I will hide mine Eyes from you : yea, when ye make many Prayers, I will not hear you. The Reason of all this follows in the next Words, *Your hands are full of blood,* you are guilty of Cruelty and Oppression, your Lives are scandalously stained and polluted, your Practices run counter to your Prayers. If therefore you would be heard for the future, when you pray, *Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the Evil of your doings from before mine Eyes ; cease to do evil, learn to do well.* On these Conditions I will hearken to your Requests, and shew Kindness and Favour to you : *Though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow, &c.* Men may make long Orations against themselves, and lay open their Follies with great Freedom and seeming Contrition : they may passionately declaim against their past Miscarriages ; but all in vain, if they retain a Love to them, and are not careful to amend their Ways.

St. James tells the intemperate and loose Livers of his Time, that *they asked, and received not, because they asked amiss, viz. that they might consume it upon their lusts,* Jam. 4. 3. But if they would approach God's Footstool with hopes of being heard, they must take his Advice, v. 8. *Draw nigh unto God, and he will draw nigh to you : cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded.* Thus come, and lift up clean Hearts and Hands unto God, approach his Presence with an entire Renouncing of your Sins, and sincere Resolves of Amendment of Life, and then you will find God exorable. But on the contrary, be persuaded of this Truth, that you do but further provoke God as long as you pray and still persist in your Sins : For there cannot be a greater Mocking of God than this. Can you imagine that those Prayers will prosper, which proceed out of the same Mouth whence Swearing, and Cursing, and all Lewdness and Prophane-ness issue forth ? Yea, are not such Prayers taking God's Name in Vain ? And how then can you expect that he will hear them ?

2. This Truth is so evident, that some of the worst Men have acknowledged it, as the Pharisees, *We know (say they) that God heareth not Sinners ; but if any Man be a Worshipper of God, and do his Will, him he heareth,* John 9. 31. We know this, it being a common and received Principle, that Prayer must be attended with Obedience : For the Scripture bears Witness, that *the Lord is far from the Wicked, but he heareth the Prayer of the Righteous,* Prov. 15. 29. Therefore he that by Prayer would have Access unto God, must discard the Love of his Sins, and live soberly, righteously, and godly. St. John assures us, that *whatsoever we ask we receive of him, because we keep his Commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his Sight,* 1 Ep. 3. 22. Wherefore if we do not these things, there is no hope of receiving what we ask. Whilest the Cry of our Sins is in the Ears of God, how can we think that our Prayers shall have any Audience ? You see then your Duty clearly before you. Call upon God, but let not your Prayers be without a firm Purpose of relinquishing your former Follies and Miscarriages. Call upon God, but take up a steady Resolve of a godly Life, and reforming whatever is amiss. Call upon God, but forget not to summon your selves to the faithful Discharge of your Duty : otherwise you do in a manner *unpray* all that you pray for.

Eightbly and Lastly, Pray with Constancy and Perseverance. This is the Genius of the Gospel, this is the true Evangelical Spirit : It enables us to *continue in Prayer,* Col. 4. 2. Pride will not brook a Repulse, no not a Delay, if it be frequent : But that Humility which inspires the Christian Soul, bids him imitate the Woman of Canaan, who would not be denied with a Denial, Mat. 15. 27. Our Saviour taught his Disciples to persevere in Prayer, by a Parable of one that went to his Friend by Night to borrow some Necessaries of him, and procured them of him merely by his Importunity, *δὴ μὴ ἀναιδέως,* Luke 11. 8. *because of his Impudence,* so in Strictness it ought to be rendered. And this answers to that Manner of Speech which we find in the Talmud, * *Impudence towards God is beneficial.* There is (if I may so speak, and I may do so because we see that the Original authorizes me) an allowable Sort of Impudence or Shamelessness, viz. such as makes the Faithful persevere in their Requests to God, and remain undaunted in their Petitions. Therefore our Saviour closes the Parable with this Exhortation, *Ask, and ye shall have ; seek, and ye shall find : knock, and it shall be opened unto you,* v. 9. Incessant Importunity in Prayer is expressed by those three Words, *Ask, Seek, Knock.* And this is that which we are con-

* In Sanhedrin.

concerned to do, and to continue Asking, Seeking, Knocking till it be opened to us. We must resolve not to give over our earnest Suit, till we receive a merciful Return to our Prayers in some Kind or other. This also is set forth to us in the Parable of the *Importunate Widow*, Luke 18. 1. who prevailed on the unjust Judge, and even extorted a Kindness from him. The like restless Applications should we make to our Just Judge, our Merciful Father. St. Paul frequently urges this very thing: He would have us *continue instant in Prayer*, Rom. 12. 12. and (in the same Place) *Watch in Prayer*, and *watch with all Perseverance in Prayer*, Ephes. 6. 18. It is said of the Primitive Christians, that *they continued stedfastly in Prayers*, Acts 2. 42. And (which is more comprehensive) we are to *pray always*, Luke 18. 1. Ephes. 6. 18. and *without ceasing*, 1 Thes. 5. 17. Whence the *Euchites* held that all Religion consisted in Praying, and therefore they spent all their time in this Religious Exercise. But this was a groundless Mistake, and the best way to confute it, is to shew what is the true Import of *Praying always*, and *without ceasing*.

First, This is meant of Ejaculatory Prayers, which at all times we may be sending up to Heaven. Whatever Employment we are about, we may lift up our Souls to God, and by secret Applications of our Hearts to him be said to pray. Secondly, This is also meant of Vocal Prayer, and then we are to understand by it, 1. A constant Disposition, an habitual Preparedness to pray always, although we are not at all times actually engaged in the Duty. 2. It is meant of Praying on all fit Occasions, *ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ*, (for so it is in the Greek in that fore-cited Place, Ephes. 6. 18.) on every Season, or fit Opportunity. There are fresh Subjects, there is new Matter afforded for our Petitions by the Providence of God, which alters the Conditions and Circumstances of Men in the World. Or, 3dly, The setting apart some *Special Times* and *Seasons* for Prayer, as † David † Psal. 55. and † Daniel did; and the constant observing of them may be particularly intended by the Apostle; for *καιρὸς* here (as in some other places) may signify some Set Season. The continual Burnt Offering under the Law was called so, because it was ever continued in its Course twice a Day without any Failing. In this Sense it was *always* offered. Thus the Apostles were *διαπαντὸς*, continually in the Temple praising God, Luke 24. 53. So that *praying always* may denote the keeping of a continual Course of Prayer Morning and Evening, or oftner. 4. The more general Import of *Praying always* is, that we should pray as often as we can, that we should be very frequent in this Duty. St. Paul prayed for the *Colossians πάντοτε*, *always* (the same Greek Word is used) for the *Thessalonians*, 2 Thes. 1. 11. not but that he had other Christian Exercises to attend to: But by this Way of Speaking he lets us know, that he was very assiduous and constant in Praying for them. Lastly, Great Importunity and Ardency are here meant. When Christ inculcated this, that *Men ought always (πάντοτε) to pray*, Luke 18. 1. he explained himself by adding, [and not to faint]. We are then said to *pray always*, when we are Earnest and Importunate in this Exercise, as often as we are called to it. We must not falter and shrink in the Discharge of this Duty, we must keep up the Life and Vigor of it, or else our frequent using of it will be insignificant. The *Mahometans* frequent their Mosques, and pray there Five times a Day. *Papists* in a Superstitious Devotion pray very often. But Frequency without inward Fervor is little worth: Wherefore let us often reiterate our Prayers, but let us do it with great Zeal and Liveliness. Thus you see how we must be *qualified*, if we would successfully direct our Prayers to God. Prayer must have all these Requisites and Conditions which I have named.

Lastly, I come to apply all that hath been said. Consider, I beseech you, the sundry things which I have offered to you concerning Prayer. Reflect on the Nature and Kinds of it, and act accordingly. Confess your Sins and Follies; implore Favour for your selves and others; return Thanks for the Benefits God hath already conferred on you. Thus let Prayer be entire and compleat in its several Parts. Imagine Christ saying to every one of us, *Enter into thy Closet*, forget not to discharge this Duty by thy self alone, when thou hast an Opportunity of doing it, with the greatest Freedom and Unreservedness. Then come out of thy Closet, and if thou beest a Master of a Family, pray with them daily. Alas, in how few Houses is there this daily Calling upon God? How frequently

quently is Family Prayer neglected? The more careful ought you to be to restore it, and to keep it up. Moreover, you must give Proof of your Devotion not only in private but in publick. It must pass from the Closets and your Families, into the Church and Solemn Assemblies. You are likewise to consider seriously the Admirable *Ends* and *Usefulness* of this Duty of Prayer. If you tender God's Honour, your own Good and Benefit, or the Advantage that you may do to others, you cannot but think your selves concerned in the several Particulars. But chiefly you must remember the *Qualifications* and *Conditions* of this indispensable Duty, that you may be able to perform it aright. *Take heed how you bear*, said our Saviour: But you must also *take heed how you pray*, how you make your Addresses to God. Be sure it be done in a *due Manner*, for hereon depend the Prevalency and Efficacy of your Prayers.

And now to encourage you to the Practise of this Noble Exercise of Religion, I will make Use of these following *Motives*; 1. Prayer is an Act of Natural Religion. 2. It is (besides that) of Positive Institution. 3. The Examples of Holy Men commend it to us. 4. The manifold Excellencies and Privileges of Prayer may powerfully invite us to the Practise of it.

* Turpe est etiamnum Deos fatigare. Quid votis opus est? Fac teipsum felicem. *Senec.*

† Hoc est summum bonum, quod si occupas, incipis deorum esse socius, non supplex. — Quam stultum est optare, cum possis à te impetrare? Non sunt ad cœlum elevandæ manus. *Epist. 41.*

|| —Æquum mihi animum ipse parabo. *Horat. l. 1. Ep. 18.*

‡ Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est, &c. *Epist. 41.*

∴ Roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde corporis. *Epist. 10.*

So some of the *Platonists* were mistaken about the Nature of Prayer, as *Maximus Tyrius* who hath a Discourse on this Question,

* Πότερον δεῖ εὐχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ; *Dissertat. 9.*

† Ὀμιλία καὶ διάλεκτος πρὸς τὸν θεόν περὶ τῶν παρόντων.

several unsafe Notions, but more that are true and wholesome, and he proves the *Necessity* of this religious Performance.

|| Ὀμιλία πρὸς τὸν θεόν. In *vita Pythagoræ.*

∴ Εὐχὰς δεῖσθαι.

* Ἐν ᾧ παντὶ θεὸς ἐπιμαλᾷ.

† Nat. Hist. 1. 28. c. 2.

|| In *Epicet. lib. 2. c. 7.*

true even in the *Gentile Morality*, appears from *Socrates*, *Tully*, *Plutarch*, *Hierocles*, and others. It were easy to allege their Words, if any one doubts of it. Yea, Prayer was reckoned by the *Pagan Moralists*, as the means of obtaining all good Things whatsoever. Nothing is more known than this, that they never used to undertake any thing without first consulting their Gods, and invoking their Assistance.

First, I say, it is an Act even of Natural Religion: And consequently as you are Men, *i. e.* Rational Creatures, you are concerned in it. It is true that some of the *Stoick Philosophers* speak very oddly in this Matter. That sowre and stubborn Sect attributed too much to Human Strength, and seemed even to exclude the Divine Help, and then it is no Wonder that they shut out *Praying*. * It is a shameful thing to trouble the Gods, saith one of them; what Need is there of Wishes and Prayers? Make thy self happy. And † such like Passages are frequent in the same Author, and in || others. But yet at some other times you shall find them retracting this impious Opinion: Thus that fore-mentioned Writer, as stiff as he seemed to be, relenteth in these Words, ‡ *None can be a good Man without God's Assistance*: And in another Place he exhorts his Friend to ∴ *pray for Health of Mind and Body, especially the former*. So that by these Quotations it appears, that though these Persons sometimes disliked Prayer, yet at other times they highly approved of it, as a thing very useful and necessary.

So do several of the ancient Philosophers: Thus one of the Ways whereby a Man may be made Better is, according to *Pythagoras*, || *Conversing with God*; that is, praying to him, for (as he saith) when we approach to him, we ought to purify our selves, and to be like him. There are several Instances of Prayer in *Plato's* Writings. ∴ *Pray to the Gods*, is one of *Epicetus's* Advices. * *In every thing implore them*, saith *Antoninus*. *The Sacrifices were not duly offered*, saith *Pliny*, nor the Gods rightly worshipped without Prayer. And that particular Ejaculation, || *Lord have Mercy upon us*, was used, saith *Arrianus*. And that praying is the medium to obtain Vir-

Assistance.

Assistance. It was the professed and avowed Acknowledgement of the * wisest of them, that all their Actions should begin with God, and that a Blessing could not be derived to them without imploring his Aid. That Praying was a Duty among the Pagans, is evident from that Epithet which they gave their Jupiter, *ἱεραστής*, the Patron of those that pray: And from what was written in golden Letters in the Temple of Serapis, *ἄγετε δεῖν*, pray to God: As also from that of Homer, † *Εὐχόμενοι πάντες δὲ θεῶν χάριν ἀνδράσιν*. That is, Pray, for all Men stand in need of the Gods. Which Melancthon used to say was the best Verse in Homer. Much more I could add to make this good, that the soberest of the Heathen Worshippers acknowledged the Necessity of Praying, and were frequent Observers of this Practice, and consequently that it is the Dictate of Reason, and an Instance of natural Religion.

2. Let it be thought of, that it is of an higher Nature yet. Prayer is of Divine Institution and Appointment. One would think this should not be questioned, much less denied; but we find it is: *i. e.* Some hold that it was not an indispensable Office of Religion among the Jews, or before the Evangelical Dispensation. *Episcopus* tells us, that there is no express Precept in the Law for praying to God. And || some have taught that Prayer is a new Commandment of Christ, and was not a Duty in the Old Testament. But the contrary appears from the publick Worship and Sacrifices among the Jews, which were always attended with Prayer, 2 Chron. 6. 19. Luke 1. 10. And they are sharply reprehended that neglected this Part of Devotion, *Isai.* 14. 4. 64. 7. Whence we may infer that it was enjoined them, for otherwise the Neglect had not been blameable. Besides, the bold Assertion before-mentioned is confuted from the Book of Psalms, which consists of Prayers generally, and from those several other Prayers which are extant in the Old Testament, and from that express Command in *Psal.* 50. 15. and other Places, to call upon God. But indeed, as we are Christians this ought chiefly to prevail with us, that the Gospel enjoins this Duty, that 'tis a Precept of the New Testament, that is, an Injunction of Christ our perfect Lawgiver. Now, that it is the Command of the Gospel, I need not quote any Text for the Proof of a thing that is evident in almost every Page of this part of the Bible. Our Saviour hath set us a Pattern of Prayer, and the Evangelists and Apostles inculcate this part of Divine Worship. Though the Mosaical Sacrifices are ceased, yet * the Calves of our Lips (as they are call'd) ^{Hos. 14. 2.} are to be offered up daily. This is an Evangelical Ordinance, this is Christ's own Command, and therefore it is our indispensable Concern.

* A Diis immortalibus nobis agendi capienda primordia. *Cic. de Leg. 2. 2.* Bene ac sapienter majores instituerunt, ut rerum agendarum, ita dicendi initium à precationibus capere, quod nihil rite nihilque providenter homines sine deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore auspicarentur. *Plin. Panegy.*

† *Odyss.* 3.

|| *Smalcus de Divin. Christi.* cap. 5. *Catech. Racov. de Prophet. mun. Christi,* cap. 1.

3. We are encouraged to it by the Example and Practice of the Saints. There are almost innumerable Instances of this in the Book of God: I will present you with a few of them. When Jacob (afterwards called Israel for his prevailing with God) stood in Fear of the Reproach of his Brother Esau, and was greatly distressed, he forthwith betook himself to pray, *Gen.* 32. 11. Deliver me, I pray thee, from the Hand of my Brother, lest he come and smite me, and the Mother with the Children. How earnest and importunate was Moses, that Man of God, on several emergent Occasions? Every Calamity that befel the Israelites sent him presently to God, to beg on their Behalf. He grew so bold a Petitioner for that People, that he would not admit of a Denial. Let me alone, said God to him, to intimate what Force and Power his Prayers had with God, as was observed before. That great Sufferer Job, who perhaps lived about Moses's Time, was as eminent for his devout and ardent Supplications to God in the time of his Afflictions, as for his Patience under them. And who was more frequent and powerful in Prayer than that afflicted and persecuted Prince Holy David? When the Waters came in unto his Soul (as he expresses it) then out of those Depths he cried unto the Lord, *Psal.* 69. This was the Course he took, he made his Appeal and Complaint to God. As for me, saith he, my Prayer is unto thee, O Lord, in an acceptable Time. Now, if ever, I have the greatest Reason and the fittest Opportunity to apply my self to thee. To thee therefore will I have recourse in all my Distresses; O God, in the Multitude of thy Mercies, bear me (as he goes on in that *Psalms,*)

Psalms,) let not the Water-floods over-flow me, neither let the Deep swallow me up. Hear me, O Lord, for thy Loving-kindness is good, turn unto me according to the Multitude of thy tender Mercies, and hide not thy Face from thy Servant, for I am in trouble: hear me speedily. So in *Psalms* 109. after he had complained of the ill Usage he found from the wicked World, he betakes himself to this only Redress and Remedy, I give my self unto Prayer, v. 4. So in *Psal.* 38. and in many others, he makes use of his old Expedient, he goes to God by Prayer; that is his Solace and Support in the greatest Evils that befall him. But I should transcribe the greatest Part of the Book of *Psalms*, if I should give you a particular Account of this Holy King's Addresses unto God in the time of his Grievances and Necessities.

I will now pass to other Instances, and remind you of those three Notable Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, who were Praying Men, and often solicited God in the Day of Trouble and Calamity. *Jonah* prayed unto the Lord out of the Fishes-belly (as 'tis particularly recorded of him) *Jon.* 2. 1. He who at other times was peevish and angry, now became meek and humble, and zealously invoked the Divine Majesty. King *Hezekiah* implored the Mercy of God with a vigorous and concerned Spirit, when he had received the Sentence of Death, and thought he should descend into the Land of Oblivion. *Daniel*, when the Church of God, and his Brethren were in Streights, opened his Windows, and with them his Mouth and his Heart, and poured out this latter in Ardent Prayer. How fervently and passionately did *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* call upon God, when they were touched with the Sense of the Calamities which the People of God suffered? If you pass to the New Testament you'll read there, that when *St. Peter* was imprisoned, and the Church under Persecution, Prayer was made without ceasing for them, *Acts* 12. 5. *St. Paul* trebled his Devotion, when a Messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him; for this thing (saith he) I besought the Lord thrice, *2 Cor.* 12. 8. You find *St. Paul* in his Epistles often praying for those he writ to. And to conclude with the Example of our Lord *Jesus*, whose Life was made up of Temptations and Sufferings, the Evangelists acquaint us how frequently he retired to his Prayers, and they observe that in the height of his Temptations and Troubles his Spirit was most inflamed in Prayer, being in an Agony, he prayed more earnestly. Thus the Practice of our Blessed Master, and of the most Eminent Servants of God, may convince us of the Reasonableness and Necessity of this Duty.

Fourthly, Consider the many Excellencies and Privileges of Prayer. 1. This is our greatest Honour. To have leave to approach the Throne of Grace, to come with Freedom and Boldness into God's Presence, and disclose all our Thoughts and Desires before him, is a singular Privilege. That weak and sinful Creatures may be admitted to hold Intercourse with the Heavenly Majesty, is an unspeakable Dignity vouchsafed to them. Prayer is a great Preferment, because it brings us so nigh to God. 2. Prayer is our greatest Comfort. That we may go to our Father, and open our Hearts and unburden our selves before him, is a Solace of no mean Nature, of no low Degree. For by laying open our Wound we partly heal it: By discovering our Grievances we in some measure redress them; by complaining of our Burden we make it lighter: By communicating our Wants we find Relief and Ease. 3dly, Prayer is necessary in order to our receiving all manner of Benefits and Favours from God. This is the Key wherewith all God's Treasures are unlocked to us. To supplicate God is the Way to partake of these: To Beg is the way to be Rich. We read that King *Solomon* consecrated his Temple with Prayer, and he likewise made it the Fund, the Stock to maintain it and the Worshippers in it for Ages to come, *1 Kings* 8. This fits us for the reception of all those Mercies which God is the Donor of. So then the Necessity of Prayer is evident, because by this means all those Things are derived to us which we stand in need of.

* Ebion, cupidus, egenus. Δέ-
cupior, & desum.
cupior, & desum.

It is observable, that in the Three Learned Languages * the Words that denote *Praying* or *Requesting*, signify also *Want*. The Reason may be because we pray for what we want, and we pray because we want, and because we are sensible that we do so. Whence by the by we may inform our selves of the Ground and Occasion of some *Stoics* and *Platonists* being against Prayer, and why

why some *Quakers* seldom or never practise it. Their pretending to *Perfection* is the Cause of this: They think themselves not *in need*, they have all. But it is certain that as long as we are *indigent* Creatures (and that will be always in this World) we are under a necessity of Praying. The *Jews* express it thus, *sine stationibus non stare Mundus*, the World would not stand without Praying. Nothing is to be had without this, but by it we furnish our selves with all Things, and which is the chiefest and most considerable of all, a real Blessing with them, for the Apostle certifies us that *every Thing is sanctified by Prayer*, 1 Tim. 4. 5. What can be said more?

Yet there is a Writer, one of those that are commonly known by the Title of *Antinomian*, who says as much on the contrary side, for he tells us that it is in vain to petition for any Spiritual Mercy or Grace, because Prayer comes too late, all is done already. * *When People pray, saith he, for any Grace, all their Prayers beget no new thing of God that he hath not done before*: And at other times he maintains, *that no Man gets any Thing by his most ardent Petitions put up to Heaven*. One would think that this Person had not conversed with the Holy Scriptures, where the Influence and Efficacy of Prayer, and the great Benefit we receive by it, are so frequently asserted. He might have been convinced of his rash Opinion from what is said of the Patriarch *Jacob*, that *he wrestled with God, and would not let him go till he blessed him*, Gen. 32. 25. For which his Prevalency with God he gained the Name of *Israel*, because *as a Prince he had Power with God, and had prevailed*, v. 28. And there are plentiful Examples and Instances in the Old and New Testament, of the Blessings conveyed by Prayer, which is here expressed by *wrestling*. He might have been convinced of the Vertue and Power of this from that single Text in the New Testament, *Jam. 5. ver. 16. The effectual fervent Prayer of a Righteous Man availeth much*. It is able to do great Things, it is of wonderful force for the preventing and disappointing of many Evils, and the procuring of many good Things. This in short may satisfy any one concerning the Absurdity and Strangeness of the Doctrine before-mentioned.

† Dr. Crisp,
Vol. 2. Sermon.
9.

* Πολύ ἰσχύς.

It remains now, that (according to what I propounded at first) I answer some *Cavils* and *Objections*, which may be made against what I have said in pursuance of this Subject. *First*, It may be, that Prayer is not so requisite a Performance as I have represented it to be, because God is *Omniscient*, and is acquainted with the particular States and Conditions of all Persons. What need is there then of laying them open before God in Prayer? But, O Man, who art thou that callest in question the Divine Command? God hath said, *Call upon me*, and dost thou dispute the Reasonableness of that Injunction? Again, thou art mistaken, if thou imaginest that the End of Prayer is to *inform God* concerning thy Condition. The great Ends and Designs of this Religious Office are (as we have heard) to set forth God's Glory, to make us know our selves better, to render us apprehensive of our Wants and Necessities, and to fit us by our humble Acknowledgments for the reception of Mercy. These are consistent with God's *Omniscience* without doubt, and therefore the Cavil vanishes.

Again, it may be objected: How is Prayer requisite, when God himself saith, *He is found of those that seek him not*? Isa. 65. 1. To which I answer, *First*, Those Words are spoken of the wonderful *Calling of the Gentiles*, which was an extraordinary Thing, and therefore is not to be applyed to our ordinary Cases. *Secondly*, Those Words by way of Analogy may be meant of our first Conversion; and so it is true, that God must awaken us before we call on him: We must be roused out of our Lethargy before we can seek God. Though God is pleased thus graciously to deal with some Persons at first, must they therefore never afterwards use the appointed Means for obtaining his Mercy? But *Thirdly*, If you will consult the Text, you will see that it will answer it self, for as it is said, *I am found of those that sought me not*, so the foregoing Words run thus, *I am sought of them that asked not for me*. Here we see, that God is *sought* before he is *found*, and consequently the meaning of the other Clause is no other than this, *I am found of them that once sought me not, but now they seek me*, and therefore I am found of them. When they were *Unregenerate* and *Unconverted*, they asked not for me, or asked not aright; but now I having turned their Hearts, they turn unto me, and call upon me, and seek me in a due manner.

ner. Here is nothing then gained by the *Objection* which is drawn from this Place.

But from the 24th ver. of this Chapter it may be further objected, that we need not put up our Petitions to God, since he hath promised to *hear us before we ask*: It shall come to pass, (saith God by the Prophet, speaking of the admirable Condition of the Church under the Gospel) *that before they call I will answer; and whilst they are yet speaking I will hear.* If God will Answer before they Pray to him, what necessity is there of Praying to him at all? In reply to this, I lay this down First, that it is certain, that this Place of Scripture cannot be understood as any discountenancing the Duty of Prayer, for then it would run counter to the Strain of the whole Scripture, which commends Prayer so much, and even deciphers Good People by their praying to God. The Saints are such as in every Place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord, 1 Cor. 1. 2. It is one of the Essential Properties of a Saint to pray, and cannot be left out in the Definition of him. Wherefore, this Text cannot, must not be so interpreted as to make it contradict other Places of Holy Writ.

Secondly, The plain Meaning of these Words is this, that God oftentimes is pleased to *anticipate* the Desires and Requests of his Servants by conferring some Blessings on them which they did not expressly ask of him. But this Experience of God's readiness to confer kindness upon them doth not cool and stifle their Devotion, but rather heightens and inflames it. They are encouraged to make their Addresses to God from this very consideration, that he sometimes graciously vouchsafes to relieve their Wants before they lay them open to him. Let this invite us to call upon God frequently, that he is so forward to help us, and even actually doth it before we beg it at his Hands.

But Thirdly, This very Text it self mentions *Praying* unto God: *Whilst they are yet speaking I will hear.* So that this Duty is not excluded by these Words. Wherefore (notwithstanding what God can do, and sometimes doth in an extraordinary manner) we are to look upon Prayer as the Useful and Appointed Means in order to the obtaining of Favours from Heaven. God is not wont to part with his Blessings, till by Hearty and Earnest Prayer they are begged of him. Not that he is sparing of his Mercies, or slow to help us in our Necessities, but that by this Method we may know our selves, and understand our Dependence upon God, and rightly esteem his Mercies to us. For these Reasons and several others before-mentioned, we must *Desire, Ask, Request*, of God what we stand in need of: And we must not think to be Partakers of the Divine Benefits otherways.

Therefore that Form of Prayer which Plato was so much taken with, and so highly commended, is not allowable: It was this, [Give to us, O God, those Things that are good and healthful for us, whether we ask them, or ask them not: And such Things as are evil turn from us, whether we ask them, or ask them not.] This is against the Rules prescribed us, both in the Law and in the Gospel. And therefore the *Platonist* talks vainly when he argues thus; He that prays is either worthy to receive what he prays for, or he is unworthy: If he is the former, he shall obtain it, though he ask not; If he be the latter, he

shall not obtain it, though he asketh. For he adds, * If it be a Thing really profitable, it shall be given to the former sort of Persons unasked: But if it be hurtful, it shall not be given them, notwithstanding their asking. All this

*Εἰ μὴ ἀνύσιμον, καὶ μὴ αἰτῶντι δώσει· εἰ δὲ ἐπιποναλὲς, καὶ αἰτῶντι δώσει, Max. Tyr. Diff. 30.

is false and groundless; for God hath constituted Prayer to be a Means of conveying good Things to us, and of averting those that are evil: And therefore we cannot reckon upon any such Thing as *not asking*.

It may be yet farther objected, That God's Will is immutable, and his Decree unchangeable, and consequently our Prayers cannot cause him to alter his Purpose. If there be a peremptory Predetermination of all things that happen in the World, what can we effect by praying? This cannot work any Change in God; for *he changeth not*. What then doth Prayer do? The Answer to this Cavil is, that God's Decrees do not exclude, but always include the Use of Means. Now, Prayer is the ordinary Means for obtaining of Blessings. Wherefore these Two, God's Decrees and our Prayers, do not interfere. This is plain from Psal. 2. 7, 8. *I will declare the Decree, the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son,*

this

this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession. The Conversion of the Gentiles, though decreed, must be prayed for, Ask of me, &c. And so in other Instances it is clear, that God alters not his Purpose by the Intervention of our Prayers, but by those very Prayers, in Way of Means, he brings to pass what he had decreed should happen in time. If this had been considered by a late * Writer, he wou'd not have rashly determined that it is absurd to pray or intercede for that which God hath absolutely decreed from all Eternity shall come to pass: Yea he would have been convinced that God's Eternal Decree is the Foundation of our Prayers; for God having from Eternity determined what shall come to pass in all the future Ages of the World, we are by Prayer to desire that it may actually come to pass. It is the Divine Appointment that by Prayer the Decree shall be fulfilled. Wherefore God's determining of things from Eternity ought not to give any Check to our Prayers, for we know not what he hath determined, only so far as he hath been pleased to make any Discovery of it in his Word: But this we know, that God hath made Prayer the usual Instrument of conveying Mercies to us. And for that Query, *What doth Prayer do?* It hath been answered already, when I particularly shewed what are the Ends and Designs of Prayer.

In like manner, as these Objectors mention the Decree of God, so they may allege his Promise to the same Purpose. God hath engaged to deliver his Servants from their Dangers and Troubles, he hath promised to give Grace and Glory, and to withhold no good Thing from those that walk uprightly: Why then should they pray for these things, seeing God will certainly keep his Word, and perform all that he hath promised? The plain and satisfactory Answer is this, that what God promises to give, he intends to give by Prayer; and therefore his Promises and our Prayers are consistent. To this purpose consult Ezek. 36. 36. where there is a Promise concerning the Kingdom of Christ, and the exceeding Great Blessings which were to attend it: And yet the actual Accomplishment of that Promise is to be looked for in the Way of Prayer. *The Heathen that are left round about them shall know that I the Lord build the ruined Places, and plant that which was desolate (they shall see and envy the flourishing State of Christ's Kingdom). I the Lord have spoken it, and I will do it. Thus saith the Lord, I will yet for this be enquired of the House of Israel, to do it for them.* The God who hath spoken, and will do it, will be sought unto by Prayer. Therefore we may observe in Scripture, that the Promises of God have not stilled, but quickned the Prayers of the Saints. Thus Elias prayed for Rain, though God had promised it. David's Prayer in 2 Sam. 7. 27, 28. is for that which he had a Promise of from God: *Thou, O Lord of Hosts, hast revealed to thy Servant, saying, I will build thee a House; therefore hath thy Servant found in his Heart to pray this Prayer unto thee. And now, O Lord, thou hast promised this Goodness to thy Servant: Therefore now let it please thee to bless the House of thy Servant; for thou, O Lord, hast spoken it: And with thy Blessing let the House of thy Servant be blessed for ever.* We see he doth once and again make the Promise of God an Encouragement to Prayer. So Daniel prayed for an End of the Captivity, when he knew by particular Revelation. that the Jews should be set free.

The last Objection (and which is the most discouraging of all) is, that Prayers are not heard. I have often prayed, but found no Success of that Performance. And others are able to testify the same, their Petitions are daily made to God, but there is no Answer given, (for that is the Meaning of *not hearing*). To what purpose then should we continue praying? It will be but Labour lost.

I Answer: 1. No Man hath Reason to assert in the general and gross, that Prayers are not heard, when 'tis the joynt Acknowledgment of many Holy Persons that their Prayers have been heard, and that they have received an Answer to them. We are told, that in Crete there was of old an Image of Jupiter without Ears: Or if it had had them, they would have been little Advantage to it; for according to the Psalmist the Idols have Ears, but hear not. But our Jehovah is a God hearing Prayers, he is not deaf to the Desires of his Servants, but readily listens to their Requests, and as graciously returns an Answer. For he never said to the Seed of Jacob, *Seek ye my Face in vain*, Isai. 45. 19.

But 2dly, I answer ; God sometimes in Mercy *bears us not.* *We ask and receive not,* as St. James saith, and gives this as the Reason of it, *because we ask amiss,* Jam. 4. 3. If God, in such a Case, should grant our Petitions, it would be apparently to our Hurt. We have no Reason therefore to complain that we are not sometimes heard when we pray. It is an infinite Kindness that we are not. And as the *not bearing* our Prayers is on some Accounts a Blessing, so the *Hearing* of them may prove a Curse. God sometimes answers the Requests of Wicked Men, and grants them their Hearts Desire, and in that very thing he punishes them.

I answer 3dly, Our Prayers are oftentimes heard, but we do not take notice of it, they being answered in that *manner* which we did not expect : For though God doth not grant us the very particular and individual Thing which we prayed for, yet he gives us something which is better and more advantageous than what we requested. The Physician listens not to the Desires of his sick Patient in some things, but he carefully studies his Health, and restores it to him at last, which was the principal Desire of the sick Man. Thus the Prayers of the Righteous are always heard for their Good and Welfare, though they have not all things according to their Desire. It is worth our observing, that Christ himself, *in the Days of his Flesh, offered up Prayers and Supplications to be saved from Death* (it refers to his Prayer in the Garden, when he was in his Agony, *If it be possible, let this Cup pass from me*) and *was heard in that he feared,* Heb. 6. 7. He was heard, and yet he was *not saved* or delivered from Death, which was the thing he earnestly prayed for. He was heard, and graciously answered as to that very thing which *he feared and dreaded*, viz. the Suffering for our Sins ; for he was supported with Strength to undergo his Sufferings and Death it self, and he was answered as to the happy Event and Issue of them. Thus Prayer may be heard either by God's giving us what we ask, or by giving us something better. All devout Petitioners are really heard even when they seem to be denied. God is acquainted with the Condition of his Servants (I speak now of mere Men only) and accordingly bestows on them such things as they should have asked, and which they would, if they knew themselves and their Wants as he doth. And as for other things, when God denies them their Requests, they ought to reckon that their Prayers are heard in that Denial.

4thly, Whereas some complain that their Prayers are not heard they ought to examine first, whether they are rightly qualified : And if they find that they are not, their Complaints ought to cease : For no Man can rationally expect that God should attend to those Petitions, which are void of those Qualifications which he requires. *This is the Confidence that we have in him,* saith St. John, *that if we ask any Thing according to his Will, he heareth us.* And if we know that he heareth us, *whatsoever we ask* (according to the foresaid Limitation) *we know that we have the Petitions that we have desired of him,* 1 Epist. 5 ch. 14, 15. v. i. e. we know this, that our Prayers are granted as well as heard ; and so we are sure of the Success of our Petitions. But all depends on this, that our Prayers *be according to God's Will.* We cannot with Confidence look for a merciful Answer, unless we be satisfied as to this. Now, *Praying according to God's Will* is when our Prayers have those Conditions and Requisites which I have before assigned : And the Chief of them is, that we regard not Iniquity in our Hearts. The Want of these hinders us from experiencing the merciful Ear of God to our Prayers : The Absence of these causes God to shut his Hand, and not to bestow on us the Favours which we beg of him.

5thly and Lastly, We must distinguish between God's *denying* and his *delaying* an Answer to our Prayers. We are wont to take the latter for the former, and thence arise our Complaints. But we must satisfy our selves with this, that God *defers* an Answer to our Prayers for some of these following Reasons : 1. Because we have not been importunate enough. Christ delayed to hear the Woman of Canaan for her Daughter, that he might provoke her to use the greater Importunity. A cold and formal Petition argues, that we are indifferent whether we receive the Mercy we ask, or not : And such a Petition is no other than begging a Denial from God. 2. God returns not a speedy Answer sometimes, because we are not prepared at that time to receive the Mercy we desire. But by being delayed we have an Opportunity given us to prepare our selves : For when

when Heaven puts in a Demurrer to the Suit which we prefer, this is apt to make us descend into our selves, and to enquire diligently into those Failings and Miscarriages which obstruct the Success of our Prayers, and thereupon to abandon whatever is displeasing to God; which naturally makes way for his hearing our Prayers. 3. Being delayed we prize the Blessings of Heaven the more, and we are rendered the more thankful for them. Whereas on the contrary, an easy obtaining of Favours makes them the less welcome to us, and causes us to forget them the sooner. 4. This Delay is very useful to try our Humility, to exercise our Faith, to train us up to patient Waiting upon God, which are all of them Excellent Accomplishments: and therefore we have no Reason to complain of Delay.

Let us then be fully persuaded of this, that the Prayers of Righteous Men cannot but be prevalent with God, because these Prayers are *his Delight*, Prov. 15. 8. because these Persons are in great Esteem with him. Favourites are soon heard, their Requests are always granted: Because there are many express Promises in Scripture of God's hearing their Prayers: Because Prayer of its own Nature puts devout Men upon Action, and thereby they make the Attainment of those Virtues and Graces which they beg, the more easy: Prayer engages them to act, as well as God to assist: Because the Holy Ghost indites their Prayers, and therefore they must needs be prevalent: Because Christ their powerful Advocate intercedes for them: He offers up their Prayers with his own, and that renders them successful: These are the Arguments, these are the Encouragements which we have to wait upon God in Prayer, yea, though our Requests are not presently granted: And this may suffice in Answer to the Objections which are brought to the contrary.

Now in the Close of all, I have good Reason to urge the Duty which hath been treated of, this Grand Office of Religion, *Prayer*. Let us be fully convinced of the Excellency of it, and discover this by our Delight in it, by our frequent Exercising our selves in it. Know that this is of universal Use in your Lives; in whatsoever Condition you are, it is seasonable to seek unto God. More especially when you are under Pressures and Troubles, you are concerned more solemnly to approach unto him, and to implore his Mercy, according to that of the *Psalmist*, *For this shall every one that is godly, pray unto thee in a time when thou may'st be found, namely, in the Flood of great Waters*, Psal. 32. 6, 7. And according to St. *James's* Rubrick, *Is any afflicted? let him pray*, Ch. 5. v. 13. To whom should the distressed Child make his Complaint, but to his Parent? To him he may freely utter his Grievance, and lay open his Necessities. To whom should we have Recourse in our Afflictions but to our Heavenly Father, who is the Wise Disposer of them? If you labour under any Spiritual Burthen, Prayer is then most seasonable. *If any of you lack Wisdom and Courage to grapple with your Ghostly Enemies, ask them of God, who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not: and they shall be given you*, Jam. 1. 5. Or say that you groan under Outward and Bodily Evils, the same Remedy must be made Use of still. When the World hates you, and Evilly intreats you, fly unto God. When the most grievous Calamities surround you, solace your selves by calling upon him. It was the Advice given by a good Man, to one that lamented the Miseries of the Church, Go retire, thou Sorrowful Man, into thy Cell, into thy Closet, and pray for better Days. When all other Attempts fail, this is the only Expedient, and most successful. When you are deprived of all things else, bless God that Prayer is left you. If you can pray, it is impossible you should be miserable. And I need not tell you likewise, that in the most prosperous and flourishing Condition this is a very suitable Exercise, whether it be performed in Publick or in Private. Some would have their Temple-Gates, like those of *Janus*, stand open in Time of War, but shut in Peaceable Times. This is not to be allowed of, for our Peace and Prosperity may prove most dangerous to us, yea, more destructive than the bloodiest Wars. Wherefore we must repair to God by earnest Prayer, beseeching him to guard and secure us from the Temptations of Prosperity as well as Adversity. To which Purpose we are to urge this upon our selves, that this Religious Duty is absolutely necessary at all times, and we can never plead Exemption from it. It is certain, that in this World we are never in those Circumstances wherein we are wholly void of Enemies, and those

very powerful ones too: And it is as true, that we cannot deal with them with any better Weapon than this. The Christian Combatant, if he desires to conquer, must fight upon his Knees. That is the Posture of every true Member of the Church Militant. Be sure you be found in this, and you cannot but be Victorious.

Of the several Particular Branches of the *Lord's-Prayer*.

MATTH. VI. 9.

*After this Manner therefore pray ye, Our Father
which art in Heaven, &c.*

HAVING premised these Things concerning Prayer, I now come to treat particularly of *The Lord's Prayer*, which is called so, not because it was used as a Prayer by our Saviour, with whose perfect Sanctity it agreed not to say, *Forgive us our Trespases*, but because this Form of Words was dictated by our Lord to his Disciples, that they might make Use of it as a Pattern of Prayer, and as a Prayer it self. For according to St. *Matthew*, we are bid to pray *after this Manner*, and so this Prayer is the Example according to which we ought to pray. But, as St. *Luke* words it, our Saviour bids us, *when we pray, say, Our Father, &c.* *Luke* 11. 2. And so it is a Form of Prayer which we ought to use, as *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and other Fathers acknowledge. To this Purpose it is observed by Mr. *Mede*, concerning Christ's delivering this Prayer twice, that the Disciples thought, when it was first given them, it was only an Example or Pattern of Prayer; wherefore Christ repeated it, to assure them that he meant it as well for a Set Form as a Pattern: Which made him the Second time be more punctual and exact in his Words, *When ye pray, say*, that is, use these very Words as a Form of Devotion. Nay, it might be proved to be a Form of Prayer even from these Words in St. *Matthew*, *ὅπως προσεύχητε*, *pray thus*, for so it should be translated. It is the same Word which the *Septuagint* use in *Num.* 6. 22. *ὅπως εὐλογήσετε*, *thus* (or as we render it, *on this wise*) ye shall bless the People, and then the very Words of Blessing follow: Which shews that this is a Form of Prayer, as what follows there is a Form of Benediction. Besides, I could argue from the Manner of the Composure of the Lord's-Prayer, which doth not barely inform us that God our Father is in Heaven; neither doth it merely instruct or direct us to pray, that God's Name may be hallowed, and his Kingdom come, &c. but it expressly dictates to us, what is to be said by us, what Words and Terms are to be used, viz. *Our Father, &c.*

* On the
9th Article
of the Apo-
stle's Creed.

It is true, *Grotius* is on the other Side, and holds that to pray thus, or after this Manner, is to pray in this Sense or Meaning; and he is inclined to this Exposition, because Christ commands not the Words to be rehearsed, and because we do not read that the Apostles made Use of this Prayer. But these are slight Reasons; for in that Injunction, *Pray thus*, a Command to rehearse the Words is included. And as for the Practice of the Apostles, I have shewed in another * Place, that it is probable they

they made Use of the Lord's Prayer; tho' it is not necessary that that should be recorded in the New Testament: And it is granted by *Grotius* himself, and others, that many things of that Nature are omitted in those Sacred Writings. We may then on good Grounds conclude, that in the Lord's Prayer there is not only set down the Matter of our Prayers, but that the Prayer it self was intended to be a Form. This was the Judgment of that Excellent Man Archbishop † *Usher*, Our † Catech. Blessed Saviour, saith he, *both commended this Form unto us, to be both repeated and imitated.* And again, in the same place, he saith, *To refuse this Form, savoureth of a proud Contempt of Christ's Ordinance.* It is then no longer to be disputed, whether it be a Pattern or a Form of Prayer, for it is *both*. P. 362.

This Divine Prayer consists, 1. Of a Preface or Introduction, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* 2. The Main Body, consisting of several Petitions, *Hallowed be thy Name, &c.* 3. The Conclusion, *Thine is the Kingdom, and the Power and the Glory for ever. Amen.*

The INTRODUCTION:

Where is chiefly shewed in what Respects God is our Father: and the Nature and Dignity of Adoption are particularly considered: with the Proper Duties that attend it.

I Begin with the Introduction, *Our Father, &c.* Wherein are comprised these two Things, 1. The Compellation or Title which is given to God, *Father.* 2. The Acknowledgment which we make of that Glorious Seat where he resides, *Heaven.* First, Our Saviour teaches us to use the Title of *Father* when we approach the Divine Majesty by Prayer. On which I ground these following Remarks or Observations:

First, Prayer must be made to God, and to Him alone. It is Recorded that King *Asa* sought not unto the Lord when he was diseased in his Feet, 2 *Chron.* 16. 12. *Abaziah* did worse, he enquired of *Baalzebub*, the Idol-God of *Ekron*, 2 *Kings* 1. 2. Devils have been implored rather than God by the Pagan Worshippers. Saints and Angels are called upon by those of the Roman Church at this day. But, however they labour to excuse it, yea to defend and maintain it, it is no other than Pagan Idolatry, i.e. giving Adoration to the Creature: for Praying is Adoring. Our Saviour here directs his Disciples to the right Object of their Prayers. They are to come unto God, and they shall be accepted: but they have no Warrant to pray to their Fellow-creatures, yea such Practice is forbidden by Christ in these Words, *When ye pray, say, Our Father.* For if our Prayers must be directed to God, and to him only, then all others are excluded.

Secondly, I observe that Prayer may be made to the First Person in the Glorious Trinity as well as to the other Two Persons. We are bid here to say, *Our Father*; which Title some apply here to God as he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ by Eternal Generation: Whence they gather, that it is lawful to pray to God the Father particularly and distinctly. And truly there is ground for it, because we find in Scripture that the Other Persons are distinctly prayed to; as God the Son, *Acts* 7. 59. and God the Holy Ghost, 2 *Cor.* 13. 14. Hence it is, that in the Litany of our Church we pray, *O God the Father of Heaven, &c.* and, *O God the Son, &c.* and, *O God the Holy Ghost, &c.* But this must be said, that when we thus pray separately and distinctly to the Particular Persons in the Godhead, we ought to remember that in our Understandings and Thoughts they all Three must be joyned: for we must pray to the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead. Thus in this Prayer which is before us, when we call upon God the

the Father, at the same time we must include the Son and the Holy Ghost: for God the Father is that Person in the Trinity from whom are the Son and the Holy Ghost. Therefore even when *God the Father* is particularly expressed, the other Two Persons are comprehended, because they are all but *One Essence*: and because whenever we pray, we must direct our Prayers to the whole Trinity. And it is certain that the Three Persons in the Sacred Trinity may have this Appellation of *Father* given to them; *Father* being a Name of Honour and of Love, as I shall immediately shew, it sets forth the Nature of God in general, and therefore belongs to every Person in the Deity.

Thirdly, I observe that Prayer must be made to God as he is a *Father by Creation*, for this is another Acception of the Word *Father* as it is attributed to God. And therefore we must apply it here, because in this Brief Prayer (which is designed to be an Exemplar to all our Prayers) every Word is very large and comprehensive. *Hath not One God created us? have we not all One Father?* saith the Prophet *Malachi*, ch. 2. v. 10. Yes, he is so our *Father*, that this Title belongs primarily to him. No Man is a *Father* but in Subordination to God: which is the Sense of Christ's Words, *Matt. 23. 9. Call no Man Father upon Earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven.* He hath communicated the Name of *Father* to Earthly Parents, and honoured them with that Title, but he is the *Supreme Father* of all. For we re-

* Αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ γένε' ἱσμεν. Act. 17. 28.

† Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. Hom. Hesiod.

Hominum Pater atq; Deorum.

|| Lucret.

ceived our Being from him, *he made us, and not we our selves.* This was the Sense of all the Understanding Pagans: * *We are his Off-spring*, saith one of the Ancientest of them. Their *Jupiter* was entitled by them the † *the Father of Men* and of inferior Gods or Angels.

— Cælesti sumus omnes semine oriundi,
Omnibus ille idem Pater est. — saith || another.

So that *Father* became the Proper Name of God, according to the Natural Sentiment of the very *Gentiles*, even as he is the Author of our Beings. The *Christian* Institution confirms and establishes us in this Apprehension, and presses upon us this Truth, That * *God* who deduced us out of Nothing into Being, is more properly our *Father*, than those who begot us, who received their Generation and Being from him. Wherefore when we make our Requests to God, let us represent him to our Thoughts as our *Father*, that is, as our *Creator*. And truly

* Κρείωτερον ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὅτι πατὴρ, ὁ ἐκ μηδενὸς εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀγαγὼν, ἢ οἱ γεννήσαντες, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ γεννᾶν εἰληφόρες. Damasc. Orth. fid. l. 1. c. 13.

Prayer is naturally consequent on the Contemplation of God's creating us. By calling to Mind that we are *Creatures*, we learn to Adore the Deity by continually *Invoking* him, by a constant Imploring his Grace and Assistance. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me*, saith the Royal Prophet, *Psal. 119. 73.* on which he founds his Petition, *Give me understanding that I may keep thy Commandments.* I am thy Creature, I had my Being from thee, therefore bestow upon me all things necessary for my Soul and Body, confer upon me all Mercies and Blessings which I stand in need of. This should be our Natural Demeanor as we are *Creatures*. And therefore certainly nothing doth more argue the Degeneracy of Mankind than this, that they are forgetful to make their daily *Addresses* to Him that gave them their Beings. It is the vile Effect of their Apostacy to be thus base and disingenuous, to be thus ungrateful and unjust towards their *Creator*: Whereas on this One Consideration (not to speak of any other now) is founded their Obligation to pay all Homage to him, and particularly this of Praying to him.

But there are other Duties, besides *Prayer*, which are properly owing from an Intelligent Creature to his Creator or *Father*: and they are these,

I. A Thankful Acknowledgment. Our *Being* is the Foundation of all the Blessings we enjoy, therefore with Thankful Lips and Hearts we are to own *This* as the Gift of God. We have to this purpose a Doxology taught us, *Rev. 4. 11. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.* God being our *Creator*, he

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on that very Account is to be praised and worshipped. This Universal Grand Benefactor is every Day, every Moment to be extolled and magnified, because every Moment our Being is as 'twere renewed to us. It ought to be one great Employment of our Lives to recount and celebrate the particular and special Mercies which are consequent on this : It becomes us to study and meditate on the Works of Nature, and more particularly our own Excellent Fabrick and Make, which are most Sensible Demonstrations of the Divine Goodness, as well as of his Being. Let us remember and record these and other marvelous Tokens of God's Bounty, let us highly prize and value them, let us thankfully live in the Fruition of them, and let us express our grateful Rensentments by using them to God's Glory and Service.

Secondly, The Natural Duty of a *Creature* is to depend and rely upon his *Creator*. Since we had our Being from him, let us trust and confide in him for all good Things we stand in need of, either for the Support or Comfort of our Being. We have no reason to fear and despond, for nothing is impossible with that Almighty Hand that reared us into an Existence out of Nothing. Therefore let this establish our Faith and Confidence, yea give us an Assurance that God will not fail us, but that his Goodness will run parallel with our Lives. *Abraham* even *against Hope* believed in *Hope*, when he remembered that *God calleth those things which be not as though they were*, Rom. 4. 17, 18. This God most signally did in the *Creation*, when he educed all Things out of Nothing : Therefore learn thence to trust in him *against Hope*, i. e. when on all other Accounts there is little reason to hope. Claim the Benefit of a *Creature*, and say with the *Psalmist*, *I am thine, save me*, Psal. 119. 94. though I deny not that there is something more comprehended in that Word *thine* : And so we upon a higher Account may expect God's Mercy. Yet *this* which I am now speaking of is certainly a great Nourisher of Faith and Hope. We shall experience an extraordinary Assistance in what we undertake, when we can say with the *Psalmist*, *Our Help cometh from the Lord who hath made Heaven and Earth*, Psal. 121. 2. who made all Things, and us in particular. Let us then consider the true Nature and Notion of a *Creature*, and know that there is included in it a Dependance on God the Creator, a Looking up to him for all Things, a Living in the Sense of the constant need we have of his Aid.

Thirdly, The serious apprehension of our Relation to God as *Creator* or *Natural Father* should make us Humble and Submissive. This is the proper Temper of one that hath his Being from another, of a dependent precarious Being. He is willing that God should act as an absolute Sovereign. *It is the Lord ; let him do what seemeth him good* : Let him do what he pleaseth with his own. His Language is that of the Holy Man, *My Soul is even as a weaned Child*, Psal. 131. 2. He is content to submit to and comply with the Dispensations of Heaven, be they what they will : For it is the very Notion of a *Creature* to be at the Disposal of the Creator. God being our Creator, he is our *Lord* and *Sovereign*, he is our *Owner* and *Proprietor* ; he hath a Right of disposing of us as he pleaseth. The Title of *Creation* gives him full Authority to do with us what he will, for he may do so with his Own. His Propriety that he hath in us authorizes this. There is nothing to limit this unless it be his Goodness, and this he hath declared in his Laws and in his Promises, wherein he obliges himself to deal in a way of Equity with us, and to proceed with us according to our Actions. But if we respect his Right which he hath by Creation, he hath an absolute Command over us, and he may dispose of us as he thinks fit : For he that bestowed upon us our Beings, cannot but have an Absolute and Uncontrollable Property in us. He hath full Command over us, *as the Potter hath power over his Clay*, for so the Scripture expresses it. Yea, he hath more power over his Creatures than the *Potter* hath over that Mass of Matter, for he did *not make* the Clay. Let us not then dare to dispute the Divine Dictates, and to contradict the Laws of our Maker, but let us with Meekness submit to them, knowing that we are *Creatures*, and God is our *Creator* and *Father*, that is, the Fountain of our Being, the Author of our Existence.

Fourthly, It becomes us as we are *Creatures* to be ashamed and sorrowful for our Offences against God. Nothing should be more afflictive to us than our neglecting of his Commands, or disobeying of his Laws, acting contrary to his

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Just and Righteous Precepts. It is natural to a Creature to be conformable to the Will of his Maker ; and therefore, upon his Defect in that Kind, it is Natural and Congruous to reflect on his Disobedience with Regret and Anguish of Mind, with a profound Grief and Remorse, with Shame and Confusion of Face.

Fifthly, Another proper Duty which we owe to God as our *Creator* is *Fear* and *Reverence*, especially a Fear of displeasing him. The Foundation of *Filial* Respect and Fear lies in this, that the *Child* had its being from the *Parent*, though but in a remote and secondary Way. How much more should we stand in Awe of God, who is the Primary Author of our Beings, who is the Father of Spirits, and the liberal Donor of whatever we are or have ? How fearful ought we to be lest we displease him ? How careful to gain and keep his Favour ? How solicitous lest we offend this great Comptroller of the World, who with one Glance can save or destroy us ?

Sixthly, Who would not love so Excellent and Obliging a Being, that gave us our Existence from his mere Love and free Good-Will, from his merciful Propension to communicate himself to Mankind ? This is another Natural Result of our serious Consideration of God's being our Maker and Father. Who would not return Love for so astonishing an Instance of it ? If we exert that Reason which God hath endued us with, we cannot but affectionately entertain this Divine Philanthropy, this Heavenly Beneficence, which was the only Source of our being what we are.

Lastly, Universal Obedience and Good Works are the Genuine Product of this Doctrine. If by being our *Father* and *Creator* God hath a Right of commanding us (as was said before) then we know that our Lives must be a Transcript of his Holy and Righteous Laws. This is the Inference which the *Psalmist* makes, *Psal.* 103. 3. *It is He that hath made us, and not we our selves : we are his People and the Sheep of his Pasture.* I know indeed, that this latter Clause may signify our farther Obligation, that is, as Man had his Being from God, so the Continuance of it is also from Him. To Creation is added Conservation. Thus we may be said to be *his People and the Sheep of his Pasture*, i. e. we are his daily Charge, we are under his Care and Tuition. But the Words seem to me to bear another Sense, and to denote our *Duty*, I say, our Duty as it follows naturally upon the former Clause of the Words. *He hath made us*, we are his Workmanship, we owe our very Essence to him : In him we not only *live and move*, but *have our Being* : Therefore *we are his People and the Sheep of his Pasture*, we are to be as much at his Beck and Pleasure as Sheep are at the Command of the Shepherd. This may be the plain meaning of those Words, and then we are instructed here from the Thoughts of *God's making us*, to prefer his Will before our own, to serve and obey him, and to be zealous of good Works. Wherefore *Moses*, the Divine Legislator, fitly begins his *Pentateuch* with the *History of the Creation*, and the Description of the Worlds Commencement, because he knew that the due Consideration of this is a great Enforcement to Obedience. He in the First Place infuses into his Readers a Sense of *God*, and of his miraculous Power in *making* of all Men and of all Things out of Nothing, because the firm belief of our first Original from Him is a great Obligation to Religion and Holiness. He could not have taken a more compendious Course than this, to shew that God had Right and Authority to require of us Religious Worship and Homage, seeing that these are founded (as I have shewed) in that Dominion he hath over us by *Creation*. He is by virtue of this our Supreme Ruler, Lawgiver, Benefactor, and our Chief End.

See then here how rational our serving of God is. We give him but his own, or rather, 'tis not *Giving* properly, but *Rendring* and *Restoring* of his own to him. We receive all from him, yea our very Being : Therefore it is just we should make all we do tend to Him alone, and center in his Glory. That God should be served with his Own is most equal. We are his : He is our Maker, and so become our Absolute Disposer. There is no Co-partner, therefore our Service must be entire. We are not our own, therefore we must not live to our selves. God only hath Right and Propriety in us, therefore we must wholly resign our selves to Him. His Will and Pleasure must impartially act us. The Title of *Father* or *Creator* gives him right to Rule and Govern us, and to dispose of us as he

he pleaseth. And the Title of *Creatures* or *Offspring* obliges us to be governed by him, and to do all that he commands us. Thus you see the Reasonableness of our Obedience. The Law of Nature (as well as Positive Laws) requires this of us. Let us then give our selves up absolutely to the Government of our *Maker*, let all our Powers of Body and Soul be employed in his Service: And let us from what hath been said be convinced, how grand a Folly it is to prefer our own Reasons before his Will, before the uncontrollable Dictates of the Great Governor of the World. Especially, when all Things else obey the Laws and Ordinances of God, let not Us only disobey them. This is so high a Pitch of Prophaneness that it may pass for downright Atheism, and the disowning of a Deity: For whilst Men would exempt themselves from being subject to God, they do in effect deny him. They that refuse Allegiance to the King of Kings, do what they can to dethrone him. They that acknowledge not his Sovereignty and Right of giving Laws to his *Creatures*, do in a manner disown his Being. Let us therefore often consider in what *relation* we stand to God, and then we shall find our selves engaged on this very Account to perform whatever we know to be his Will, and to devote our selves to his Service: For *Creatures* must be obedient.

Here then let us observe, that as the First Article in the Creed [*I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth*] hath an Influence upon all the other Articles that follow; for if we have a firm Belief and Sense of God's being our *Maker*, our *Almighty Creator*, it cannot but in a great Measure promote our Belief of the other great Truths contained in this great Symbol: So these first Words of the Lord's-Prayer [*Our Father*] being rightly understood and considered, will have a powerful Ascendant over all the Petitions of this Prayer, and we shall shew the Virtue of it in our Lives and Practices; we shall derive thence a Readiness to perform what is prayed for; for the Sense of God's being our *Father* and *Creator*, will inspire us with Resolves of discharging the Office of *Creatures*, and those that are his *natural Issue*.

Fourthly, Observe that in this Prayer which our Saviour dictates to us, we are to pray to God as he is a *Father*, not only by *Creation*, but by *Providence*. A *Father* takes care of, protects, and provides for his Children. God is such a *Father* towards us, and therefore we find that in this Acception the Word is used in Scripture. Thus *Moses* upbraids the ungrateful *Israelites*, Deut. 32. 6. *Do ye thus requite the Lord? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee?* That is, hath redeemed thee from Bondage and Slavery, and conferr'd great Blessings upon thee. In the same Sense it is said, *Isai.* 63. 16. *Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeem-*

er. The Heathens used this Title towards their Gods, as *Lactantius* tells us, in the same Manner, * They thought it necessary, saith he, that every God, when solemn Rites and Prayers were paid to them, should be called *Father*, not only for Honour sake, but because it is Reasonable, he being Older than Man, and the Author not only of Life, but of Safety and Maintenance: On which latter Account, as well as the former, (which I spake of before) he merits

* *Omniem deum necesse est inter solennes ritus & preces Patrem nuncupari, non tantum honoris gratia, verum etiam rationis, quod & antiquior est homine, & quod vitam, salutem, victum præstat ut Pater. Institur. l. 4. c. 3.*

the Name of *Father*. The *Gentiles* had particularly this Notion of their *Jupiter*, if that Etymology be right, that that Name is as much as *Juvans Pater* a *Helping Father*. But we who have attained to the Knowledge of the *Christian Religion*, and thereby are instructed about the Providence of God much more than others, cannot but acknowledge his *Paternal Care* of us. This may have great Influence upon us, when we offer up our Prayers to God. This will naturally incline us to place our whole Trust and Confidence in him, and to assure our selves of his Readiness to relieve and succour us in all our Streights. *The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want*, saith the *Psalmist*: We may as truly say, *the Lord is our Father*, and thence make that Inference, *we shall not want*, we shall never be destitute of such a Supply as a kind and compassionate Father would allow his Children. As he made us (which is the thing I insisted on before) so he preserves us and provides for us, and we ought to beg the Continuance of these Favours, by importunate and earnest Addresses to him, and to behave our selves agreeably to such Instances of Divine Goodness and Bounty. But I shall add no more under this Head, because what I suggested under the foregoing one, may be made use of here:

For all the Duties that are owing to God as a *Creator*, and the *Father of our Being*, are likewise due to him as he is our *Father* by his *Providential Care over us*.

Fifthly, Observe that our Prayers are to be made to God, as he is a *Father* by *Spiritual Regeneration and Adoption*, as he is our Father in Christ Jesus: For this is a frequent Acceptation of the Title of *Father* in the New Testament, as it is applied to God. Here then is the most substantial Foundation of our Prayers, viz. That God is our *Father* in and through Christ Jesus our Redeemer. Here is the Ground of a Christian's Confidence at the Throne of Grace. God is a *Father* to all Men by Creation and Providence, but he is a Father to the Elect only by Adoption and Grace. This being the most considerable Acceptation of the Word *Father*, and the most requisite in our Prayer, therefore I shall more particularly and fully enlarge upon this. This then we are to know, that God is the *Father* of all true Believers and Elect Persons: These, and these alone, are his *Adopted Children*. In explaining of which great and important Truth, I will shew
1. The Nature of this Adoption. 2. The Dignity and Privileges of it. 3. The Duty that ought to attend it.

*Legitima
extranei
hominis in
familiam
nostram
assump-
tio. Justi-
nian. Instit.

That I may briefly express the *Nature* of this *Adoption*, we must be reminded that this Term is borrowed from the Practice of Men, who having no Children, constitute certain Persons to be their Children and Heirs. There is no Adoption in our *Common Law*, but in the *Civil Law* there is, and 'tis defined thus, but imperfectly, * *The taking of a Stranger into the Family*; the meaning is, that the Person is taken into the Relation of a Son: Contrary to which is *Abdication*; that is, a Father's rejecting and disinheriting his Son, and casting him out of the Family. Now, it seemed good to the Holy Ghost in Scripture to set forth by the *Civil Adoption* that which is *Spiritual and Divine*, which is making those to be Sons, who were not Sons but Strangers, and had no Right and Claim to any such thing. It is God's assuming those into the Number of his Children who were not so naturally, but were *Strangers and Aliens*, Eph. 2. 12. Col. 1. 21.

But as God's Adopting and Man's Adopting agree in the General Notion, so I will shew how they differ in several Respects. First, Adoption among Men is a legitimate Act made use of for those that are *Childless*; they adopt because they have no Sons. But God, although he hath a natural and eternal Son, who is the *Brightness of his Glory*, and the express *Image of his Person*, Heb. 1. 3. and is he in whom his Soul delighteth, Isai. 42. 1. yet he is pleased to make others his Sons. Again, Men adopt Sons because they have some need of them; namely, to propagate their Family, to keep up their Names, to perpetuate their Memories. But the *Eternal Father* adopts Children, though he could have been infinitely happy without them, and needed no Accession to his Glory. Further, Men usually adopt those in whom they see, or at least fancy something of *Worth*: But God's Adoption is a mere Act of Grace and good Will, and for the Manifestation of his undeserved Mercy and Goodness, and his Eternal Love through his Son Jesus Christ. Behold, what manner of Love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God, 1 John 3. 1. Nay, further yet, Men adopt their Kindred, Favourites, and Friends; but God shews this Favour to Rebels, Enemies, Children of Wrath, Slaves of Satan. Never was it heard, that any Man let his only Son suffer and die, to adopt an Enemy; but this God hath done, Rome 5. 10. When we were Enemies, we were reconciled to God, and made his Children, by the Death of his Son. Moreover, Men, though they suppose some Merit in those on whom they confer the Favour of Adoption, yet they cannot make them really Worthy, they cannot inspire them with generous and virtuous Principles. But God doth not only make his Enemies his Sons, but he renders them fit to be his Sons; for he changes their Hearts, and infuses the Graces of the Holy Spirit into them. They are Sons by *Regeneration*, as well as by *Adoption*; for both these are joined together, as is worth our observing in John 1. 12, 13. To them that believe he gave Power to become the Sons of God, who were born not of the Will of Man, but of God. In the next Place, I might observe the Difference of God's Adoption and that of Men in this Respect likewise, that the former takes Many into his Family for his Children, (for many Sons are to be brought to Glory, Heb 2. 10.) but the latter usually adopt but One. And in the last Place I will add this, That Men do not adopt till they die, for Adoption is conveyed by the last Will and Testament, which is not of Force whilst the Testator liveth. But

But the Spiritual Adoption is bestowed by him who *only hath Immortality*, and liveth for ever and ever. Thus I have shewn the *Nature of Adoption*, and how that which is conferred by God differs from that which obtains among Men.

The second Thing to be considered is the *Dignity and Excellency of Spiritual Adoption*. It is a Privilege it self, and it hath many attending on it. As, 1. Those that are adopted by God have the *Freedom of Sons*. In the *Imperial Law*, Adoption takes off *Servitude*. It is there determined; that when *Servants* are adopted, they are *Sons* and *Freemen* at the same time. So 'tis in this Spiritual Privilege, *Sonship* enfranchises us: If we be *Children*, we are *Free*, free from the worst and most detestable *Slavery*, that of *Sin*. We are brought into a State of *Liberty*, and are endued with a *Free Spirit*, as the Holy Man calls it, *Psal.* 51. 12. And accordingly we may observe, that the *Spirit of Adoption* is opposed to the *Spirit of Bondage*, *Rom.* 8. 15.

2. All that are the *Adopted Sons of God*, share in that *Paternal Love and Compassion* which are shewed to *Sons*. * *Father* is a Word of *Affection*, a Name of *Kindness* and good Will. Like as a Father pitieth his Children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him, *Psal.* 103. 113. Is Ephraim my dear Son? therefore my Bowels are troubled for him, I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord, *Jer.* 31. 20. I will spare them as a Man spareth his own Son, *Mal.* 3. 17. I will use Clemency towards them, as a Father towards his Children; I will pass by their Defects, and pardon their Failings; I will in all Respects shew my self a Tender, Loving, Compassionate, and Indulgent Parent.

* Heb. Ab pater, ab Abah, voluit, cupiit, bene affectus est erga aliquem.

3. They have the *Nature and Education* that belongs to *Sons*. They are instructed and taught by the Spirit, by the Scriptures, by Afflictions, by all the Transactions of Providence. These are the Schools they are bred up in, and whereby they are informed of their Duty, and are taught how to behave themselves aright.

4. They have the *Maintenance and Provision* which is fit for *Sons*. Your heavenly Father knows that you have need of all these things, all the Necessaries of this Life, *Mat.* 6. 32. and accordingly he provides for you. No good thing will be withheld from them that walk uprightly, *Psal.* 84. 11. which is the true Character of *Sons*. Their Compassionate Father will supply them with all things that pertain to Life and Godliness, 2 *Pet.* 1. 3.

5. They have the *Protection and Attendance* of *Sons*. A thousand shall fall at their side, and ten thousand at their right hand, but destruction shall not come nigh them. There shall no evil befall them, neither shall any plague come nigh their dwelling: for he shall give his angels charge over them, to keep them in all their ways, *Psal.* 91. 9, 10. They are guarded and attended by those *Ministring Spirits*, whose Office it is to minister for them who shall be Heirs (and being God's Sons, they are such) of Salvation, *Heb.* 1. 14.

6. They have the *Chastisement* of *Sons*, which is as needful for them as any of the other things that I have mentioned. As a Man chasteneth his Son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee, *Deut.* 8. 5. Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every Son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with Sons: for what Son is he whom the Father chasteneth not? But if ye be without Chastisement, whereof all Men are Partakers, then are ye Bastards, and not Sons, *Heb.* 12. 6, 7, 8. Thence that pious Meditation and Ejaculation of St. Augustine †, "When thou dealest gently with me, thou art my Father; and also when thou afflictest me, thou art still my Father. Therefore thou usest me gently, that I may not fall from thee: Therefore thou afflictest me, that I may not perish thro' Softness and Delicacy.

† Et cum blandiris, Pater es, & cum cædis, Pater es. Ideo blandiris ne deficiam; ideo cædis ne peream. In *Psal.* 98.

7. They have the *Assurance and Success* of *Sons* in petitioning their Father. The Spirit of Adoption gives them free Access to God in Prayer, and a Holy Boldness and Confidence to ask what they need. Ye have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father, *Rom.* 8. 15. Which we find repeated by the Apostle, *Gal.* 4. 6. Because ye are Sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your Hearts, crying, Abba Father. Christ himself used this Language in Prayer, *Mark* 14. 36. He said, Abba Father, he spake Syriac, and used the same Word twice.

twice. And in the Texts before us, it is represented as a Form of Compellation made Use of by a Son to his Father, when he asks any thing of him with great Importunity. For Emphasis sake, Two Words of the same Signification are put together. Or, as *Grotius* observes on the place, the Apostle imitates the Cry of Children to their Parents, who are wont to repeat the same Words, or of the same Import, which argues their great Desire to be heard. So by the Spirit of *Adoption* which is given us by God, as he is our Father thro' Christ, we are enabled to cry unto him with great *Earnestness*, which is meant by the reduplicating of the Word, and expressing it both in *Syriac* and *Greek*. And perhaps Mr. *Selden's* Conjecture is not amiss, that this *Crying* is an Allusion to the received Custom of the *Jews*, that is, the Manner whereby they claimed the Privilege of *Adoption* and *Manumission*: They were wont to cry aloud.

And the Success is answerable to the Earnestness of the Petition. *What Man is there of you, saith our Saviour, whom, if his Son ask Bread, will he give him a Stone? Or if he ask a Fish, will he give him a Serpent? If ye then being Evil, know how to give good Gifts unto your Children, how much more shall your Father, which is in Heaven, give good things to them that ask him? Mat. 7. 9. &c.* By Reason of their near Relation to him, he bears an entire Affection to them, he hears their Prayers, and returns a merciful Answer. *What will not God give to his Sons, when they ask, seeing he hath already given them this, to be his Sons? saith the Devout Bishop of Hippo.* He will regard the very Stammerings and Lispings of his Children, he will give Ear to their broken and imperfect Language, he will commiserate their Sighs and Groans.

Eighthly and Lastly, They have the *Inheritance* of Sons: For the Adoption or Sonship gives the Right and Title to the Inheritance. *If Children, then Heirs, Heirs of God, yea, and Joint-Heirs with Christ, Rom 8. 17.* Nothing greater can be said than this, that the Adopted Sons of God are *Co-heirs* with the Eternal Son of God. His Inheritance is double, *Exaltation* and *Dominion*. He is above all Glorified Saints and Angels, *being made so much better than they, as he hath by Inheritance obtained a more Excellent Name than they, Heb. 1. 4.* And his Power is answerable to the Height of his Preferment, *for God hath put all things under his Feet, Eph. 1. 22.* Of both these Inheritances all the Sons of God partake in some Measure; *for they have that Glory given to them, which the Father gave unto Christ, John 17. 22. and they sit with Christ in his Throne, Rev. 3. 21.* which denotes the Communication of Dominion and Power, as well as Advancement. Thus I have succinctly displayed the several Privileges which *Adoption* entitles us to.

Every Dignity hath some *Duty* annexed to it, and so I pass to the Third and Last Head which I propounded, namely, the Duties that are consequent on the Spiritual Sonship and Adoption.

First, We ought to pay unto the Almighty our Tribute of *Thanks*, for this Excellent Privilege whereby we are taken into his Family, and admitted into his Household, and live under his Tuition, and are nourished and maintained by his Liberal Hand, and protected by his mighty Arm, and are the constant Objects of his Fatherly Love and Affection, and, in a word, are treated by him as his Children. I have set forth the Benefit and Profit of this already: But now, further to excite our *Thankfulness*, let us consider these following things, the *Freedom*, the *Honour*, the *Certainty*, the *present Enjoyment* of this Privilege.

1. To enhance our Gratitude, let us consider that it is *Free* and *Gratuitous*. *As many as received him, to them gave he Power to become the Sons of God, John 1. 12.* The Conveyance of this Right and Privilege is by Gift. *He predestinated us to the Adoption of Children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good Pleasure of his Will, Eph. 1. 5.* This good Pleasure (and no other thing) is the Spring and Source of our Adoption, and of all the blessed Fruits of it.

2. We should be sensible of the *Honour* of being the Sons of God. The *Jews* vaunted that they were *Abraham's Seed*, John 8. 33. and expressly valued themselves upon this; but it is an infinitely greater Privilege that I am discoursing of, and much more to be prized. It is this that gives the Saints the Title of the *Excellent*, Psal. 16. 3. how mean and vile soever their outward Condition and Circumstances

cumstances are. It is admirably said by *Arrianus*, [that * if we think on this, that we are God's Offspring, we cannot possibly entertain any low and base Thought of our selves. If *Cæsar* had made thee his Son, saith he, how proud wouldst thou have been of that Adoption? Art thou not more exalted that thou art God's Son?] And yet this Moralist speaks only of that Relation to God, or Sonship, which all Mankind are interested in. How much more ought we to value that Special and Discriminating Sonship, which we are now considering? How transcendently Noble and Honourable is it to be adopted into God's Family thro' the Undertakings of Christ Jesus, and to be his Son and Heir by Grace and Glory? This is enough to satisfy the highest Ambition. All the Affinity and Alliance, which causes so great Elation of Mind among the Men of the World, is, in Comparison of this, Sordid and Beggarly.

3. Let it raise our Thankfulness to consider the Certainty of this Privilege. *The Spirit it self beareth Witness with our Spirit, that we are the Children of God*, Rom 8. 16. Where we may observe there is a Double Testimony and Evidence of Adoption. *First*, The Spirit of God. *Secondly*, our own Spirit, namely the New and Regenerate Principle that is implanted in us; and he is a Witness that may be relied upon, for *who knoweth the Things of a Man but the Spirit of Man that is in him?* 1 Cor. 2. 11. If our Heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God, 1 John 3. 21. Lo here the Goodness of God, who hath not only honoured us with the Privilege of Adoption, but hath also assured us of the Reality of it by this double Confirmation, and thereby hath overthrown all our Doubts which might rise about it.

Fourthly, And this likewise is matter of Thanks, that we have the present Enjoyment of this ineffable Privilege. I mention this the rather, because some of late have denied Adoption to be the Acquisition of this Life. * One tells us, that it is not till the Day of Judgment, and accordingly he defines Adoption to be that *solemn Acknowledgement of the Sons of God which will be made at the Last Day*. A new Piece of Theology, after the rate of the Scheme of Divinity which makes Pardon of Sin the Privilege not of this Life but of the last Judgment. But as I † have made it clear that this is a gross Mistake, so now it is as easy to prove that the other is so too. For we must know, that waiting for the Adoption, Rom. 8. 23. which is the Passage that that Writer relies upon, is waiting for the full Manifestation of it, and therefore is expressly called *the Manifestation of the Sons of God*, v. 19. So that we see St. Paul explains himself. This Manifestation is not till the Actual Possession of the Inheritance, namely, at the close of the Last Judgment: But notwithstanding this, Adoption it self is actually conferred on Believers in this Life; at the same time that they are Sanctified and Justified, they are the Sons of God. And therefore the Apostle thus speaks to the converted Romans, *As many as are led by the Spirit of God (that is, are sanctified in their Hearts and Lives) they are the Sons of God*, Rom. 8. 14. It is plain then, that if they are led by the Spirit in this Life, as all Regenerate Persons are, they are adopted in this Life: And therefore it follows in the next Verse, *Ye have* (that is, already) *received the Spirit of Adoption*. This is evident from Gal. 4. 6. *Ye are Sons*, that is, you actually are so; which is clear from what immediately preceded in the foregoing Verses, *that ye might receive the Adoption of Sons*, and from what immediately follows in the next Verses, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your Hearts: Wherefore thou art no more a Servant but a Son*. And another Apostle puts it beyond all doubt, that this Filial Relation to God is the acquirement of this present Life, *Now are we the Sons of God*, 1 John 3. 2. That NOW is spoken emphatically, to let us know that Adoption is the Attainment of this present State, though it be not perfected till we are admitted into Glory. Though this Dignity was designed us from Eternity, yet it is actually conferred in Time, and we have the Possession of it at present; which is an Enhancement of its Excellency, and consequently should increase our Thankfulness.

Secondly, We are concerned to behave our selves as the Sons of God, to act as becomes our excellent State and Relation, and to walk worthy of it. The Heirs of Earthly Kings, even before they come to inherit the Crown, have been observed to have had Generous and Noble Thoughts, and Princely Designs, and have scorned to intermeddle with Base and Inferior Matters. It is a common Story, and so common indeed, that if it were not very pertinent to my Purpose,

* In Epist.
1. 1.
c. 3.

* Jo. Cleric.
Annotat. in Rom.
8. 23.

† Discourse
on the Article of the
Creed [Forgiveness of
Sins].

pose, and proper to illustrate the Theme I am insisting upon, I should not present the Reader with it. It is this: *Alexander the Great* (or the *Little* rather at that time, for he was but a young Stripling, and under the Care of Tutors) when he was invited and even provoked to run a Race with one of his Inferiors, he first demurred to that Motion, and then actually refused the Challenge, making this Reply with a bold Spirit, That it became not *the Son of a King* to submit to so mean an Undertaking, and to contend with one so many Degrees below him. The brave Spirit of that Princely Youth may shame those *Christians* that are the adopted Sons of God, and Heirs to a Heavenly Kingdom, to a Crown of Life that shall never fade, and yet are wont to do Things that are much below them, and unbecoming their High Calling and Relation. But they should understand themselves aright, and strive to have a Disposition and Frame of Mind agreeable to their Eminent Condition. It was not amiss, saith **Varro*, that the *Heroes* and Great Men derived their Pedigree from the Gods, and took themselves to be Sons of some Deities; for this false Notion had this good Effect, that it stirred them up to attempt Great and Noble Actions, and to undertake extraordinary Exploits. How powerfully then should Realities influence us, how mightily should we be excited to deport our selves as those who have been exalted to the Dignity of being the Sons of the most High, of being the Adopted Children of the Eternal God?

* Augu.
stin. de
Civ. Dei.
l. 3. c. 4.

God is our *Father*, therefore we are obliged to love him. A Son of God is known by his Filial Affection. God is our Father, therefore we ought to Fear and Reverence him, and to be afraid to displease and offend him. God is our Father, therefore Honour and Obedience are due to him. *If I be a Father, where is my Honour?* Mal. i. 6. *In this the Children of God are manifest; whosoever doth not Righteousness, is not of God*, that is, is not a Child of God, 1 John 3. 10. It is by our obsequiousness to God's righteous Commandments that we shew our selves to be his Sons. Hence it was that St. Peter exhorted the Christians he wrote to, to live and act *as obedient Children*, 1 Pet. i. 14. Again, God is our Father, therefore we must be like him, *Be ye Followers of God as dear Children*, Eph. 5. 1. The Son-like Spirit appears in our Imitating and Resembling God our Father. Farther, seeing God is our Father, we may gather thence that we ought to be at his disposal. The *Adopted* were to submit to the Orders and Commands of those from whom they received that Favour. And we being the Children of the most High by Spiritual Adoption, are to resign our selves wholly to his Conduct, entirely to depend upon him, to live without Anxiety and Solitude, and to cast all our care upon him, for he careth for us, as his Children, 1 Pet. 5. 7.

God is our Father, therefore we are to bear his Corrections patiently. Our Saviour's Language should be ours, *The Cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?* John 18. 11. If it be a Badge of Bastardy to be without Chastisement (as we find in Heb. 12. 8.) then let us shew our selves to be Genuine and Legitimate Sons, by enduring the Rod which our Father chastises us with. Next I will add this, God is our Father, therefore we are engaged to call upon him as our Father, 1 Pet. i. 17. For as it is one of the Privileges of Sons (which I spoke of before) to have free Access to their Father, so it is no less their Duty to make their Addresses to him, and to lift up Holy Hands unto him, and to beg for whatever they want. Lastly, God is our Father, therefore we have no reason to be discouraged and dejected in any Troubles and Distress that befall us. That excellent Moralist, whom I cited before, insists again on our Cognation with God, and shews what progress from thence is made in Philosophy and good Manners. Why should we be afraid, saith he, of any Thing in the World? "If any Man be allied to *Cæsar* or any great Roman, this frees him

† Τὸ δὲ θεὸν ποιτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ πατέρα, καὶ κηδεμόνα, ἐκείνῃ ἡμᾶς ἐξαρρήτητα λυσιπῶν καὶ φόβων. Arian. l. 1. c. 9.

"from Fear and Sorrow, and secures him from Contempt, and makes him live contentedly: And shall not the consideration of † God's being our Maker, our Father, and he that takes Care of us, have the same Effect? May not a Christian with greater reason argue himself into Content-

ment and Satisfaction of Mind, when he reflects on the Relation which he hath to God as a Father, in and through the Son of his Love? This will effectually enable him to despise the World, and to carry it cheerfully in the midst of all Affronts and Injuries. He must expect to be envied, and evilly intreated, for these

these are the Attendants of that High Dignity. Favourites of Princes are slandered and abused. *Joseph* was hated by his Brethren, because his Father shewed more than ordinary Kindness to him. *If ye were of the World, the World would love his own: But because ye are not of the World, but I have chosen you out of the World, therefore the World hateth you,* John 15. 19. But let this solace your Minds, that you are dear to God, and are loved of him, that in whatever State you are, you are still his Sons, and that nothing can deprive you of this Relation, which is the highest Benefit and Advantage, as well as the greatest Honour of a Christian.

Before I proceed to the Second Thing contained in the Preface to the Lord's Prayer, I will add something concerning this Word *Our* which stands in the Front. We are to know then, that when we say *Our Father*, this Pronoun is a Note of Community. When it refers to him as a Father by Creation and Providence, it signifies our acknowledging that we have all one Father, and by this we testify that we are all *Children* of the same Father. And when this Word *Our* relates to God as a Father by Spiritual Regeneration and Grace, it denotes the Communion of Saints and Elect Persons. These may more signally say, *Our Father*, because they are all his Sons by Adoption, and therefore they are nearly related to one another, and ought to maintain an intimate Correspondence, and are bound to joyn in their Prayers together, and to make their fervent Supplications to their Father, who vouchsafed them the peculiar Privilege of being his adopted Sons and Heirs.

And this Word *Our* is also a Term of Charity, and it implies that we are all Brethren of the same Father, and consequently that we should be kindly affected towards one another, and love as Brethren, and that we should shew this Kindness and Love by Praying for one another to our Common Father and Benefactor. But more especially this Term *Brethren* was used towards one another by the Christians in the Apostles Time, with particular Respect to their mutual Relation as they were allied to God in *Jesus Christ*, as we see in abundant Places in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and in the *Epistles*. And this was the kind Language of the Christians afterwards, as appears from * *Lactantius* and † *Jerom*, and several || other Fathers. Who also tell us how eminent the Primitive Christians were for their mutual Love, which was implied in this endearing Compellation of *Brethren*. As often then as we use these Words *Our Father* in the Lord's Prayer, we profess and testify our Fraternal Disposition and Affection to one another, and our sincere Desire to be mutually Beneficial and Obliging. We declare that we wish and hope that those who pray with us, and those for whom we pray, may be the true *Children of God*, and our *Brethren in Jesus Christ*; that God may be the Saving Father of all us who call upon him, and whose Conditions we present before him; that we may be all able to say, *Our Father* in the most Spiritual and Advantageous Acception of those Words.

* *Fraternum nobis nomen invicem impartimur. Institut. l. 5. c. 16.*

† *Omnes Christiani fratres vocamur. Adv. Helvid cap. 8.*

|| *Athenag Orat. pro Christianis. Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 2. Minut. Felix.*

However, this is certain, that the Compellation in this Prayer may be used generally by all Men, because it is a Title of a General Signification, as I have shewed. I speak this to obviate what some inconsiderate People have said, that 'tis unlawful for any to pray this Prayer, unless they be Regenerate, because otherwise they cannot call God *Father*; that is, Father by Adoption: And they refuse to teach their Children this Prayer upon this Account. But these Persons do not consider the Extent of the Word *Father*, which may be used and applied by the worst Men, and therefore it is weakly said, That none but the Adopted Children of God can use the Lord's Prayer. Besides, I have one Argument to confute them from our Saviour's own Words, who applies this Term of *Father* when he is speaking to such as neglect to do that which is good; and so far are Bad Men. *If ye forgive not Men their Trespases, saith he, neither will your Father forgive you your Trespases,* Mat. 6. 15. And the same you read in *Mark* 11. 26. So much for the Compellation or Title given to God here. As the Creed, so our Prayers must begin with God the Father.

In the next Place, there is observable in the Preface to the Lord's Prayer, our Acknowledgment of the Glorious Seat or Residence of God. He is our Father which

|| In Psalm
139.

which is in *Heaven*. It is true God is every where : *Do not I fill Heaven and Earth?* saith he, *Jer. 23. 24.* The upper and the lower World, and all the Spaces that can be imagined beyond them, are full of his Presence. As to his Essence and Power he is excluded from no Place whatsoever, maugre the Opinion of || *Eugubinus*, who holds, that God is not present any where as to his Substance, but in *Heaven*. And *Vorstius* held the same, although it is absolutely a denying of God's *Infinite Nature*; for what is Infinite is not limited and circumscribed; and what is not so, is in every Place. But though God is every where, yet in a more peculiar and singular Manner he is in some Places, *viz.* where he is pleased to shew extraordinary Tokens of his Grace and Favour, Power and Majesty. So he was said to be in *his Sanctuary*, in the *Temple*, and is always in his *Church*, and among his *People*. But his Glorious Presence is in *Heaven* especially, which is the Court of this Great and Absolute King, the Fixed Seat of his Empire and Grandeur, where Angels and Glorified Saints are always attending him. For by *Heaven* here is meant that invisible Place, which is called the *Third Heaven*, because it is exalted above the Aërial and Starry Heavens. It is called also the *Heaven of Heavens*, *Deut. 10. 14.* *1 Kings 8. 27.* *Psal. 115. 16.* and *Paradise*, *2 Cor. 12. 4.* This is God's *Throne*, *Mat. 5. 35.* the Seat of the Divine Majesty; for as Earthly Kings and Monarchs shew themselves in their Glory and Majesty when they sit on their Thrones, so God displays his Greatness and Glory in *Heaven* in a special Manner.

Now let us see what Influence this may have on us when we pray.

1. As *Our Father* is a Title of Goodness, and expresses God's Care and Love, so is this added as a Testimony of God's Power and Greatness, that he is in *Heaven*. This Conjunction is very remarkable; for nothing is more requisite to Prayer, than to know and be sensible that God is not only Good but Powerful; that as he intends our Welfare, so he is able to accomplish it. This makes us approach God's Presence with assured Hopes of being heard, and of having our Petitions effected. *Our God is in the Heavens*, saith the *Psalmist*: And then by way of Consequence he adjoins, *he hath done whatsoever he pleased*, *Psal. 115. 3.* This God of infinite Power and Sovereignty can bring to pass what he thinks fit. He is our Father in *Heaven*, he is above all, he hath Men and Devils and Angels at his Command; he controuls the whole World; his Dominion is absolute and universal, he therefore can do all that we pray for. Here is Encouragement to come with Boldness, and to assure our selves of Success.

2dly, As the Consideration of God's being in *Heaven* may beget in us a becoming Boldness, so it is as serviceable on the other hand to create a humble Fear and Reverence in us, when we come into his Presence to make known our Requests to him. God is in *Heaven*: That should strike an Awe and Dread into us. This is the Reason given in *Ecc. 5. 2.* why we should not be rash with our Mouths, why our Words should be few when we pray, *because God is in Heaven, and we upon Earth*. The Divine Majesty, the Glorious God with whom we have to do, is infinitely exalted above us groveling Creatures here on Earth. The Immense Distance that is between us should make us tremble as often as we make our Addresses to him. Let us then look up to *Heaven*, the Place where God's Honour dwelleth, the Throne of the Divine Majesty, encircled with glorified Saints and Angels, and let us adore the Excellency and Transcendency of his Glory: Let us humbly fall down before his Feet in the deepest Sense of his Infinite Greatness, and of our own Meanness and Nothingness.

* Chrysost. Hom. 14. in Epist. ad Ephes.

† Ἐν τῷ ἑπαινῷ, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔδειξε σοὶ τὴν πατρίδα σου καὶ οἶκόν σου παλαιόν· ἐὰν γὰρ δέλης ἔχειν πατέρα καὶ δέον, πρὸς τὸ ἔρανος βλέπε, καὶ μὴ πρὸς γῆν. Theophylact. in cap. 6. Matthæi.

3dly, That Meditation of a Pious Father of the Christian Church is here seasonable, * [As soon as we have said those Words, *which art in Heaven*, let that Expression lift us up, and raise our Mind on high, for it shews us that we have a Father in *Heaven*; wherefore let us do and say nothing that is *Earthly*.] Another Devout Writer furnishes us with this Reflection on our Saviour's Words, † [When he saith, in *Heaven*, he shews you your Country, and your Father's House; for if you will have God to be your Fa-

ther, you must look up to Heaven, and not down to the Earth.] The short is, in all our Addresses to God we must come with a Sense not only of God's Mercy

Mercy and Goodness, but of his Greatness and Majesty : We must come with Confidence and Humility ; and we must also come with Heavenly Minds, Intentions and Desires. [This you see from that short Preface which I have made on the Preface to the Lord's-Prayer, that it is a Preparative to the Whole. If we rightly comprehend and be duly affected with these first Words, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, we shall be enabled to pour forth successfully the following Petitions.

Having then done with the Introduction to the Lord's-Prayer, we come next to the Body of it, which is made up of Six Petitions. Or if those Words [*Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil*] be Two distinct Petitions, then the Number is increased, and there are Seven in all. I shall adhere to the First Division of the Petitions. Before I speak of them particularly, it will not be un-
 useful to observe the Partition and Order of them. Some take notice that the first Four are Requests for obtaining of Good, and the two Last for removing of Evil, in both which our Welfare and Happiness consist. * *Martin Luther*, out of the great Zeal which he bore against the Church of Rome, tells us that the three First Petitions are chiefly directed against the Pope. Accursed be the Pope's Name : his Kingdom be destroyed : his Will be confounded. But that which is the plain, obvious and unquestionable Remark on the Division of the Parts of this Prayer, is this, That Three Petitions concern God, and Three concern Our selves and Neighbours.

* Colloq. Mensal.

And the Order or Placing of them, respects God first, and then Our selves and Brethren. The Three first Petitions have regard wholly to the Honour and Worship of the Almighty : The first of them more especially respects God's Glory, directing us to hallow his Name : And the Two next tell us what are the Means whereby that Glory is maintained and increased. The Three last Petitions relate to our Own Good, and that both of Soul and Body, as also to the Good of Others ; for Christ hath taught us in this Prayer to be concerned for our Brethren as well as Our selves ; we pray, *Give us, and forgive us, and lead us not, &c.* So then the Petitions in the Lord's-Prayer are divided as the Two Tables of the Commandments ; the First whereof hath respect to God, and instructs us in our Duty to him ; the Second refers to Our selves and those we converse with, and acquaints us what is our Duty towards them.

But our Duty to God is first of all set down : this being the first Thing we ought to be concerned for. *The Lord hath made all things for himself*, saith the Wise Man, *Prov. 16. 4.* And a Greater than Solomon bids us seek first the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, *Matt. 6. 33.* And the Apostle's Injunction is Universal, *Whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God*, *1 Cor. 10. 31.* All Things that relate to our selves or others must center in this. God is to have Pre-eminence above all our Concerns. We must prefer his Honour and Service before all things else : and if we do so, we certainly at the same time make Provision for our own Good and Welfare. When we hallow God's Name, and advance the Kingdom of Christ, and do his Will, God will assuredly give us our daily bread, forgive us our sins, and deliver us from temptations and all evil. Thus you see, that though the Petitions are short, yet they are very Comprehensive, and are placed in an Excellent Order. The Redressing of the Chief Wants that we can be subject to, and the Principal Gifts and Benefits which we are to desire of God, are expressly set down in this Compendious Form of Prayer. This is the Sum of all we are to pray for. Christ in these Petitions hath comprised All our Desires. And in this Excellent Prayer we are not only taught what Things we are to request of God (which is the singular Commendation of this Model of Devotion) but what Order we must observe in our Petitions and Requests. We are informed that God's Glory, and the Things relating to that, are the Matter of our Prayers in the first Place : and after these we must invoke the Almighty for our Own and Others Welfare.

The First PETITION.

Hallowed be thy Name:*Where are some Peculiar Remarks concerning God's Name, and the Hallowing or Sanctifying of it.*

I Proceed now to insist distinctly on the several Petitions. The First is, *Hallowed be thy Name.* And here I will premise this, that I intend to consider this, and the rest of the Petitions that follow; First *Absolutely* and in themselves, *i. e.* as they contain so many several Propositions or Doctrines: For this Form of Words which is called the *Lord's-Prayer*, may be looked upon as part of Christ's *Sermon on the Mount* (for then and there it was uttered) and so it contains that *Evangelical Doctrine* which our Saviour taught his Disciples. Secondly, I will consider these Petitions *Relatively*, *i. e.* as they refer to *Prayer*, and are to be put up in way of Request to God; which was designed by the Author of them.

First, I will treat of this Part of the *Lord's-Prayer* *absolutely* and *abstractly*, as it contains in it Matter of *Truth* and *Doctrine*. And so the Proposition which I will insist upon is this, That *God's Name* ought to be *hallowed* or *sanctified* by us: It ought to be esteemed Holy, and to be used in a Holy and Reverent Manner: It ought to be Honoured and Worshipped.

1. We are to understand *God's Name* here in the most strict and proper Sense, as *Name* signifies that by which we call any Thing or Person. So those *Names* and *Titles* which are given to God in several Places of Scripture, are to be mentioned by us with Reverence and Veneration. This Petition is Parallel with the *Third Commandment*, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain.* All prophaning and abusing of *God's Name* is forbid here: And so likewise we sin against this First Part of the *Lord's-Prayer* by Blasphemy, by prophane Swearing and Cursing, by vain and needless Oaths, by superficial and slight mentioning of God at any time. These are a dishonouring, polluting and vilifying of that which ought to be held honourable, pure, sacred and undefiled: for even the bare Names and Appellatives of God must be Hallowed and Reverenced.

2dly, *God's Name* in the Old and New Testament signifies God himself: as in *Psal. 20. 1. The Name of the God of Jacob defend thee.* *Prov. 18. 10. The Name of the Lord is a strong Tower; the Righteous run into it, and are safe.* *Joel 2. 32. Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord, shall be delivered.* *John 1. 12. To them that believe in his Name, he gave power to become the Sons of God.* In all which Texts, and in several others, the Name of God is God himself: for the Name is that which is expressed by the Name, whether it be Person or Thing. Nay, among the Jews, *Ha Shem*, the Name, without any other Addition, is frequently put for God: and they found it upon *Lev. 24. 11, 16.* where God himself is called the Name; and some of the Hebrew Doctors allege *2 Sam. 6. 2.* for the same Purpose; but I think that Place is not so clear. From what hath been said, we may gather what it is to hallow *God's Name*: It is to Reverence and Esteem as Holy and Honourable God himself: It is to Think and Speak of him with Veneration, to Adore his Incomprehensible Nature and Godhead: It is to Fear and Worship him as the True God. And thus [*Hallowed be thy Name*] answers to the First and Second Commandment.

3dly, The Properties and Attributes of God are meant by his Name: As in *Psal. 48. 10. According to thy Name so is thy Praise*, *i. e.* Thy Praise is according to thy glorious Excellencies and Attributes. *Psal. 138. 2. Thou hast magnified thy Word* (thy Truth and Faithfulness in keeping thy Word and Promise) *above all thy Name*, *i. e.* above all thy other Perfections. God is said to do Things for his Name's sake, *i. e.* to set forth his glorious Attributes. In three Verses together, *viz. Ezekiel 36. 21, 22, 23.* the Name of God is to be understood of the Divine Excellencies and Properties. To shew this in some Particulars, 1. *God's Name* signi-

signifies his Power, his Authority, his uncontrollable Jurisdiction, *Psal.* 20. 2. 44. 5. 54. 1. 2 *Chron.* 14. 11. *John* 17. 11, 12. And so in all these Places where a thing is said to be done *in the Name of the Lord*, this Attribute is understood; for to act *in the Name* of a Person, is to do it with his Authority. 2. God's Goodness and Mercifulness are meant by his Name: As in some of those Places which speak of praising and blessing the Name of the Lord; for we shall find that the exalting and glorifying of God's Mercy and Bounty are there intended. Thus it is taken in *Exod.* 23. 19. *I will make all my Goodness to pass before thee, and proclaim the Name of the Lord before thee*, saith God to Moses. God's Goodness and his Name are synonymous. *For thy Name's sake lead me and guide me*, saith the Psalmist, *Psal.* 31. 3. i. e. for thy Mercy's sake, out of thy free Bounty and Favour to me. 3. God's Greatness and Glory are expressed by his Name. Thus when the Psalmist cries out, *How excellent is thy Name in all the Earth?* *Pf.* 81. 1. he explains it in the next Clause, by the Glory or Majesty of God. 4. God's Justice is hereby expressed: As when God's Name is said to be made known to the Adversaries, *Isai.* 64. 2. i. e. they feel the dismal Effects of the Divine Justice and Severity. 5. God's Faithfulness hath this Denomination: Thus when 'tis said, *Holy and Reverend is his Name*, *Psal.* 3. 9. you may observe that it refers to the Truth and Uprightness of God, and the steadfast keeping of his Covenant. Thus the Divine Properties are denoted by this Word.

And now I am briefly to shew you how we are to hallow or sanctify these. This is done, 1. By holy and reverend Thoughts concerning them; by such Conceptions and Apprehensions of these Perfections of God, as are suitable to them. 2. By speaking reverently of them, by acknowledging the Truth of them, by extolling their Excellency. 3dly, By our firm Dependence and Reliance on that glorious Being who is thus Excellent. *They that know his Name will put their Trust in him*, *Psal.* 19. 10. Lastly, we must sanctify this Name, these Attributes of God, by making them serviceable to our real Holiness.

4. By the Name of God are meant his Works of Creation and Providence, and all his Wonderful Dispensations in the World. Thus in *Psal.* 145. 1. where the Psalmist saith he will extol and bless God's Name, it appears from the following Verses, that his mighty and terrible Acts, his wondrous Works, whereby he manifests himself to the World, are meant by his Name. And then we hallow this Name when we duly meditate on these mighty Works, when we reverently Discourse of them, and declare them unto others, when we make them the Matter of our Admiration and Praise, and give unto the Lord the Glory due unto his Name, *Pf.* 96. 8. On the contrary, to disregard God's Works, not to consider the Operation of his Hands, or to have unbecoming Thoughts of them, or to mention them without a becoming Rerevence, is to Prophane them. Especially to despise the Hand of God stretched out against our selves or others, to laugh at the Judgments which are Abroad in the Earth, to live securely and carelessly, without Sense of God's Wrath, and Foresight of his heavy Judgments, is a great Prophannation. How common is this Behaviour in the World? How shamefully is it practised every where? How are the remarkable Providences of God slighted? How are the visible Tokens of his Anger disregarded? How do Men shut their Eyes at these Flashes of Lightning, and stop their Ears at the Noise of this Thunder? They bid Defiance to God, and even whilst they are on the very Brink of the bottomless Pit, dare Heaven to throw them in. This is such a Temper that whenever it possesseth the Minds of Men, it hardens them against the Strokes of Divine Justice, and renders them Insensate. Nothing but the Flames of Hell can startle these Men, and awaken them out of their Sleep, and those they shall be sure not to miss of.

5thly, By God's Name we are to understand not only the mere Names and Titles given to him, and God himself, and his Attributes, and Works, but likewise his Word, his Will, his Laws, yea all Religion: As in *John* 17. 16. *I have manifested thy Name unto them whom thou gavest me*, i. e. I have declared thy Will and Commandments unto them. St. Paul was a chosen Vessel to God, to bear his Name before the Gentiles, *Acts* 9. 15. i. e. To preach his Word to them. The naming the Name of Christ, 2 *Tim.* 2. 19. signifies the Profession of the Christian Religion, the owning of the Doctrine and Institution of our blessed Saviour. To hold fast God's Name, *Rev.* 2. 13. is to adhere to his Word and

Truth; and on the contrary, to deny God's Name, Ch. 3. v. 8. is to apostatize from the Profession and Practice of the Truth.

But what is it to hallow or sanctify God's Name in this Acceptation of the Word? This comprises in it such Duties as these, 1. The Truth must be owned, acknowledged, declared by us. Our Saviour calls this, *Confessing him before Men*: And the Apostle acquaints us, that *with the Mouth Confession is made to Salvation*, Rom. 10. 10. Therefore concealing and stifling the sacred Truth deposited with us, is opposite to the hallowing of God's Name. And much more so is the vilifying of it, the disparaging of the Holy Scriptures (which Papists and other prophane Men are guilty of) and the contemning of the Holy Doctrine and Precepts contained in them. 2. We must prize, value, and heartily love God's Word and Truth. As our Tongues must acknowledge them, so our Minds and Hearts must esteem and affect them, entirely embrace them, and account them our chiefest and richest Treasure. 3. The practising of God's Word and Will is included in hallowing it. * Mr. Selden observes that a strict and careful Observance of the Law is called among the Jews *sanctifying of God's Name*: And breaking the Law is called *prophaning the Divine Name*. Which indeed is according to the Stile of the Old Testament, where *polluting God's Name* is committing of some great Sin. But we *sanctify* God's Name by obeying him, by doing his Will, by performing his Commands. On which that of our Saviour is grounded, *Sanctify them through thy Truth: Thy Word is Truth*, John 17. 17. Then we are sanctified by the Truth, when it renders us truly Religious and Holy, when it makes us live answerably to it, and act nothing unworthy of it. So that in short *Hallowed be thy Name* is the same with that of the Apostle, *Let every one that nameth the Name of Christ depart from Iniquity*, 2 Tim. 2. 19.

6. The Name of God denotes his *Worship*. Thus God is said to put his Name in *Jerusalem*, and in the Temple, 2 Kings 21. 7. 2 Chron. 12. 13. i. e. to appoint and place his Worship and Service there. The Priests are said to *despise God's Name*, Mal. 1. 6. because they offered polluted Bread on God's Altar, and sacrificed the Blind, Lame, and Sick, as you find it explained in the ensuing Words. God's Name, i. e. his Ordinances and Institutions which respect his Worship, must be sanctified; they must be pure and uncorrupt, not blended with our own Inventions, nor defiled with our inward Love of Sin, or the outward Perpetration of it. When we approach unto God, it must be with Holy Desires and Purposes, with sincere Intentions and Designs: We must behave our selves with Humility and Reverence: But our chief Care must be that we do not prophan the Holy Ordinances by our unhallowed Lives.

Lastly, (to comprehend several Things under one general Head) the *sanctifying of God's Name* implies that all Persons or Things whatsoever that belong to God, or have any Reference to him, should be Holy, and accounted so by us. Princes and Magistrates, who are God's Deputies, and are therefore called Gods, are to be eminently Good and Religious, and to strive to promote all Goodness and Religion in others. And being by their Delegation and Office Sacred Persons, they are to be esteem'd as such, they are to be honoured and highly regarded, because of their Divine Character. So those who are employed in the publick Ministry of the Gospel, and are solemnly dedicated and set a-part to that Purpose, and who are God's Agents and Ministers in the World in a peculiar manner, are to be Persons of an Exemplary Sanctity, and to advance the like in the Lives of all Men; remembering what God himself saith, *I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me*, Lev. 10. 3. And those that thus honour God by their Holy Function, are to be honoured and respected by Men, and treated by them as Ambassadors and Messengers from Heaven.

Likewise all that profess themselves the Servants of the most High, should think themselves concerned to adorn their Profession by a strict and Holy Life, they must be separate from Sinners, and keep themselves unspotted from the Defilements of the World: And whilst they do so, they are worthy of Respect, Love, Admiration, and Honour: For they are God's peculiar People, yea, his Anointed, and therefore they must not be rudely touched. It is an unquestionable Truth, that those who prize God's Worship and Holy Institution (of which before) will also honour his Servants. The contrary whereunto is the common Practice of the World, who make it a great Part of their Business to disgrace those

* De Jur.
Nat. &
Gent. l. 2.
c. 10.

those whom they observe to be Virtuous and Godly. The Royal Prophet complains, that he was *the Song of the Drunkards*, who, it is probable, used to deride and even Burlesque his Divine *Hymns* and *Psalms*, in their looser Rhimes and prophane Drollery. And to mention a lower and meaner Instance, one of the wittiest Comedies of *Aristophanes* is the *Clouds*, where he jeers Honest *Socrates*. And many at this Day strive to shew themselves most Ingenious in Scoffing at Good and Righteous Persons. These are vilified and abused, because they are more Holy and Strict than the rest of the World, because their Lives are more Severe than those of others. They are cried out against as a Strait-laced Generation, as those who are so nice as to boggle at rash and prophane Oaths, as those who refuse to be Drunk for Company, and not only themselves abstain from the common Vices of the Times, but are very earnest with others to do the like. These are exposed to their Scorn and Derision, their Persons are despised, their Names reproached, and their Lives and Actions misrepresented and traduced.

So for Places and Times which are dedicated to God and his Service, and thereby have a *Relative Holiness*, they are to be looked upon as such: And being solemnly set apart for Divine Worship, they ought not to be prophaned by a common Using of them. We read that God *blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it*, *Exod. 20. 11. i. e.* separated it to a proper and peculiar Use; therefore we are obliged to keep a Seventh Day as a peculiar Season, or Portion of Time distinguished from the other Days of the Week, and particularly devoted to God's Worship. Remember that thou keep Holy this Sabbath-day: otherwise thou forgettest this first Part of the Lord's-Prayer.

From the whole, it is not only evident that all Piety and Holiness are commended to us in this *First Petition*, but likewise that all Irreligion, Impiety, and Atheism are condemned. This ought to be thought of, and considered by our Modern Sceptics and Scoffers, who blast all Religion, as *Cornelius Agrippa* doth the Arts and Sciences, with the Reproach of *Vain* and *Uncertain*, impudently questioning, if not denying, all its Principles. Whether there be a God or no, whether there be any Heaven and Hell, whether Virtue and Vice be real things; and such weighty Points and Articles of Religion are become as disputable as the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the Attraction of the Load-stone, or other Controversies in Philosophy. These Men love to do in an Irreligious Humour, as *Democritus* in a Philosophical one, laugh at all they see and hear. And as for another World after this, they will by no means make it a Part of their Creed; for they persuade themselves, that all their Concerns are shut up within the Compass of this Life: They hold that there is nothing after Death, and that Death it self is nothing. Hence it is that they are so indifferent as to all Articles of Belief, and it is Cross or Pile whether they be *Christians* or *Turks*. Especially the *Christian* Institution is looked upon by them as a Kind of Romance, somewhat a-kin to the Fictions of the Poets, and the Conceits of the *Rabbins*. Yea, if you ask their Sentiments about Religion in general, they will answer, that it is a mere Cheat and Delusion, that it is the Contrivance of some Crafty Statesmen and Cunning Politicians, who found it a fine Tool to work with, a brave Engine to set up and undermine Governments as they please: They are bold to declare, that it is a Scare-crow to fright the silly People into Obedience, or rather a Piece of Wag-gery to entertain Children and Fools, and to delude them for their Good. This Atheistical Spirit hath possessed most of the Grandees of the World; yea, it hath crept into the Church, and into the Schools. Wherefore those that are Men of Study and Speculation are here concerned: They ought heartily to pray, that their Notions may be sanctified, that their Reading and Knowledge may be serviceable to Religion and Piety; and they are obliged to vindicate their Holy Profession from the Cavils and Scoffs of the Prophane. This is *their* Task especially, but it is also in a meaner Degree the Employment of every good Christian: He must be an Advocate for Religion, it being his firm Persuasion that this is the greatest Reality in the World; and on the contrary, he detests and abhors the blasphemous Tenents of those Men, who cry it down as an Imposture introduced into the World merely for Politick Ends. He is to remember that it is comprehended in this *Petition*, that whatever belongs to God and Religion should be *hallowed*, *i. e.* should be Holy, and used in a Holy Manner. Thus you see what it is to *hallow God's Name*. I should have been larger on this Subject,

Subject, were I not to say something further of it under the *Third Commandment*, which is of the same Import with this First Petition.

I will add here, that those *Preliminary Rules* which I have laid down afterwards for interpreting the *Commandments*, may be used also in explaining the *Lord's-Prayer*, and particularly this Petition; that is, the *Means* and *Helps* are reducible hither: If we must sanctify God's Name, we are obliged to use all the proper *Means* and *Helps* in order to it. And so as to the *Causes* and *Occasions* of Profaning God's Name, we must be very careful to avoid them. And in all the other Particulars, which have only *Relation* to this, we must think our selves concerned. It may suffice to hint this only, that you may make Use of this Method, in all the ensuing Petitions, at your own Leisure: But it is not agreeable to my Design at present to enlarge so far.

Secondly, Having considered the Words *Absolutely*, I am also to look upon them in their *Relative* Notion, *i. e.* as they are *Part of the Prayer* which Christ prescribes us, and also as they are the *First* thing in this Prayer. As they are *Part of a Prayer*, we are taught these two Things:

1. That it is our Duty to pray, that God's Name may be Hallowed, *i. e.* (as you have heard it explained) that he may be celebrated, and praised, and magnified in all his Appellations, Attributes, Works of Creation and Providence, in his Word, Will and Laws, in his Worship, in the Day set apart by him for that Purpose, in his Servants and Ministers, and all those who are appointed and deputed by him, and in every Good and Holy Man that bears his Image, and hath Characters of the Divine Nature upon him. In fine, we are to pray that God in all things may be Glorified. This is the Summ of our Requests, when we put up this Petition. Understand therefore and remember what it is you pray for.

2dly, We are taught and reminded to practise the Subject of this very Petition, whenever we pray. We must sanctify God's Name, as often as we call upon him, *i. e.* we must in the Prayers which we offer to him, shew all that Reverence which is due to him, come before him as the most High, humble our selves in his Sight, be thoroughly sensible of the Infinite Majesty we appear before, dispose our selves to call upon him in that Holy Manner, as becomes us when we make our Addresses to him. Let our Thoughts, Desires, and Affections be suitable to this Divine Work, which we have the Honour to be employed in. Thus let us glorify God, as often as we pray to him. Let us shew the Influence of this Petition in our Prayers, as well as in our Lives. Lastly, We are to remember this also, that this is the *First* and *Leading* Part of the Prayer which is here taught us; and therefore the *Glory of God* ought to be the First and Chiefest Thing which we aim at, both in our Prayers and in our Lives. Let this Petition then direct us in all that we undertake, in all that we do. Let our grand Design and End in every thing be to *Hallow God's Name*, to bring Honour and Glory to him. As this hath the first Place in the Lord's-Prayer, so let it have the same through the whole Course of our Actions.

The Second PETITION.

Thy Kingdom come.]

Where the Kingdom of God as it is within us, and as it is without us (which Two comprehend the Whole Spiritual Reign) is distinctly explained.

AS the First Petition acquaints us in general that God is to be glorified by us, so the Two next shew the Ways whereby we glorify him, viz. by his Kingdom coming, by his Will being done. I begin with the First of these, and I am to consider the Words both *Absolutely*, as they contain in them a certain Truth, and *relatively*, as they are a Petition which we are to put up to God. The absolute Consideration of them affords Two Propositions. First, That God hath a Kingdom. Secondly, This Kingdom was and is to come. First, I am to shew that God hath a Kingdom, and at the same time to let you see what Kingdom this is. There was the Kingdom of God that was founded on the Covenant made with Abraham, and afterward with other Patriarchs, when the Jewish People were made God's own peculiar Treasure, and were unto him a Kingdom of Priests, as he is pleased to call them, *Exod. 19. 5, 6.* God's Covenant, as it respects these particularly, is stiled a Kingdom, *1 Sam. 8. 7.* *Jer. 31. 31.* And the Jews themselves are called the Children of the Kingdom, *Mat. 8. 11.* It is evident, that the Jewish Government was a Theocracy, a Divine Empire and Jurisdiction. God was their King in a singular and eminent manner, and they were his proper Subjects and People. But of this the Text doth not speak.

There is a more general Kingdom of God which is meant here, and that is Two-fold. First, His Kingdom as he is Creator, Founder, Preserver, Disposer and Governor of all Things. Secondly, As he is a Saviour and Redeemer. Of the First of these you read often in the Old Testament, and sometimes in the New. He made the World, and so hath Right to rule it, and dispose of it as he thinks good. He doth whatever he pleaseth both in Heaven and Earth: Thus he is King. And there cannot be a more agreeable Title for the Supreme Governor and Disposer of all Things. Hence the Pagans were wont to call their Gods Kings: For *Moloch*, *Molech*, *Milchom*, and *Malcham*, are no other than *Malech* a King. Accordingly the Seventy Interpreters in *Jer. 32. 35.* add unto *Μολοχ*, *Βασιλευς*, to shew the meaning of that Word *Moloch*, for under the Title of a King the God of the Amorites was worshipped. And this is the Epithet which is frequently given in the Sacred Writ to the True God: He is the King of the World. Which may be demonstrated in these following Particulars.

First, As a King he hath his Throne; which you read of in *Psal. 103. 19.* The Lord hath prepared his Throne in the Heavens. There it is (as I said before) that he resideth in a more especial manner, and displays his Glory and Majesty, and in respect of this Glorious Seat, the Earth which is under it, is fitly stiled his Footstool.

Secondly, The Subjects of this King are all his Creatures (of what Rank or Degree soever) that he hath given Being to. Those of a Superior Order, as Good and Evil Angels, are at his Beck and Command: And those of an Inferior Rank, as Men and all living Creatures on the Earth, are under his Power and Dominion. In respect of these latter God is said to be a Great King over all the Earth, *Psal. 47. 2.* And to this refers that which the same Inspired Penman dictates in another Place, *The Earth is the Lords, and the Fulness thereof, the World and they that dwell therein, Psal. 24. 1.* God is Universal Monarch: His Scepter is swayed over all the World: His Crown encircles the Universe.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, This King hath his *Laws*: And they are very exact Standards of that Duty and Obedience which he requires. He hath implanted a Law in the very Nature of his Creatures, he hath made the Hearts and Consciences of Men to be their Advisers and Counsellors. Hence it is that they are *Law unto themselves*, as the Apostle speaks; they have that within them which gives them Rules for their Lives and Actions. One of the chief of them (and which indeed is the Root of most of the rest) is that they ought to maintain a sincere Love and Charity towards one another. This is the *Royal Law*, as St. James styles it (*chap. 2. ver. 8.*) *ὅπου βασιλεὺς, ἡ Λαὸς τοῦ βασιλείου*, the Law of the Kingdom, that which all the Subjects of this Supreme King are inviolably to keep. And this, and all the other Laws belonging to this Divine Government, (whether they arise from the Principles of Justice and Reason, or are collected from the various Dispensations of God in the World) are in themselves of indispensable Necessity, and carry intrinsic Excellency with them.

Fourthly, This King hath his *Tribute*. Angels and Men continually pay him Homage and Obedience, submit to him, and lay all they have at his Feet. But not only the Intelligent and Sensible Creatures are his Homagers, but even those that are void of Understanding and Sense, yet of Life it self. All Things serve him.

Lastly, This King hath his *Rules* as such. He exercises his Regal Power and Dominion in the World, and the Lord reigneth, saith the Psalmist, *Psal. 103. 19.* And again he inculcates this, *Psal. 99. 1.* He reigns, &c. He administers all Things with Wisdom, Justice, Goodness and Power. This is to reign, this is actually to exert the Office of a King. Accordingly there are Courts of Judicature, there are Tribunals every where erected by this King, Criminals and Malefactors in all Regions of the World, and in all Ages of it, have been executed. There are signal Examples of the Justice and Severity of this great Ruler. And there are as eminent and Remarkable Instances throughout the Earth, of the Divine Clemency, Mercy and Goodness: Witness, the singular Blessings and Rewards bestowed on those that truly Fear and Worship him. He shews his Kingly Wisdom in mingling Mercy and Justice, in protecting his Friends and Subjects, and in subduing his Enemies: And in his Administration of all other Affairs in the World. In short, God's Kingdom (as we are now considering it) is no other than his *Universal Providence*. It is his Powerful, Just, Wise and Gracious Ordering of the World and all Things in it. And therefore I having already treated of God's Providence, I need not say any more in this Place.

Only I will add this, that to distinguish God's Kingdom and Sovereignty from all others, he is called by the Apostle *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, *1 Tim. 6. 15.* which is as much as to say, He is the Supreme, Absolute and Independent Monarch of the World. There are many great Princes and Potentates that bear Sway in their distinct Territories and Countries: But this is that matchless Sovereign who rules over all the Kingdoms of the Nations, as King Jehoshaphat acknowledged, *2 Chron. 20. 6.* He is a great King over all the Earth, saith another Crowned Head, *Psal. 47. 3.* His Kingdom ruleth over all, saith the same Royal Saint, *Psal. 103. 19.* All Earthly Crowns and Scepters vail to him, and confess their Meanness and Inferiority. It was a blunt Saying of * Luther (and he had a great many of them) God deals with Cities and Kingdoms (saith he) as I am wont to deal with an Old Hedge-Stake: When I please I pluck it up and burn it, and set down another in its Stead. Thus he speaks to set forth the uncontrollable Will and Power of this absolute Sovereign of the World. Herein he infinitely surpasses all the Rulers of the Earth; and therefore one of the First Gentle Poets could say, † *There is no other but this great King*. In comparison of him there is none that can challenge that Name. And he is yet further distinguished from all the Kings of the Earth, by what the Psalmist saith, *The Lord sitteth as King for ever*, *Psal. 29. 10.* And what another (once a Great and Mighty Monarch) said, *His Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and his Dominion is from generation to generation*, *Dan. 4. 3.* None of the Princes of this World, as Great and Mighty as they are, are of any considerable Duration, they let fall their Scepters when the King of Terrors appears. It is God alone that is the King Immortal, *1 Tim. 1. 17.*

* Colloqu. Mensal.

† Οὐδὲ τις ἕστιν ἕτις τοῦ βασιλέως. Orpheus.

Having

Having considered the *Kingdom of God* as he is the *Maker* and *Governor of the World*, I am in the next Place to speak of it as He is the *Saviour* and *Redeemer* of it. You must know then, that there is a *Kingdom* Erected on the *Covenant of Grace*, and therefore hath been as ancient as this *Covenant*, but the more illustrious Exertment of it hath been since the coming of the *Messias*. This is stiled in the *New Testament* the *Kingdom of God*, or the *Kingdom of Heaven*: For they are the same, as appears from the *Prodigal's* penitent Confession, *I have sinned against Heaven*, which is as much as if he had said, *I have sinned against God*. And when *Christ* demanded an Answer to the Question, *The Baptism of John, was it from Heaven?* Luke 20. 4. none denies that it is equivalent to this, *Was it from God?* Accordingly the *Jewish Doctors* tell us, that *Shamajim* was one of *God's Names*; whence they have a Saying, *Let the Reverence which thou givest to thy Master, be like the Reverence which thou payest to Heaven*.

Or, you may take *God* and *Heaven* to be different, and then *Christ's Kingdom* is called the *Kingdom of God*, because then *Christ* reigns in a signal and peculiar Manner, who is *God himself*: And it is also called the *Kingdom of Heaven*, because it is most effectual to bring Men to *Heaven*: Yea, they are entred already into the *Kingdom of Heaven and Glory* in part, for the future *Glory* is but a greater Degree of that *Happiness* which they are possessed of now by the *Coming of Christ*.

But if you demand why this Dispensation of the Gospel is call'd a *Kingdom* by our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*? I answer, it is probable that they borrowed this manner of speaking from the *Old Testament*. They express themselves in the Stile of the *Ancient Prophets*, who foretold the *Coming of the Messias*, and the happy Fruits of it. They frequently express this by a *Kingdom*, and they set forth *Christ* by the Title of a *King*. Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of *Sion*, saith the *Psalmist*, Ps. 2. 6. and the whole *Psalms* speaks concerning our *Saviour* and his *Kingdom*. *A King shall reign and prosper; and this is his Name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness*, Jer. 23. 5, 6. *Hosea* prophesies of the same in *Hos. 3. 5*. where comforting the *Jews*, the true *Israelites*, with the Assurance of the Restoration of the Church in the latter Days, he tells them that they shall return, and seek the Lord their God, and *David* their King, i. e. *Christ* the Son of *David*, as appears from *Jer. 30. 9*. *Ezek. 34. 23, 24*. And without doubt unto these very Texts the Words of the Angel to the *Virgin Mary* refer, Luke 1. 22, 23. *The Lord shall give unto him the Throne of his Father David, and he shall reign over the House of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end*. This *Spiritual and Divine King and Kingdom* are foretold in *Mic. 4. 8, 9*. This is the Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom which *Daniel* speaks of, *Ch. 2. 44*. *The God of Heaven shall set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed*. And thrice afterwards in this Book (*viz. Ch. 6. 26. Ch. 7. 14. and also v. 27.*) is this famous Prediction repeated. *Behold, O Daughter of Jerusalem, saith the Prophet Zechariah, thy King cometh unto thee*, Zech. 9. 9. And in several other Places the *ancient Prophets* express the *Coming and Government of Christ* (in which time *Peace and Holiness* should flourish, and be glorious, and spread themselves over the Face of the whole Earth) by the Name of a *Kingdom*. And thence it was usual among the *Hebrew Doctors* to call the Time when the *Messias* was to come, the *Kingdom of God* or *Heaven*. And accordingly the *Pharisees* demanded of *Christ* when the *Kingdom of God* should come, Luk. 17. 20. And to comply with the Language of his Countrymen, as well as the *Sacred Penmen* of the *Old Testament*, our *Saviour* himself in this Prayer which he dictates to his *Disciples*, uses this Expression (as I could shew likewise from several Instances, that he made use of other Words and Terms which were among the *Jewish People*, and thought fit to apply them to Christianity.) And the only Reason why this manner of Speech is so often used, is, because *Christ* is really a *King*, and the Church is his *Kingdom*. The general Account of the Nature of this *Kingdom* is given by our *Saviour* himself, *John 18. 36*. *My Kingdom is not of this World*: Where he plainly implies that he hath a *Kingdom*: And then he expressly tells us that it is not *Secular* or *Worldly*, like that of the great Monarchs and Princes of the Earth. Whence we cannot but infer that it is of a *Spiritual and Heavenly Nature*, it is a Government chiefly exercised on the *Spirits and Souls of Men*, and that in order to another World.

To give you a distinct Insight into the Quality of this Kingdom, I am to remind you that it is either *General and Common*, or *Special and Peculiar*. The first is that Dominion and Power which Christ exercises towards all Men. In this general Sense we may understand the Prophet's Words, *The Government shall be upon his Shoulders*, *Isai. 9. 6*. He hath an universal Rule assigned him by his Father, and he governs and disposes of all Persons and Things in such a manner as is most conducive to the Welfare of his Church. To this purpose it was foretold concerning this King, that *he should execute Judgment and Justice in the Earth*, *Jer. 23. 5*. That he should more especially shew his Justice in punishing the wilful Violation of his Laws. Accordingly that is his severe Language, *Those mine Enemies who would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me*, *Luke 19. 17*. Thus he is King: And the Apostle assures us that *he must Reign till he hath put all Enemies under his Feet*, *1 Cor. 15. 25*. till all the Adversaries of the Church and of true Godliness be confounded. This outward Exercise of his Government is also seen in the Advancement and Propagation of the Gospel in the World, in the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and all other Means of Grace and Salvation. So the Kingdom of Heaven is meant in *Luke 10. 9, 11*. where our Saviour sent out the 70 Disciples to preach, bidding them say to those they were sent to, *The Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you*. So in *Mat. 21. 43*. *The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a Nation bringing forth the Fruits thereof*. And in *Mark 1. 14*. the preaching of the Gospel is called *the Word of the Kingdom*. Thus when the Apostle saith, *Col. 4. 11*. *These are my Fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God*, the preaching of the Gospel is to be understood. And in several other Places this Expression is used to denote the External and Visible Administration of Christ's Government in the Church, as it signifies the collective Body of all those that outwardly profess Christianity. Nor doth it exclude some internal Operations of the Spirit on the Hearts and Consciences of Men: For even the worst Men are not destitute of common Convictions, and there is a general restraining Grace which hath some Influence on their Lives and Actions.

But the *Special and Peculiar Kingdom* of Christ is that which is the chief: And it is twofold: For there are two Degrees of it, *viz.* the happy State of the Christian Church in *this Life*, and in that which is *to come*. The former is usually called the *Kingdom of Grace*, the latter the *Kingdom of Glory*. The first of these is both *Inward and Outward*.

I call it *Inward*, because it hath its principal Seat in the Faculties of the Soul; in the Understanding, Will, and Affections, in the free and unforced Inclinations and Actings of the Mind. *The Kingdom of God is within you*, saith our Saviour, *Luke 17. 21*. Which Words though, 'tis true, they may have another Sense, (for the Greek *ἐν ὑμῖν* may be rendred *among you*, and then the meaning of Christ's Words may be, you have this Kingdom already among you by my Coming, and by the preaching of the Gospel: But because this Coming is not with Observation or outward Shew, therefore you neglect it.) Though this may be one Interpretation of the Words, yet this doth not wholly exclude another which is consistent with it, and that is this, That the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ is an *Inward Principle*, it is the Empire and Dominion of God in the Soul by the Holy Spirit, whereby all the Powers and Functions of it are made obedient to Christ's Will and Laws. It is that Internal Work of the Holy Ghost upon Men's Hearts, by Virtue of which their Wills are effectually inclined to approve of what is Good and Holy, and their Practices are rendered conformable to it. Thence the *Kingdom of God* and *his Righteousness* are joined together, *Mat. 6. 33*. For this spiritual Government is something that is operative and lively; according to that of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 4. 20*. *The Kingdom of God is not in Word, but in Power*. There is a mighty Energy goes along with it, there is a commanding Sway that accompanies it. Of this the same inspired Author speaks in *Rom. 14. 17* where he tells us first, what the Kingdom of God is not, *it is not Meat and Drink*, i.e. it consists not in such mean and trifling Rites, as Abstinence from such and such Kinds of Food (which the Judaizing Christians in those Days valued themselves so much upon) or in the Observation of any indifferent Things, which are not of the Substance and Essence of Christianity. Then, he tells us what this Kingdom is, *It is Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the*

the Holy Ghost : It is the real Holiness and Purity of Mens Hearts and Lives, it is inward Peace and Serenity of Conscience, and a joyful and chearful Discharge of our Duty towards God and Men.

This *Special Kingdom* is outward as well as inward. For the Blessed *Messias* rules, governs, calls, converts, sanctifies and guides by his Word all other Outward Means of Grace, as well as by the Spirit: For this operates by those. Again, there is an External Protecting, Securing and Rewarding of his Servants. This good Shepherd giveth his Life for the Sheep, John 10. 11. Neither shall any pluck them out his Hand, Ver. 28. They have all Occurrences and Events, though seemingly very hurtful, made useful and advantageous to them, working together for their good. This is the peculiar Privilege of those of this Special Kingdom. Because of this particular Discrimination which he makes between these and others, he is by way of Eminency called *King of Saints*, Rev. 15. 3. he being their King in a peculiar manner, and they being his particular Courtiers and Favourites.

The other Degree of this *Special Kingdom*, is the State of Glory hereafter. The good Shepherd acquaints his little Flock, that it is his Father's good Pleasure to give them a Kingdom, Luke 12. 32. The same which he expresses in other Terms in John 10. 28. I give unto them Eternal Life: And in Mat. 25. 34. Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you. Which is called by St. Peter, The Everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 2 Epist. chap. 1. v. 11. The immediate Fore-runner of this Everlasting Kingdom, is Christ's Judging the World: Which also it self is one Part of his Kingdom, as may be inferred from 2 Tim. 4. 1. God will judge the Quick and the Dead at his (i. e. Christ's) Appearing, and his Kingdom. His Kingdom is the same with his Appearing, and his Appearing in this place is meant of the last Judgment; therefore the Judgment and Kingdom are the same. Now he shall shew himself King in a more Illustrious Manner than ever; now he shall let the World see, that he hath the Authority and Power, the Majesty and Sovereignty of a King. But we are informed, that immediately after this General Judgment, Christ shall resign his Kingdom and Dominion. In the Consummation of all Things, in the State of Glory, he shall deliver up the Kingdom to God even the Father, 1 Cor. 15. 24. Then shall the Son himself be subject, that God may be all in all, v. 28. Which is said of Christ according to his Human Nature, who shall at the End of the World lay aside his Oeconomical Office, his Mediatorship, or Kingly Power, as he is Mediator, and he shall present the whole Church to his Father, as the Blessed Fruit of his former Undertakings. And now the Kingdom of Glory begins in its full Heighth, and shall last to Endless and Eternal Ages. Thus I have finished the first thing I undertook, viz. to shew what this Kingdom is, which is here mentioned.

The next thing I am to do, is to shew what is meant by the Coming of this Kingdom; and how it could be said that it was to come, when these Words were uttered by Christ. First, if we speak of the Kingdom of God as he is Governor and Ruler of the World, it is certain that that was come, and was in Being when Christ delivered these Words on the Mount. But yet even this Kingdom, which is over all both good and bad, may be said to come, even in our Days, we having the Experience of God's governing the World, and there being fresh Instances daily of his universal Justice, Mercy and Goodness: So that we can testify that his Kingdom comes.

Again, if we speak of the Kingdom of Christ, God and Man, this was also come, in some Measure, when our Saviour bid his Disciples pray, Thy Kingdom come. But still it was to come, i. e. as to its greater Lustre and Power. Accordingly, saith the Baptist, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, Mat. 3. 2. And our Saviour himself saith the same, 4. Mat. 17. This, I know, is applied by a * Learned Man of our own to the Punitive Part of the Kingdom, the Judgments and Punishments on the Jews; and so he takes in other Places. But this is a particular Notion of his own, and hath but little or no Foundation. We ought to understand those Texts in a more general Sense of the Kingdom of the Messias, which was at that time but begun, and newly set on Foot, and so was not come as to the Extent of it. Christ's Kingdom was not to display it self till after his Passion; no, not till his Ascension, for then he was as it were solemnly inaugurated to the Crown: And from this time, his Kingdom was Visible and

* Dr. Hammond.

Illustrious in the World. Now we are told by the Infallible Records of the Apostles, and by Ecclesiastical Historians, that the Church of Christ wonderfully increased, the Religion which our Saviour founded was marvellously propagated, and spread it self through the remotest Parts of the World: The Simplicity, Power and Virtue of Christianity were every where seen, and at last the Roman Empire became Christian, and submitted to the Kingdom of Jesus. Thus by the Coming of this Kingdom, we must understand the External Promoting and Advancing of it by the Preaching of the Gospel.

Then as to the *Kingdom of Grace*, that is said to come, 1. In Our selves, when by the Special Operation of the Holy Spirit, and his Irresistible Grace, our Hearts and Lives are changed and renewed, when we are enabled to Renounce the Dominion of Sin in us, and to subdue and conquer our Lusts; when with great Diligence and Industry, with much Earnestness and Zeal we apply Our selves to the working out our Salvation, for then *the Kingdom of Heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force*, Matt. 11. 12. And Perseverance in our Religious Endeavours and Performances is absolutely requisite, for *he that looks back is not fit for the Kingdom of Heaven*, Luke 9. 62. 2dly, This Kingdom of Grace is then said to come in Others (as well as in Our selves) when the World is made better every where, when the Salvation of Men is furthered by the Preaching of the Gospel, and all other Methods that are used to that End: When the greatest Rebels submit themselves to this King, when Infidels of all Sorts (whether Pagans, Jews, or Mahometans, or any others that bid Defiance to the Christian Faith) abandon their Errors and evil Practices, and embrace the Holy Religion of Jesus. This we may justly expect before the final Close of the World, though at present there seems to be no Motion towards it. But it is probable that this amazing Change will be on a Sudden, and perhaps when we have the least Reason to look for it. Christ's Kingdom was at first erected with great Opposition: *The Heathens raged, and the Kings of the Earth stood up, and the Rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ*, Acts 4. 26. But it may be, the flourishing State of the Messiah's Government in the last Days, shall not be ushered in with these Difficulties: It is likely that the Almighty Power of God shall more immediately restrain the reluctant Wills of stubborn Men, and with much Ease and Quietness make them yield to the Scepter of this Glorious King. We shall then see the full Accomplishment of what is said in Rev. 11. 15. *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever*. But this is to be remembred, that though this shall be done by God's extraordinary Power and Providence, yet it shall not be wholly effected without the Endeavours of those who long for those Halcyon Days. Therefore let us be forward to set about this Work, i. e. let us do all we can to enlarge the Kingdom of God, and his Son Jesus Christ.

As for the *Kingdom of Glory*, there is no Dispute about that. That is yet to come; it being the Blessed Condition of the Future Life in the highest Heavens. Only let future Glory influence on us at present. Let us not be afraid of any Calamities that can befall us in our Passage to that Glorious Kingdom. They are not to be dreaded, seeing they are not able to shut us out of that Place of Happiness. Christ bids the Church of Smyrna fear none of those things which she shall suffer, because (as he subjoins) if she endure Tribulations patiently, and be faithful to the End, he will give her a Crown of Life, Rev. 2. 10. The Certainty of a Heavenly Crown should make us fearless and undaunted amidst all Earthly Crosses, and steady and resolved in the Discharge of our Duty. A Kingdom is to come! That very Word Kingdom hath strong Charms in it. It hath been so pleasant and ravishing in some Mens Ears, that it hath made them wade thro' Blood and Slaughter to accomplish their Designs. The Glisten of an Earthly Diadem hath so captivated their Thoughts, that they have forgot all Considerations relating to any thing of another Nature. And shall a perishing and fading Crown have this Force in it, and will not the Thoughts, yea, the Assurance of that far more exceeding and Eternal Weight of Glory, wherewith the Heads of Glorified Saints shall be loaded, more powerfully and effectually move us to mind it, to be mightily concerned for it, and earnestly endeavour to attain it? O remember this, that God calls us to no less than a Kingdom, and that an Everlasting one. Refuse not this Glorious Offer, but accept it in that Way and

on those Terms on which the Gospel hath tendred it to you. Know and consider what our Saviour saith, *Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven,* Mat. 7. 21. So much for the *Absolute Consideration* of the Words.

I come next to consider them *Relatively*, as they are Part of a Prayer. We must (according to Christ's Injunction here) pray that God's Kingdom may come. First, we are to request that God's *Eternal Kingdom* may flourish on Earth, *i. e.* That all Men may feel and know the Effects of his Dominion and Government, that the Sovereignty of the Almighty may be displayed every where, that all the World may own and acknowledge, and obediently submit to his Universal Sway.

Secondly, We are to pray that God's *Special Kingdom* may be advanced, *i. e.* that the Kingdom of Christ in the Hearts and Lives of Men may be more remarkable; that Sin may not reign in their Mortal Bodies, so as that they should obey the Lusts thereof; that the Kingdom of Satan may be vanquished; that Wickedness and Prophaneness may be rooted out of the World: More positively, we are to pray that Grace and Goodness may take place in our selves and others, that God's Spirit may rule and reign in us; that we may find real Advantage to our Souls by the Ministry of the Word and all other Helps afforded us to make us better. We are obliged to pray also for the Peace, Welfare and Prosperity of the Church, that God would enlarge the Kingdom of Grace in the World, that the Interest of it may every where be promoted, that both Temporal and Spiritual Rulers may be zealous to advance it, that all those Nations and People which are Strangers to Christianity, may bid adieu to their false and pernicious Principles, and embrace the Faith and Doctrine of Christ Jesus; that the Church of Christ may universally thrive and flourish, that his Worship and Honour may be exalted, that Righteousness and Holiness may prevail, that the Doctrine and Example of our Blessed Saviour may be followed, and (to sum up all) that there may be many Subjects gained daily to Christ's Kingdom, and that they may be obedient to their King, and that they may prosper.

Moreover, we are to pray that the *Kingdom of God* may not only prosper here, but that it may be perfected and consummated hereafter, that the Kingdom of Grace which is begun on Earth may be compleated afterwards in Heaven. Here then the *Petition* teaches to crave that which is justly ranked next to God's Glory, *viz. the End of our Hopes, the Salvation of our Souls*, which we expect to be accomplished in God's everlasting Kingdom. We are to implore the Divine Goodness, that we may be Partakers of endless Felicity and Glory in the World to come. And this *Petition* reminds us to beg the same Mercy for others that we crave for our selves, *viz. that they may be Sharers with us through the infinite Merits of Christ in the Eternal Happiness of that future Kingdom.* Yea; there is a *Praying for the Dead* that is founded on this *Petition* in the Lord's Prayer, and therefore 'tis lawful. Mistake me not, I mean no other than this, that we ought to pray that the departed Saints in Heaven may attain to their certain and long-looked for Happiness; that is, that their Bodies may arise again, and that their Souls and Bodies being reunited, they may receive their perfect Consummation and Bliss in the Mansions of Glory. This we are to make the Matter of our Prayers: For we must pray for the Accomplishment of every thing that God hath promised. All other praying for those that are departed this Life is groundless, superstitious and dangerous; and is justly condemned by all Protestants. Finally, we are to pray that the Kingdom of Glory may be hastned by the coming of Christ to Judgment, that a Period may be put to all Sin and Misery here on Earth by our being translated to the Seat of the Blessed. *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.* Thus I have given you the full Import of the Second *Petition*.

The Third P E T I T I O N.

Thy will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.]

Under which the Disposing and Preceptive Will of God are treated of, more especially the latter. The Necessity, Reasonableness and Right Manner of doing it are copiously handled. How we are to imitate the Glorious Spirits above in Obedience.

THE First Petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Hallowed be thy Name*, is immediately backed with Two particular Instances of Hallowing and Glorifying God's Name. One is *the coming of his Kingdom*, (which I have already spoken of) the other is *the doing of his Will on Earth as it is done in Heaven*. Hereby God is eminently glorified, and his Name most signally hallowed. And as this Petition is related to the First, as it is a particular Instance of that, so it bears a near Relation to the Second, *i. e.* the immediately foregoing Petition, *Thy Kingdom come*; forasmuch as God being King, Obedience and Subjection are due to him. A King is then properly said to reign when his Will is obeyed. God the King of Kings reigneth: Therefore his Will must be done, his Pleasure must be fulfilled: And none can be either of the Kingdom of Grace or Glory that do not observe this. It is plain then, that this Petition depends on that which immediately precedes it, as it is an Effect or Fruit of it. If *God's Kingdom comes*, his Will will be done. This latter naturally flows from the former. But to wave the Connexion of this Third Petition, I pass to the *Explication* of it: Where I shall proceed according to my former Method, and consider the Words first Absolutely, then Relatively. In their Abstract or absolute Consideration we are to take notice of *God's Will*; and that this Will *is to be done*, and that *on Earth as it is in Heaven*. First then, I shall shew what is meant by *God's Will*. 2dly, What it is *to do it*. 3dly, What it is to do it *as it is done in Heaven*.

First, Let us enquire what we are to understand by *God's Will* here. This is twofold: 1. His *Dispositive Will* whereby he purposeth and determineth all Things that are to be done. Of this you read in *Ephes. 1. 5.* where we are told that God acteth according to the good Pleasure of his Will: And again, *he worketh all things according to the Counsel of his own Will*, *Ephes. 1. 11.* This Will is no other than the Decree and Providence of God, whereby he appoints and determines the particular Condition of all Persons, with all its Circumstances, and actually executes whatever was appointed. *As I have purposed*, saith he, *so shall it come to pass*, and *as I have thought*, *so shall it stand*, *Isai. 14. 24.* 2. There is the *Declarative or Preceptive Will* of God. This acquaints us with our Duty, and lets us know what God requires of us in our Lives and Actions. This the *Psalmist* means when we hear him professing thus; *I delight to do thy Will, O my God*, *Psal. 40. 8.* Of this Christ speaks when he saith, *If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine whether it be of God*, *John 7. 17.* Both these Wills are included in this Petition in the Lord's Prayer.

But what *the doing of them* is, is the next thing to be enquired into. It is of the former that I am to speak first: God's Purposing and Disposing Will *is done* by himself, (for it is that Will according to which he ever acteth); but yet he requires *us to do it*, according to our Proportion and Capacity: That is, we are to be always desirous and ready to be guided by it, to be content to be disposed of as God pleaseth. Whatever the State be which God allots us, we are to acquiesce in

in it, and to submit our selves wholly to it. *Thy Will be done, i. e.* let thy Providential Will take place, is the Language of Submission and Resignation. Of which, and of a Practice agreeable to it, *Eli, Job, David, Hezekiah*, are famous Examples in the Sacred History. And it is fitting indeed we should thus act, because of the *Reasonableness* and the *Necessity* of the Thing.

First, It is most *Reasonable* that we should acquiesce in the Good-Will of God, and be well pleased with Providence in all the Circumstances of our Life. For as that Renowned Father of the Church hath well said on this Subject, * Though there may be a Hidden Cause of God's Will, yet there never is an Unjust One. When therefore our shallow Reasons are not able to comprehend the Designs of Providence in some Events in the World, we must remember that 'tis our Duty to submit to Heaven, and to satisfy our selves with this, that God always deals justly and righteously with the Sons of Men, and cannot do otherwise, and that he disposes all things with the greatest Equity and Wisdom. When *Melanchthon* was discontented at some Disappointments in the *Reformation*, and began to be troubled at them, his Friend *Martin Luther* checked him after this manner; † Good Brother *Philip*, do not take upon thee to Govern the World, for that belongs wholly to God. And in the like manner we should correct our selves under our Discontentments, by this Consideration, that the Government of all things is in the Hands of God, who is Just, Wise, and Good, and chuses what is best for us. He so contralls all the Affairs of the World, that they shall certainly redound to the Honour of his Great Name, and the Good of the Universe; and the Accomplishment of those Main Designs which his Infinite Wisdom hath determined shall take Effect. He orders and disposes the worst Occurrences to the best Ends, and is pleased to bring Good out of the greatest Evil, and Light out of the thickest Darkness. Poisons are turned into Antidotes; and that which we imagined to be our greatest Misery, is productive of our highest Happiness. In brief, Whatever our Lot is, it is the Effect of the Divine Will and Pleasure, which are always most Reasonable; and therefore it is absurd and irrational, besides that it is dangerous and pernicious, to be dissatisfied with them.

* Voluntatis Dei occulta causa esse potest, injusta esse non potest. *Augustin. Epist. 59. ad Paulin.*

† Desinat Philippus esse Rector mundi.

Again, The *Necessity* of the Thing bespeaks our quiet Resignation to God's Will, because this *must* take place. All are ruled by it, and none can disappoint and defeat it. Our Work is only to resign our selves to it with Readiness and Cheerfulness. That God's Will shall prevail, even when all Arts are used to frustrate it, is apparent from several Instances which the Sacred Writ makes mention of: I will offer only that Remarkable One of *Abab*. God had threatned (and his Menaces were according to his Decree) to pluck up this Wicked King and his whole House by the Roots, and not to leave any of his Posterity to succeed him in the Realm. Hereupon he cunningly plots how to defeat this Purpose of God revealed by the Prophet concerning his Family. He takes him many Concubines, and hath Children by them; and hence conceives fair Hopes of spreading his Root, and fastning it for ever, though the Man of God had denounced the contrary. His *Seraglio* furnished him with Seventy Sons, whence he thought he had Reason to presume that one of these should live to succeed him in the Kingdom, and keep up his Name in *Israel*: For it was no ways probable, he thought, that all this Royal Blood should be spilt, that so numerous a Progeny should miscarry. And that they might not, he commits them to the Tuition of his Nobles (such choice Favourites as he could put his Trust in) and placed them in a fortified City, that these goodly Pupils might not come to any harm. And yet after all this Provision made for a Successor, you may see how ineffectual it proved: and the timorous Guardians forthwith surrendered their Charge at *Jebu's* Command, and sent their Heads in Baskets as a Present to that furious Upstart King. Wherefore it is particularly Recorded on this Occasion, (and it is the more remarkable, because it came from *Jebu's* Mouth,) *There shall fall unto the Earth nothing of the Word of the Lord, which the Lord spake concerning the House of Abab: for the Lord hath done that which he spake by his servant Elijah, 2 Kings 10. 10.* When Prophane Men endeavour to withstand and oppose the Divine Purposes, they do but kick against the Pricks, they make Resistance in vain; for

for God's Good Pleasure shall Triumph over all the sinful Contrivances of Men.

That is a strange Passage of *Jonah*, I fled, saith he, before unto *Tarshish*, or rather according to the Hebrew, *I prevented by flying to Tarshish*, Jon. 4. 2. As if the angry and stubborn Prophet had said, God commanded me to hasten to *Nineveh*; but I had a Mind to go another way, I thought thereby to hinder and prevent God's Decree, I resolved to frustrate his Will. This was unbecoming a Prophet's Mouth, yea it was a very Gross Miscarriage, and altogether unaccountable and absurd, because it is impossible to disappoint what God hath designed to accomplish. See this in the Event here: This Perverse Man who had laid aside the Thoughts of a Journey to *Nineveh*; and instead of going thither, took Shipping for *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, was in that Voyage swallowed by a Whale, and (as the Learned Jew * *Josephus* reports) was carried Two hundred and fifty Miles on the Sea, and at last was thrown upon the Shore of the *Euxine* Sea. From thence he went above Three hundred Miles, through all *Asia* the Less, to that which is called the Greater, where *Nineveh* was. This City was distant from *Jerusalem* about One hundred and seventy Miles; but this Disobedient Prophet was now forced to take a Journey almost as far again, his own Folly occasioning that Trouble. And when he was come to *Nineveh*, he had here a considerable Track of Ground to measure with his wearied Feet: This Great City, which was in Compass three Days Journey, was to be Travelled round by him. Thus it is very Dangerous to attempt to frustrate the Will and Design of Heaven, besides that it is impossible (as was said before) to effect it. God's Will is uncontrollable, let Men do and dare what they list. All Devices and Projects shall be quashed, to give Place to this. So true is that of the *Psalmist*, *Whatsoever the Lord pleaseth, that doth he in Heaven and in Earth, and in the Seas and all deep Places*, *Psal.* 135. 6. *My Workmanship shall stand, saith the Lord, and I will do all my Pleasure*, *Isai.* 46. 10. And nothing is more frequently inculcated in the Scriptures of the Old Testament than this, that in all the Occurrences of the World, God brings to pass whatever seems good to his All-seeing Wisdom and Providence.

Which was the Acknowledgment of the *Wise* Men among the *Heathens*: For as to some of them, it was but a Compliment which they put upon their *Jupiter*, that it was below him to take Cognizance of the mean Affairs of Mortals: He was taken up with higher Things. Those that were more serious, freely owned that God had the Universal Sway and Command of the World. Yea, the very Fancy of the *Poets*, that all Things here below are fastned by an indissoluble Chain to *Jupiter's Chair* above, had this solid Truth at the Bottom, that every Thing depends upon the Divine Providence, and that all Conditions, States and Affairs of Men are managed and ordered by the Will of Heaven.

* Ἐστὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων ἐξουσία, ἢ λόγος καὶ ὁ κόσμος διεξάγειται. Laert. in Zenone.

† Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς νῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τέχνης ἐυστοχώ-
της. Max. Tyr. Diff. 25.

|| In *Epictet.* 1. 3. c. 23.

* Permittes ipsis expendere Numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis, rebúsque sit utile nostris:
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæq; dabunt Di:
Charior est illis homo quàm sibi. — *Juvenal.*

† *Epist.* 74.

For herein He shews that we are dearer to him than we are to our selves. That of *Seneca* is very fair, one would think, † *Placeat homini quicquid Deo placuit*: It

I doubt not that when the *Stoics* defined * *Fate* to be the connexed Causality of Things, or the Reason by which the World and its Concerns are administered, they meant it of the *Divine Decree* or *Will*, and the Disposal of all things that depend on it: *Fate* was but another Word for *Providence*. And those that were Intelligent refused not to confess that This is always an Universal and Infallible Cause, and † reaches its Mark and Aim much more certainly than all Humane Art and Skill. On which account they thought it rational to submit entirely to the Will of God. How brave a thing is it, saith || *Arrianus*, that a Man can say in any particular State that he is placed in, as suppose in Want and Poverty, that now he knows he obeys God, and resigns himself to his Will? How just and equitable is it that * we should leave it to the Supreme Being to judge what is most Convenient and Profitable for us, that we should permit him to give us those things that are most Fit for us, instead of those that seem to be most Pleasant?

is fitting that Man should be pleased with that which pleases God. That excellent Moralist, whom I mentioned before makes it to be the Language of a Wise and Vertuous Man, * *I reckon that better which God wills than I my self.* It is an admirable Rule in Epictetus, † *We ought to will that Things may be as they are, and not to be as they are not.* This acquiescing in God's Will is called by the Great Royal Philosopher: *Living with God*, giving up the Conduct of our Lives to him, and being perfectly satisfied with it. I mention all this to let you see how reasonable a Duty this is; for the Pagans by the Light of Nature and Common Reason speak in praise of it, and commend it to our Practice. They teach us this excellent Lesson, that it is best that Things should be as we find they are, and that we should be willing they should be so. For it is fit God's Will should be the measure of ours, by whose Will it is that Things are or are not thus and thus. Wherefore, let us entertain all the Occurrences of Providence with Patience and Contentment.

And the same Argument for the exerting of these Graces is suggested, (and more powerfully) by the Writings of the *New Testament*; wherein we are assured that all Persons, Things, Actions, and their Circumstances, are appointed and ordered by God; that not one Sparrow falls to the Ground, nor one Hair from our Heads without the disposal of our Heavenly Father, Mat. 10. 29, 30. that the Providence of God is actually concerned in all the Allotments of this Life, that he vouchsafes to mind the Things that are done on Earth, and to take an Account of all Things here below, and to over-rule every Thing with unspeakable Wisdom. And we find that this is made use of by the Servants of God as a prevalent Argument and Motive to an entire Submission to his Will. An eminent Example of this we meet in Acts 21. where we are told that St. Paul's Auditors and Friends, had been very importunate with him that he would not go up to Jerusalem, because it was foretold by Agabus that the Apostle should be bound, and delivered into the Hands of the Gentiles: But he professing to his Christian Brethren that he was ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the Name of the Lord Jesus, this Courage of the Apostle so wrought upon them that they ceased their Importunity, and betook themselves to the Consideration of the Divine Will and Pleasure, by which all Events are determined, and they cried out, *The Will of the Lord be done.* Let the Divine Purpose in this Matter be accomplished, and let us give way to it, and be contented with it. Hence we are taught by St. James to say, *If the Lord will, we shall do this, or that,* Jam. 4. 15. And St. Paul's frequent Language is, *If God will,* Acts 18. 21. 1 Cor. 4. 19. *By the Will of God,* Rom. 1. 10. *If the Lord permit,* 1 Cor. 16. 7. Heb. 6. 3. Which were also Religious and Modest Forms among the * Gentiles. Not that it is necessary on every particular Occasion to mention this expressly, for the Apostle saith, *Whensoever I take my Journey into Spain, I will come and see you,* Rom. 15. 24. And, *I will come by you into Spain,* ver. 28. making no particular mention of God's Will: But it is necessary to supply it always in our Thoughts, and to design and undertake nothing without referring our selves to God's Will and Pleasure. And in all our Sufferings and Streights we ought humbly to resign our selves to it, and with silence to undergo whatever the Supreme Dispenser of all Things shall lay out for our Portion. Thus, though God's disposing Will is to be done upon us, yet in some Sense it may be done by us. We may be truly said to do, as well as suffer this Will, because with willing, patient, and contented Minds, we submit to it.

But 2dly, God's Preceptive Will is that which is most properly to be done by us. Whatever it is that he hath declared to be not only his Pleasure, but our Duty, we must think our selves obliged to perform. And here we need not study to inform our selves, that the obeying of God's Commandments, and being Religious and Holy are according to the Divine Will. This is the Will of God, even your Sanctification, 1 Thess. 4. 3. To live Righteously, Godlily, and Soberly, is the best doing of God's Will. *The Will of God is the Salvation of Men,* saith Gregory

* Κρεῖττον ἢ γέμει δὲ ὁ θεὸς θέλει ἢ ἄνθρωπος. Arrian. lib. 4. cap. 7.

† Θέλει μὴ εἶναι ἄλλω τὰ γινόμενα.

Συζῆν θεοῖς. Antonin. l. 5.

* Si Dii volunt, si diis placet, si Dii adjuvant, Diis bene juvantibus. And among the Greeks, ἢν θεὸς θέλη, σὺν θεῷ, σὺν θεοῖς, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, εἰ ταύτη τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτη ἔσω. Plat. in Critone.

gory Nazianzen on this Part of the Lord's Prayer. So that when we do those Things which God hath commanded us in order to our Eternal Salvation, we are truly said to *do the Will* of our Heavenly Father. *Thy Will be done* is as much as to say, Thy Holy Laws and Precepts be observed: Whatever thou enjoinest in thy Word, be it duly regarded and practised. Accordingly in the Style of the Holy Scriptures to *do God's Will* is to serve him, to obey him, to walk in his Ways.

I know that some Expositors think, that this Petition is meant only of doing God's Commandments, and not of suffering God's Will, as is plain, say they, from what follows [*on Earth as it is in Heaven*]: which is meant not of Submission and Resignation, but of Obedience. And this seems to be the

† Dicimus, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo & in terra, non ut Deus faciat quod vult, sed ut nos facere possimus quod Deus vult. Sense of St. Cyprian, † *We do not pray here (saith he) that God may do what he will do, but that we may do what God would have us do.* And they add further, that it is probable that the other Will (*viz.* God's Decree or Disposing Will) was understood in the Petition before this, *Thy Kingdom come*, there-

fore we cannot expect it should be repeated. But the Answer to all this is easy, and will be satisfactory to any considerate Man, namely, that from what hath been said before, when I shewed how the *Purposing* or *Disposing Will* of God may be *done* by us, it is evident, that *Angels* and *Departed Saints*, who are now in Heaven, and are here propounded for our Example, are capable of *doing it*, that is, they may and ought to acquiesce in that State which God hath appointed them: The acting contrary to which was the Cause of the downfall of the Apostate Angels. And likewise, from that Account which I have given of the foregoing Petition it appears, that that is *distinct* from this, and that the *Providence* of God, not his *Decree* or *Will*, is chiefly intended there. Wherefore I may on good Grounds assert that this latter is not excluded here, nor indeed is it by that fore-named Father. Nevertheless I grant, that the other kind of Will, the *Preceptive* one, or that which discovers to us our Duty, is *principally* here meant. Of that therefore I will now speak under this Proposition, that when God hath made known his Will to us by his Word, we are to *do it*, we are to obey it, we are to give up our selves wholly to it. Where it might be noted that there is included this *Negative*, that our *own Will* is *not to be done*, I mean our own corrupt and depraved Will, the Lusts and Desires of the Flesh, the Propensions of the Inferior and Baser Part, so far as they contradict the Nobler Suggestions of our Minds. This renouncing of a Man's own Will may be referred to *Self-Denial*, and is one considerable Part of it, as I shall shew on that Subject: Where I shall make it appear, that it is the great Task of our Religion. It might be added here, that it is implied, that *Satan's Will* is not to be done; but our own Will, so far as it is corrupt, includes that, and therefore I need not distinctly speak of it. So likewise, the Will of the *World*, and all the undue Suggestions from Worldly Objects may be reduced to the *Fleshly Will*: And the Summ of all is, that we must not prefer the vile Inclinations of any of these before the express Command of Heaven. But more *positively*, *God's Will* is to be done. Our Business is to enquire what God requires of us, and then it is our indispensable Duty to set about the performance of it. We must not dare to dispute God's Will, but readily submit to it in all Things. This we must look upon as the only Standard of our Actions, and whatever we suffer, we must resolve to direct and govern our selves by this.

Here I will insist on these Three Heads: 1st. That the *Doing of God's Will* is required of us. 2dly. What *Reasons* and *Arguments* there are to enforce this. 3dly. In what *particular manner* God's Will is to be done by us.

1st, We are to observe and consider, that it is absolutely requisite that we *do God's Will*. True Religion and Piety are not placed in Men's Words, or Ceremonies, or small Pretences, but in Deeds and Actions. The excellent *Arrianus* reproves them that take upon them to be Philosophers by their *Habit*, as * to have a Cloak and a Band, as if these would suffice. What other Art, saith he, what Profession is judged from its *Garb* or *Habit*? A good Smith is he that works at that Trade well. And a good Musician is he that plays well on an Instru-

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ment, not the Man that hath got a Harp or a Lute into his Custody. But † the *Habit must be accommodated to the Art*: And from the Art, not the outward Habit do these Persons take their Names. And *Plutarch* speaks bravely to this Purpose, || *The Life of a Philosopher must agree with his Doctrine*, saith he. And another most admirably: * *Philosophy, saith he, is no Popular Artifice, or Cheat to delude the People: It is not made for Ostentation and Shew; it is not placed in Words but in Deeds*. And again very excellently, † *Philosophy teaches Men to do, not to speak only: And it requires this of all Persons, that they live according to its Laws and Rules, and that their Actions disagree not with their Words*. Apply this to Christianity, which is the best Philosophy, and then it is most certainly True. Christianity is neither Notional nor Verbal: It is neither Opiniative nor Talkative. It is neither the mere Work of the Brain, nor of the Tongue. We see the *Alchymist* hath rare Notions of Gold, but is poor in the mean time: whereas the *Merchant*, who works not at the Furnaces, nor understands the others Notions and Pretences concerning that Metal, is Rich and Wealthy. This is the Difference between Talking or Imagining concerning Things, and the Possessing of them. So it is in Christianity; the bare Speculation or discoursing of it is mean and sorry, but it is the Practice of it that enriches a Man, and gives him the real Possession of that which others only have the Notion of. Christianity doth not consist in a quick Brain, a subtle Head, a nimble Wit: It is not a Thing for the Fancy to sport with, or the Tongue to tattle of: It is not made up of demure Looks, fair Shews, specious Pretences, or any Thing short of the Holy Life.

Sad therefore it is to recount, that we have every Thing of Religion but *Action*; the Schools dispute it, the Pulpits preach it, the Professors talk of it, the publick Assemblies and solemn Exercises of Devotion present us with some Gestures and Postures relating to it: But where do we see People *Living* according to its sacred Rules? Where do we find real Christianity visible and apparent in the *Manners of Men*? O let us think of this in good Earnest, and be concerned to bring Religion into open View, that our Lives may be the best Argument to prove us to be *Christians*. Let us remember that this *Name* will avail us nothing, unless our Conversation be suitable to it, unless we adorn our Profession by an exemplary Walking. This then should be the great Aim of all those who desire to approve themselves worthy of so honourable a Title.

Secondly, the *Reasons and Arguments* which should induce us to do *God's Will* are such as these;

1. The Consideration of the *Nature of God* and of *our selves*; for I will joyn both these together, and you will see a plain Reason for it. God being essentially good and righteous, yea being Holiness and Purity it self, it must needs be that he requires Holiness and Purity in his Creatures whom he hath made capable of those excellent Qualities. He cannot but prescribe them Laws of Righteousness and Holiness: Yea, he cannot dispense with his Creatures as to the Observation of them, because they are Eternal Rules of Righteousness. But all Sin and Unrighteousness bid defiance to God's very Nature; and therefore it is reasonable to think and believe that he hates and abhors them, and that he will not allow of them in those whom he hath created. And our Obedience flows not only from the Nature of God, but from our own. Our doing his Will is a natural Consequence of our Relation to him as Creatures. Our very Being and Make require this, for it is the Notion of a Creature to be at the disposal of his Maker: And 'tis the true Notion of a Rational Creature to be willing to be so. Our Reasonable Nature dictates to us, that it is just and fitting that we should always be at the Command of him from whom we received our Being. Besides, the All-wise Creator hath so framed our Souls, and all the Powers and Faculties of them, that they are exactly fitted for this great End, namely, the serving and obeying of Him. Our Understandings, our Wills, our Memories, our Affections, with all their Operations, are calculated for this. And moreover, the doing what is Holy, Just, and Good, which is the same with *doing God's Will*, is agreeable to our rectified Nature, and the very Goodness and

† Ἀρμόζεται τὸ ἥμα πρὸς τὴν τέχνην.

|| Δεῖ τὸ βίον τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῷ λόγῳ συμφωνοῦν εἶναι.

* Philosophia non est popolare artificium, nec ostentationi paratum: non in verbis, sed in rebus est. Sen. Epist. 16.

† Facere docet philosophia, non dicere, & hæc exigit ut ad legem suam quisque vivat, nec orationi vita dissentiat. Epist. 40.

Equity of the Things commanded are a powerful Incentive to Obedience, because there is that within us, as we are Men, which prompts us to this, and assures us that it is laudable and becoming. All good and vertuous Actions are the proper and genuine Result of right Reason. But all Sin is against our Rational Nature: When we transgress God's Laws we act against the Laws of Reason. I need say no more to prove what I asserted, that our Obedience is founded on the Nature of God and our selves.

* Τὸ αὐτὸ
ἐν ταῖς μὲν
νόμοις ἡ ἐξουσία
ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἐν ταῖς δὲ
ἐντολαῖς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ.
Philo de
Decalogo.

2. We cannot but be convinced that the *doing God's Will* is the appointed way to *Happiness*, and there is no Possibility of arriving to it without this. This must needs be so, because to do God's Will is to have the same Will with him, and consequently to be like him, and therefore to be happy. For * our resembling of God, and being transformed into his Likeness, is our chiefest End and Happiness. And this is the Happiness of godly Men by their being Pure and Holy, for thereby they have the same Will and Affections, the same Mind and Spirit with God, and they live the same Life, and accordingly enjoy the same Blessedness, the same as to Kind, tho' not as to Degrees and Height of Excellency. Wherefore if Happiness be our Concern, then we must infer that Holiness, which is a Conformity to God's Nature and Will, is indispensably Necessary. If it be said that *Do this, and live*, are the Words and Terms of the Law, and of the Covenant of Works; the Answer is, that they are no less of the Gospel, and of the Covenant of Grace. But here is the Distinction, the first is meant of doing all and every Part of our Duty, and doing it without any Default, and without any extraordinary Assistance: But the latter is meant of doing what we do, with Sincerity, though with Imperfection, and of doing by the Spirit, and through Christ's Merits. The Apostle tells those he writes to, that *if they live after the Flesh, they shall die, but if through the Spirit they mortify the Deeds of the Body, they shall live*, Rom. 8. 13. Which plainly shews that *Doing* is required on our Part in order to *Life and Happiness*. Our Salvation depends upon something to be done by us, namely, Faith, and Repentance, and a Holy Life. These cannot be done by God as they are personal Acts; and therefore *we* must do them, or else we shall never see the Face of God in Glory. Wherefore that any Preachers should exclaim against *Doing*, and be afraid so much as to mention it to their Congregation, is a most astonishing thing.

Under this Head I may add, that as our *Happiness* depends on our *doing God's Will*, so our *Misery* flows from the contrary, that is, from our adhering to our own depraved Wills and Appetites. Our first Parents made ill Use of the Liberty of their Wills, by listening to the Dictates of Satan, and wilfully complying with them, and thereby they made themselves liable to the Divine Vengeance: and ever since, this hath been the Source and Fountain of all the Miscarriages in Men's Lives, that their Wills and the Pleasure of Heaven are repugnant. That, and that only which makes and continues the Quarrel between God and Man, is, that this latter will do as he listeth, he will have his own Will to be the Rule of what he doth. But on the contrary, all would be well, there would be a perfect Harmony between the Divine and Humane Nature, if Men would abandon their perverse Wills, and cleave wholly to God's. Then there would be no Disturbance, no Disorder, then we should have what we would, and we should prosper in what we have; According to that Saying of Rabbi Gamaliel, * Do God's Will as thy own Will, that he may do thy Will as his. And as we shall be successful and prosperous in this World, so we shall be happy in the other: For as a pious Man saith well, † There would be no Hell, if there were no corrupt Will of our own. It is certain that Man is

* Pir. Avoth. cap. 2.

† Cesset propria voluntas, & Infernus non erit. Bernard. Serm. 3. de Resurrect.

damned for *this*, and *this only*, that he wills and acts contrary to God's Will. God hates nothing but this, and punishes no Man for any thing else. The only way therefore whereby Man can be like unto God, and be every ways happy, is to do his Will.

3. Nothing conduces more to the *advancing God's Glory* in the World. To which Purpose it hath been already observed, that this Petition depends upon the First, as it contains the Means tending to the End there specified. The *doing of God's Will* is the way to *hallow his Name*; to bring Honour and Glory to him, and to exalt his Praise among Men. For hereby their Minds are elevated towards

towards the Great Lord of Heaven and Earth, to whom all our Religious Services are paid, and they are brought to esteem and value those Graces and Excellencies which shine so bright in the Lives of Holy Men. Religion and Vertue are attractive in their own Nature, they conciliate Reverence and Respect, and thereupon even Bad Men are invited to imitate the Manners of those which are so lovely and valuable. Thus God's Name is magnified and exalted by a Holy Life.

These Arguments and Motives cannot but be very operative upon us as we are Men and Rational Creatures. I will add several others that will affect us more nearly, as we are Christians.

Atbly then, If we faithfully discharge this General Duty, namely, *doing the Will of God*, we are sure of his Acceptance and Favour through the Meritorious Undertakings of his Son Christ Jesus. Our best Doings are blended with Sin, and blemished with Imperfections; so that these *Spiritual Sacrifices* (as the Apostle calls them) stand in need of another, and that is, that one Propitiatory Sacrifice which the same Apostle speaks of, *Eph. 5. 2. He hath given himself for us an Offering and Sacrifice to God for a Sweet-smelling Savour*. Where these Two Things are expressed, That Christ is a *Sacrifice* to God for us, and that he is for a *Sweet-smelling Savour*; that is, God is pleased and delighted with this Sacrifice, and consequently for its sake is pleased with us. All the Sacrifices under the Law were Types of this Great Sacrifice of our Saviour on the Cross: And 'tis certain that they received all their Vertue and Efficacy from their Relation to this Meritorious Oblation. This gave a Perfume to all their Incense. They are truly said to be *Federal Actions* and Rites, whereby was expressed and declared a League between God and Man: But this League or Covenant was made through Christ, * *the Angel or Messenger* * Mal. of the Covenant, viz. that of Grace and Favour. So the Sacrifices were *Festivals*, 3. 1. and those that came on that Account were God's *Guests*, they came to be entertained by him: But it was through Christ alone (who was the Mediator and Reconciler) that there was this intimate Converse and Friendship with him. Much more now then under the Gospel, since he hath actually manifested himself and his Gracious Designs towards Mankind, the Sacrifices of the Faithful are *Covenants* and *Festivals* of Grace and Good-Will: But they become so by the alone Bounty and Favour of God to us in Christ Jesus. *He hath made us accepted in the Beloved*, *Eph. 1. 6. even the Beloved Son of God, in whom he is well pleased*. It is he that hath appeased God the Father, stopt the Torrent of his Wrath, obviated his revenging Arm, and now the greatest Offenders are looked upon with an Eye of Favour.

This, by the way, confutes the Blasphemous Error of the Church of Rome, That our Works merit the Favour of God, and that thereby we make Satisfaction for our Sins. This indeed is of *Pagan* Original, it was verily believed by the *Gentile* World that Sacrifices of themselves appeased the Gods. But that *Christians* should have the like Apprehension concerning their Sacrifices is very strange, if we consider what hath been said before. If this Notion be entertained, it will marr all our Religious Performances, and render them odious in the Sight of God. Wherefore let us rectify our Thoughts and Conceptions concerning this Matter, let us not fondly imagine that any thing we can do hath Vertue and Efficacy *in it self* to divert the Wrath and Displeasure of the Almighty, and that the *Worthiness* of it procures the Divine Favour and Acceptance. But on the contrary, let us be thoroughly persuaded of and confirmed in this Truth, that it is by reason of the Meritorious Satisfaction of the Holy and Ever-blessed Jesus, that our Persons are accepted, and that our Services are regarded. This is that *Lamb of God that takes away the Sins of the World*: He is Spotless and Sinless, and therefore fit to take away Sin: For which Reason he is called a *Lamb*, which is an innocent and pure Creature (whence perhaps the Latin *Agnus* is from *agnos*, pure, chaste.) All our Services, all our Sacrifices are mixt with Impurity and Sin; but this *Lamb of God*, who was slain from the Beginning of the World as to the Divine Appointment and Decree, and afterwards in the Fulness of Time was actually slain and offered on the Cross, takes away the Sinfulness both of our Persons and of our Performances; and this is it that makes us and all our Sacrifices acceptable.

5. Another Reason and Motive to induce us to obey the Holy Will and Law of God, is the Consideration of that Exact Pattern which is set before us, namely, Christ Jesus, *the Lord our Righteousness*, Jer. 23. 6. Who is styled so not only because his Righteousness is transferred and imputed to us, but because we are to make it our own by Imitation: We must be holy, as he is holy. This is the Meaning of those Words in 1 John 2. 6. *He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk even as he walked.* He that professes he abides in Christ, that is, he that owns him to be our Saviour and Redeemer, and rests on him for Salvation, must take care to live as he did, that is, to live a Holy and Godly Life. To the same purpose this Inspired Author thus speaks again, Epist. 1. Chap. 3. ver. 5. &c. *You know that he was manifested to take away our Sins, and in him is no Sin. Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not: Whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him;* (as if he had said, an unholy and wicked Christian lives and acts as if he had never heard of a Saviour, as if he had not known any such Person, as if he were ignorant what a Pure and Holy Life he led. Therefore) *Little Children, let no Man deceive you, be not imposed upon in so clear a Matter as this, he that doth Righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous;* that is, you must shew your selves to be truly Holy and Righteous Men by doing that which is Holy and Righteous, and to that End you must set Christ before you as an Example. Which is pressed upon us by St. Peter, Epist. 1. Chap. 2. ver. 21, 22. where he tells us, *that Christ left us an Example, that we should follow his Steps, who did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Mouth.* He being so exact in his Life, doth effectually commend Holiness to us by his Practice. He that taught his Disciples to pray, *Thy Will be done*, exemplified it in himself, *I delight to do thy Will*, Psal. 40. 8. Heb. 10. 7. *My Meat is to do the Will of him that sent me*, John 4. 34. *Not my Will, but thy Will be done*, Luke 22. 42. We cannot have a greater and more encouraging Motive to Obedience than this.

6. I will mention next the *Doctrines, Precepts and Commands* of Christ, which were purposely designed to promote our *doing the Will of God*. There are no where to be found such strict Rules of Holiness as in the Gospel. The most improved Moralists are infinitely short of Christ and his Apostles. Christianity prescribes the most accurate Way of serving and worshipping God, and ordering our Conversations aright. Whatever is serviceable for the making of Mens Lives better, for extirpating Sin and Vice, for mending the Manners of the World, is dictated to us in the Evangelical Writings. *Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good Report; if there be any Virtue, and if there be any Praise, these are the things,* the Apostle saith, *which they have learnt and received, and heard and seen in him,* that is, he as a Minister of the Gospel hath taught them these things, and practised them himself, Phil. 4. 8. The Doctrine and Rules which the Gospel furnishes us with, comprehend in them all sorts of Duties, and enjoyn all kind of Goodness and Holiness. Let us seriously consider of this, that Personal and Actual Holiness is designed to be promoted by all the Laws and Commands of Christ. All the Articles of our Religion and all the Rules of it are for the Advancement of Sanctity and Purity of Life.

7. So are all the *Promises* of the Gospel. That of Christ's coming is backed with the Assurance of implanting Grace in Mens Hearts, and giving them a New Nature. Jer. 31. 31. *Behold, the Days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new Covenant, and this is the Covenant which I will make, I will put my Law in their inward Parts; and write it in their Heart.* So again, in Ezek. 36. 25, 26. *I will sprinkle clean Water upon you, and you shall be clean: From all your Filthiness will I cleanse you. A new Heart also will I give you, and a new Spirit will I put within you, and cause you to walk in my Statutes, and ye shall keep my Judgments and do them.* Thus the Evangelical Promises must needs promote Holiness, when Holiness itself is the Matter of them, and we are assured of a New Principle whereby we shall be enabled to live Holy and Godly Lives, and are ascertained that God will be our God, and we shall be his People, that he will be a Father unto us, and we shall be his Sons and Daughters, which the Apostle particularly mentions out of the Old Testament in 2 Cor. 6. 16, 18. and thence immediately adds, *Having therefore these Promises, let us cleanse our selves from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit, perfecting* Holiness.

Holiness in the Fear of God, Chap. 7. ver. 1. And so as to the other Promises, namely, of Eternal Life and Happiness, they are naturally subservient to Holiness, and powerfully excite us to attain to the greatest Measures of Purity that this Life is capable of.

8. The End of the Threatnings, (as well as the Promises of the Gospel) is, to bring us to a State of Holiness. *Without this no Man shall see the Lord*, Heb. 12. 14. but shall for ever be deprived of that Beatific Sight, and be eternally shut out from Glory and Happiness: And this very Threatning promotes that Holiness which the Apostle in this Place exhorts Men to follow. After the Apostle had reminded the Thessalonians, Epist. 2. Chap. 1. ver. 8. &c. That the Lord Jesus should be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power; he in the Close of that Chapter, and in the Beginning of the next, prays for their successful Progress in their Spiritual Calling, and in the Work of Faith, and exhorts them to Steadfastness in Christianity: Thereby teaching us that the Menaces of the Gospel are designed for the producing of Holiness. The serious Comminations there denounced are serviceable to beget Obedience in the Lives of Men.

9. It is highly reasonable that we should do God's Will, obey his Laws, and conform our Lives to those Holy Rules, because this very thing was the End and Design of all our Saviour's Undertakings. The Birth of Christ and the particular Manner of it teach us this. He chose to be born of a Spotless Virgin, to instruct thereby the World in Chastity and Purity, to commend Holiness to Mankind. Where ever in Scripture the coming of Christ is spoken of, there is also something of Holiness and Righteousness of Life; to let us know that Christ was born, not to give any Indulgence to Sin, but to purge us from it, and to make us a Godly People. This likewise was the End of his Dying for us, and redeeming us by his Blood, that we being delivered out of the Hands of our Enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life, Luke 1. 74, 75. He gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, Gal. 1. 4. that is, from the Sins and Corruptions of this World, and that we might lead holy Lives. Christ gave himself for his Church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of Water, by the Word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish, Eph. 5. 26, 27. And the same Truth we are taught again by the Apostle, in Tit. 2. 14. Our Saviour Jesus Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. I will add only one Text more, 1 Pet. 2. 24. His own self bare our sins in his own Body on the Tree, that we being dead to sin, might live to righteousness. So Christ's Resurrection, his Ascension, his sitting at the right hand of God, and his sending his Spirit, which is a Spirit of Holiness, were for the very same End and Purpose. Which shews how reasonable and congruous it is, that we should not study the gratifying our own Wills, but give up our selves to God, and be wholly at his Command, and be careful above all things to do his Will. Which will further appear to be very requisite,

10thly, On this Consideration, That it is also the End of God's constituting a Church. For what is a Church, but an Assembly of Saints or holy Persons, who agree to worship God, and do his Will? It is called the House of God, 1 Tim. 3. 15. to distinguish it from the Synagogue of Satan, the House of Sin and Wickedness. And in Col. 2. 19. it is stiled the Body of Christ, -----which increaseth with the Increase of God; which excellently sets forth the Godlike Nature of the Church. It is of the very Definition of the Church to be Holy; for this was the Design of bringing Christians into such a Body and Society. And here I might shew that all the Ordinances and Institutions which are in the Church, are for the making those Holy that use them. That Initiating Ordinance of Baptism was introduced by Christ into the Church for that purpose: For the Baptismal Water represents the Cleansing and Purifying of the Soul by the Grace which is exhibited by the Holy Ghost. The other Sacrament was instituted by our Saviour, to put us in mind of his Meritorious Undertakings for us, especially of his bitter Passion and Death; thereby to create in us a Hatred of Sin, which caused Christ's Sufferings,

ferings, and to excite us to Holiness of Life, as a suitable Return of Thankfulness for the Infinite Love of Christ to us. Private and Publick Prayer are in order to our Sanctification; for we converse with God by humble Petition and Thanksgiving, that we may be more fit to do his Will, and that our Lives may be answerable to our Devotions. I need not suggest, that *Preaching* and *Hearing the Word* were appointed for the Converting of Men, and making them holy. And lastly, the *Censures* of the Church were ordained for this very End, that Sin might be disgraced and discountenanced, and that Holiness and a blameless Conversation might be promoted and rewarded.

Thus I have propounded those Arguments which are proper to prevail with us to do the *Will of God*. Which way soever we look, we are invited to Holiness. Every thing in Reason tends to this, to make our Lives better. But especially the Gospel is fraught with all kinds of Motives to Righteousness and Obedience. This sets before us all the Arguments which may induce us to live holy and godly Lives, and to purify our Souls from all Defilements. Now then let us be persuaded hence not to stand so peremptorily (as we are wont) for the gratifying our own Wills, in Opposition to the Will and Pleasure of God. Let us root up this stubborn and contradicting Spirit, which speaks such Enmity to God: Let us effectually deny the sinful Cravings of our depraved Minds. And let us faithfully perform God's Will, whether it be made known to us by the Light of Nature and Reason, by the Dictates of our own Consciences, or whether it be impressed upon us by the Laws and Injunctions of our Superiors, or by the Events and Occurrences of God's Providence in the World, or by the Holy Scriptures, which give us the best and fullest Discovery of the Divine Will. Or by whatever other way we arrive to the Knowledge of it, let us be careful to regulate our Lives by it; let us betake our selves to a steady Obedience, and even whilst we are here on Earth strive to live as if we were in Heaven. Which brings me to the next Observable in this Petition, *viz.*

Thirdly, The *Manner* how God's Will is to be done, namely, *on Earth as it is in Heaven*; that is, as the Saints and Angels do it. Therefore we may observe, that the *Psalmist* speaking of these latter, describes them thus, *Psal. 103. 20. Who do his Commandments, hearkening unto the Voice of his Word.* This then we gather from the latter Clause of this Petition, That we ought to imitate the Blessed Spirits in Heaven, in doing God's Will. That is,

1. We are obliged to do it *Freely and Willingly*. Our Saviour saith, *The Angels do always behold the Face of his Father which is in Heaven, Matth. 18. 10.* By which beholding the Face of God always, is denoted to us their Officious Readiness, their Free and Cheerful Compliance with his Will. The like should be in Us: All the Actions which we exert in the Discharge of our Duty should be Free and Voluntary, proceeding from a full Assent of Mind, and being the Result of an Innate Propension to Goodness. * *Josephus* the Jew gives this Account why *Cain's* offering the Fruits of the Ground was rejected by God, but *Abel's* Oblation of the Fruits of his Flock was accepted; Because, saith he, this latter consisted of what Nature spontaneously yielded, whereas the former was of such Things as were extorted by Force and Violence. Which though it be but a Conceit of that Writer, and seems to proceed from his Ignorance of the First State of the World, yet it may truly be applied to the Spiritual Sacrifices: They must be Free and Voluntary, there must be no Force and Compulsion in them; for God hath Respect only to the Offerings of a Willing Giver. When the People of *Israel* were to offer towards the Erecting of the Tabernacle, God required an Oblation of every one that would give *willingly with his Heart*, *Exod. 25. 2.* And it was performed accordingly, and is so taken Notice of in *Exod. 35. 21. They came, every one whose Heart stirred him up, and every one whose Spirit made him willing, and brought the Lord's Offering.* The mentioning of it twice, shews that God was well pleased with it. And the like may be observed in the Offering made in *David's* Time towards the Building of the Temple: It is Three or Four Times mentioned, that it was done *willingly*, *1 Chron. 29. 9, 14, 17.* This is the Life and Soul of all our Performances, and this renders them acceptable to God. For as he loves a cheerful Giver, so he approves of this excellent Qualification in all other Duties, as well as that of Charity. We must bring our Hearts with

* Antiq.
Jud. 1. 1.
c. 3.

with us, and offer these to God ; otherwise we cannot on any good Ground think that we or our Sacrifices shall be accepted.

The *Jews* persuaded themselves that all was well, if they performed the outward Rites and Solemnities of Religion, though in the mean time the Frame of their Minds was wrong. But the * Prophet corrects this Mistake of theirs, *Isa. 66. 3.* and tells them plainly, that *he that killeth an Ox, is as if he slew a Man ; i. e. he that barely offereth Sacrifice, but with an evil and impure Heart, is no more accepted than a Murderer ; and he that sacrificeth a Lamb, is as if he cut off a Dog's Neck ; i. e. he doth a very abominable Act ; for to offer a Dog, an unclean Creature, was such in the Interpretation of the Law.* God respects not the bare outward Performance of any Religious Duty whatsoever : There must be the true and right Disposition of the Inward Man to render it acceptable. For the sake of this, the External Service is regarded ; as we may gather from *Psal. 51. 19. Then shalt thou be pleased with the Sacrifices of Righteousness : Then,* after he had mentioned a *broken Spirit*, and a *contrite Heart*, and told us that this is an acceptable Sacrifice ; *Then, saith he, God will accept of Other Sacrifices, those which the Law requires (as the next Words shew) Burnt-Offerings and Whole Burnt-Offerings, which are called Sacrifices of Righteousness, because they were according to the righteous Law of God, and because they were Acts and Exercises of Outward Righteousness.* These, if they be attended with Inward and Mental Righteousness, shall be favourably received : But if they be void of this, they are of no esteem with God. We learn from our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, that the *Jews* in his time had false Notions concerning this Matter, and thought they were not guilty of the Breach of the Sixth Commandment, unless they actually murdered a Man and bereaved him of his Life. They imagined they were not obnoxious to the Seventh Commandment unless they committed the very outward Act of Adultery. But our Lord acquaints them that they were hugely mistaken, for there is the Murder of the Heart, and the Adultery of the Heart. [*I say unto you, saith he, (whatever your Blind and Erroneous Teachers tell you) that whosoever is angry with his Brother without a Cause, shall be in danger of the Judgment.*] *Mat. 5. 22.* [*I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery already with her in his Heart*] *ver. 28.* Our Saviour lets them know that they are obliged to check the inordinate Motions of their Minds and Thoughts, as well as to correct the outward Prevarications of their Lives. For True Religion is in the Heart, and Frames and Models that anew, that having command over all the external Actions. This Spring must be set right, its Motion being a Law to all the rest.

Those of the Church of *Rome* symbolize in this (as well as in several other Things) with the *Jews* ; they hold that Prayer and other Religious Offices prevail merely as they are such External Actions, or, according to their way of speaking, as they are a *Work done*. It is not essential to Prayer, they say, to attend to what is spoken, or so much as to know it, and therefore Prayers in an Unknown Tongue are very good and laudable Devotion with them. It is enough to be present with their Bodies at their great Solemnities, though they hear or understand nothing. There are great Numbers of Men who are guilty of this Piece of *Popery*, and yet never observe it : They perform Outward Duties, and never look that their Hearts be concerned in them. The Formal *Protestant*, the empty Professor thinks that all Religion lies in Praying, Hearing, Reading, and performing other outward Services : But though these are enjoined us, and are proper Acts of Devotion and Piety, yet if the Heart be wanting, which is the chief Charge and Care of Religion, these are of no Value.

Here it is proper to observe, that the Laws of the *Magistrate* take in but one Moiety of our Actions : Rulers and Governors have only a Respect to the External Performance, but they mind not the inward Inclinations, they meddle not with the Thoughts. Yea, though Human Laws should oblige the Conscience to secret Acts of Vertue, and forbid the inward Inclinations to Vice, yet they cannot punish a Man for these, unless they are proved by the outward Commission and Act. This is it which makes them punishable, and fall under the Law, for nothing can be animadverted on by the Magistrate but what is open and manifest. † No Man is punished for Thinking, say our *Laws* : For though

† Cogitationis poenam nemo meretur.

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mens sit
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it is true, that it is the *Mind and Intention* (even according to the same *Laws*) that makes the Fault, yet this is that which I say, that *Human Laws* lay no Restraint *properly* on the *Mind, Will, or Thoughts*, for they cannot punish for them singly, and as abstracted from *Outward Actions*. No Law binds any further than the Lawgiver hath Power to take cognizance of the Act; but no Man knows the Heart, and therefore cannot judge or censure it: Whence we may certainly gather, that the *Laws of Men* do not *directly* enjoin or forbid *Internal Acts*. If we do not commit the outward Act of Murder, or Robbery, or discover our Intentions by some Overt-act, we are not obnoxious to Courts of Human Judicature, for these only guess at the Inclination of the Mind by something which betrays it self in a palpable and apparent manner. But though these take notice of nothing till it be made open, yet the *Laws of God* have regard to the most Hidden and Invisible Actions. Especially the *Laws of that more strict Institution* which *Jesus Christ* hath brought into the World, do animadvert upon our Secret Thoughts, and pronounce us guilty if we *Will and Desire* what is sinful, though we never have an Opportunity to manifest it by any *visible Fact*. Here all Vertue and Goodness must be tryed, and receive their Approbation. The Things that are without must be brought to this inward Test, and stand or fall by it.

You would scarcely imagine such Words as these which follow to come from the Pen of a *Pagan*, "Divination (saith he) by Inspection into the Entrails of Beasts is to little purpose. A Vertuous Man stands not in need of this Art. What he looks after and enquires for, no Bowels of Brutes can signify to him. He approacheth to God alone, and silently by himself. The Deity is in his Heart and Bowels; there he seeks for God, and enquires after the Documents of Eternal Life. He is the Familiar and Friend of God, and by searching in to his own Heart knows the Divine Secrets. Thus * *Porphyrus*, whose Words (as I have said) can scarcely be thought to proceed from a Man of *Pagan Principles*, but may rather be believed to come from a Person who had attained to a Greater and Higher Knowledge. And truly this may induce us to credit what *Socrates* the Ecclesiastical Historian saith, that this *Porphyrus*, who at first was a *Pagan*, afterwards embraced *Christianity*, but after that Apostatized from it. There seems to remain a Tincture of that excellent Religion in this Passage which I have quoted. Some other improved Philosophers have come very near this, as *Hierocles*, who, commenting on *Pythagoras* his First Precept in his *Golden Verses*, hath these admirable Words, "He is the best Priest and Sacrificer who offers his Soul, who makes a Tender of his Heart. He that worships God aright, First makes his Soul God's Image, and his Heart a Temple fit for the Reception of God. And in the same Place he gives this Reason of it, "It is the Soul

* De Abstinent.

† In victimis, licet optimæ sint, aurorque præfulgeant, non est decorum honos, sed in piâ ac rectâ voluntate venerantium. De Benef. lib. 1.

that joineth us to God, for like must to like". And that is a noble Thought of *Seneca*, † "The Worship of God consists not, saith he, in the sacrificing of fatted Beasts, be it managed with never so great Pomp and Cost, but in the Willingness, Uprightness and Piety of the Worshipers". So he. This, this then is not only the Ground-

work, but the main Concern of Religion, to take care of the *Mind and Spirit*, which will rectify all our External Actions. Thus we shall do the Will of God as it is done in Heaven by the Blessed Angels and Saints there, who act out of Freedom and Choice, and without any Reluctancy and Unwillingness.

2dly, The Glorified Spirits above do God's Will *speedily*, and herein we ought to imitate them. The *Cherubims* are pourtrayed with *Wings stretched forth on high*, *Exod. 25. 20.* concerning which *Maimonides* acquaints us that those Winged Images were set up in the Holy of Holies, as Representations of the *Angels*, who execute God's Commands with *Expedition*. And the Angels themselves are described with Wings in other Places of Scripture, because of their swift Motion and speedy executing of God's Will. Herein we are to imitate these glorious Creatures: we must not dispute our Duty, or dally with the absolute Command of Heaven. I made haste and delayed not to keep thy Commandments, saith the *Psalmist*, *Psal. 119. 60.* And he resolves to run the Ways of God's Commandments, 32 v. It is particularly recorded of *Zaccheus*, that he made haste, and came down as soon as he heard Christ call to him, *Luke 19. 5.* St. Paul conferred not with Flesh and Blood, *Gal. 1. 16.* but

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but quickly and speedily complied with the Divine Will. And this indeed naturally follows upon what was said before: *Willingness creates Speed*, and is the Mother of Dispatch and Expedition. It is required of us that we engage in a Holy Life in the First Place, that the Concerns of Eternity and the Employment of Piety have the Pre-eminence in our Thoughts and in all the Actions of our Lives; and that according to our Saviour's Advice, we seek first the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, that we break off all Demurs and Delays, and prosecute the Business of our Salvation with our most Early Diligence.

That we may do so, and that we may go on with Speed and Celerity, we must take care to remove *Impediments* out of the way. And here I might be very large in shewing what are these several *Remora's* and *Hindrances* which retard us in our Motion towards Heaven. In general, whatever is Vicious and Sinful is a Stop to our Progress in a Holy Life. Particularly, Bad Principles, such as these, That Religion is a harsh and sour Thing, that it is heavy and melancholy, much more that it is insuperable: On the other side (for Sinners miscarry on both hands) that Grace is an easy Purchase, and that we may Repent when we will. These and many more that I might name, are most Destructive Propositions, and do shamefully hinder Men from a Speedy Care about their Salvation. And then, there are Evil Affections and Practices as well as Principles that throw Blocks in our ways: Covetousness and Worldly-Mindedness fasten us to the Enjoyments here below, insomuch that we cannot mount Upwards; we are so pinnioned and confined to this Earth that we cannot soar aloft, and all our Motion towards Heaven is retarded. Again, by Luxury and Intemperance, and Love of Pleasures, we are miserably set backward, and hindered in our Way to Happiness. So Pride, with its slow and stately Gate, retards that quick and nimble Progress in Religion which otherwise might be made. In a word, the whole Retinue of Vice keeps us behind-hand, and destroys the forward Attempts of our Souls. Being sensible of this, let us (as the Apostle directs us) *lay aside every Weight, and the Sin which doth so easily beset us, and (so doing) run with patience the race that is set before us*, Heb. 12:13.

To quicken our Motion, let us have in our View the Miserable State hereafter of those who neglect the Concern of their Souls in this Life. Affrighting and Horrid Objects commonly put Men upon raising their Feet with some Nimbleness, that thereby they may avoid them. Let this Astonishing Object be often represented to our Minds, and let it make us mend our Pace, and *fly from the Wrath to come*. Our Saviour's *Memento* may take place here, *Remember Lot's Wife*, linger not, look not back, press forward, lose no time, lest the Divine Vengeance overtake you. The Flames are very nigh you: make all the haste you can to be out of their reach.

The next Consideration which may prove helpful to us towards our Early and Speedy Obedience, is the Eternal Reward set before us: Who will not run when a Glorious Prize is at the End of the Race? What should not that move us to, which the Apostle propounds, *an Inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us*? What a Stir do Men make for Empire in the World? how furiously have they sought for Crowns? Lo, here is a Kingdom provided for us, here is a Crown that will sit sure and easy on our Heads: the Weight of it will not be burdensome, but delightful. How forward then should we be to be Possessors of it?

Another Consideration is that of the Present Delights and Pleasures which are found in Religion and doing God's Will. A Holy Life is the only Foundation of True Joy. The keeping the Divine Commands is the most solid and substantial Pleasure. If we think often on this, we cannot but with Speedy Industry employ all our Thoughts and Endeavours about it. If we represent to our selves the Ravishing Joys which attend a Godly Life, we shall not be guilty of any Delays about it. Give me leave to interpret the Psalmist's Words, Psal. 119: 24 to this purpose, *I will run the ways of thy Commandments, when thou shalt Enlarge my Heart*: For what is this *Enlarging of the Heart* but Joy and Gladness, as even our Philosophy tells us, that Dilating of the Heart is the Product of Joy, as on the contrary the Contracting of it is the Effect of Sorrow? Now, when the Heart thus spreads and enlarges itself, when the Soul springs and flies out, all its Motions and Actions must needs be very Swift; this gives us a Natural Ac-

count of the *running the ways of God's Commandments*. Wherefore let us endeavour to see the Beauties of Holiness, to feel the Pleasures, Transports and Solaces of a Righteous Life, and then we shall presently be on the Wing, and our Motion will be quick and rapid.

Let me add this, that our Present Condition cannot be truly Happy unless we repent *Presently*, and live well the *Next Moment*. If we would be refreshed with True Joy and Satisfaction, we must derive them from the Favour of God and the Light of his Countenance: but these are not the Attendants of a sinful and impenitent State. Wherefore if we would feel real Rejoicings in our Breasts, if we would live Cheerfully and dye Peaceably, we are concerned to mind Religion betimes. Who would live one Moment in Enmity with God? Who would not be Happy presently? And 'tis impossible we should be so till we forsake our Sins, and be reconciled unto God, and enjoy his Favour. Therefore let us make *this* our First Business; and in all our Acts of Religion afterwards let us avoid all Slowness and Backwardness. *Creeping* Animals were Unclean and Abominable under the Law. It is certain that the Gospel discountenances all that Slow and Saturnine Temper in Religion which is to be seen in too many Professors of it: this is utterly disagreeing with the Evangelical Spirit. But *Swiftness* is the Commendation of the Heavenly Motion, and of the Blessed Angels themselves. Let Ours be such in some Measure here, that *God's Will may be done by us on Earth, as 'tis in Heaven*.

3. Those Celestial Creatures discharge their Office with *Fervency* and *Zeal*. This is the Reason why they are called a *flaming Fire*, Psal. 104. 4. namely, because they are Active and Earnest in accomplishing God's Commands. And from this *burning* with Zeal they have the Title of *Seraphim*. So the other Inhabitants of the Blessed Regions above, *viz.* the Souls of the Faithful, the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, are filled with an unspeakable Ardour, with most inflamed Affections towards God and his Glory. Such should our Fervor be, we must be carried forth to all Holiness with a Powerful Force and *Impetus*. All our Enterprizes and Endeavours about Salvation and another World must be Lively and Vigorous, full of Resolution, and of the Sense and Relish of Religion, that in all we do, we may feel the real Touches and Vibrations of the Holy Spirit upon our Hearts. Our Religion must engage our Warmest Affections, and breathe forth Passionate and Earnest Desires, and display it self in all the Emotions of Ardent Love. We read that under the Law all acceptable Sacrifices were offered with *Fire* that came from Heaven, either immediately falling at that time, or kept always on the Altar. Under the Gospel also our Sacrifices must be offered with *Heavenly Fire*, that is, holy Zeal, great Ardency and Vigour, with an exalted Flame of Affection. It is hateful to God to see us cold and remiss, lukewarm and indifferent in the Exercise of Religion. Here, or no where, we must exert all our Powers, muster up all our Forces, and mightily bestir our selves. But yet we must be careful that we do nothing against the Laws of Christian Prudence, nothing unbecoming our Station and Calling wherein God hath placed us, nothing against the Rules of Justice and Honesty. For it must be a *Holy Fire* that we are to burn with: the other Practice is offering with *Unhallowed* and *Strange Fire*. We are therefore to attend diligently to the Apostle's Direction, *Be zealously affected always in a good thing*, Gal. 4. 18. in that which is in it self Good and Lawful, Commendable and Praise-worthy, and then we cannot miss of Acceptance. This true and right Zeal will fire us with Ardent Desires of doing all we can for the Honour of God in the World, it will make us Ambitious of serving him, very forward and liberal in our Layings out for him.

4. The next thing wherein we are to imitate the glorious Spirits in Heaven, is their *Impartial* and *Universal Obedience*. They know no Distance between any of the Commands of God: They obey one as well as another. And so should we here upon Earth. With David we must *restrain our Feet from every evil way*, Psal. 119. 101. We must with him *have Respect unto all the Commandments*, Psal. 119. 6. We should *esteem all God's Precepts concerning all things to be right*, and therefore *bate every false way*, Psal. 119. 128. We must say with those Converts, *Hos. 14. 2. Take away all Iniquity*. We must *abstain from all kind of evil*, as that Text, *1 Thess. 5. 22.* may be read. The Divine Commands are *exceeding broad*, Psal. 119. 96. and therefore we ought to observe the due Latitude of them. We are to take notice

notice of the full Extent of every Duty: We are enjoined to serve the Lord *with all Humility*, Acts 20. 19. *with all Meekness*, Tit. 3. 2. *to pray with all Prayer*, Eph. 6. 18. And in many other things the Scripture sets forth the *Universality* of our Duty. There are those that pretend to be Observers of *some Precepts*, but they have no Regard at all to *others*. The *Pharisees* of old were noted for this, and therefore here I will take occasion to insist on their *Partiality*, and therein discover that of *others*. And our Blessed Saviour, speaking so often of this Great Fault in the *Pharisees*, lets us know that we should take *particular notice* of it. Wherefore I will mention these Three Remarkable Instances of it;

First, The *Partiality* of their Righteousness was seen in avoiding Gross and Heinous Sins, but making no Conscience of lesser Offences. To this our Saviour doth particularly refer, in *Mat. 5. 20.* for having said before, *Whoever shall break one of the least Commandments, and teach Men so, shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven: But whoever shall do and teach these least Commandments, the same shall be called Great in the Kingdom of Heaven;* he immediately adds, *For I say unto you, that except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Whence it is to be rationally inferred, that these Men made no Scruple of breaking the lesser Commandments, and taught others so to do. Hence it is that you hear the *Pharisee* cry out, *God, I thank thee that I am not as other Men are, Extortioners, Unjust, Adulterers, or even as this Publican*, Luke 18. 11. If they thought themselves clear of these Notorious and Scandalous Crimes, they cared not what Guilt they otherwise contracted by committing Sins of a lower Degree. But this shews that they had not attained to the Gospel-Frame of Spirit, which estrangeth Men from the Love of all Sin. Herein we must remember to out-vie the Pharisaical Righteousness: We must shun not those Vices only which are Great and Crying, which are even branded by Men of the World themselves, but discover our impartial Hatred of all Unrighteousness, by avoiding those Sins which carry no Scandal with them as to the Esteem of the World, and which in their own Nature are not so evil and enormous, as open Injustice, Extortion, and Adultery, and the like Mischiefes. Vain Thoughts, Idle Words, secret Mistrustings of God and his Providence, and even the lesser Aberrations of our Hearts and Lives are to be taken notice of, corrected, disliked, and carefully reformed and amended.

Secondly, It appears that the *Pharisaical Righteousness* was *Partial*, from their crying up one Vertue with the decrying of another. A notable Instance of this we have in *Mark 7. 10, &c.* *Moses said, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and whoso curseth Father or Mother, let him die the Death. But ye say, if a Man shall say to his Father or Mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a Gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free,* (the Man was no farther bound to relieve his Parents, for that is the Meaning of what follows): *and ye suffer him no more to do ought for his Father or Mother.* If they could but cry *Corban*, they were exempted from doing any thing for their Parents. Those Words [*It is a Gift by whatsoever thou shouldest be profited by me*] were part of a *Form of Vowing* among the *Jews*, and it was as much as if they had said, That by which thou, O Father or Mother, shouldest be relieved, is already given, namely to God, to the *Corban*, to the Temple-Treasury, therefore thou must expect nothing of me. Thus they made *Honouring of God* to be exclusive of honouring and relieving their Aged Parents: Yea, they thought that whilst they were liberal towards the one, they might be unnatural to the other. These *Pharisees* in a worse Sense than *Moses* did, dashed one Table against another, they set the First Table in Opposition to the Second, or rather they broke the Second on the Merit of keeping the First, and so in effect did but exchange one Sin for another. And their *Partial Regard* to the Commandments is farther taken notice of by our Blessed Lord in *Mat. 23. 23.* and *Luke 11. 42.* *Ye pay Tithe of Mint and Anise and Cummin, and Rue* (there is not the least and most contemptible Herb in your Gardens forgot by you) *but ye have omitted the weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, Faith, and the Love of God.* Ye are very just and kind to the Priest in paying him his exact Dues; and for this you are to be commended, but herein you shamefully fail, that you neglect to perform other Indispensable Duties which are of greater Concern. These latter ought ye principally to have done, and not to have left the other undone,

undone, ver. 24. This gross Partiality is an Argument that you are not truly Religious.

To proceed to other Instances: These *Pharisees* were famed among People for their Abstinence and Temperance; and accordingly their Countryman *Josephus* gives this Character of them, That † they were very sparing as to their Diet, and that they used themselves to no Softness and Effeminacy. And the Learned *Drusius*, in the Account which he gives of them out of *Epiphanius* and others, saith, they were great Admirers of Virginity and Continency, they lay on hard Boards, and sometimes on Stones and Thorns, that they might not indulge Sleep too much, but awake and rise to Prayer. In the Fringes of their Garments they tied sharp Thorns, that these might prick them, and thereby remind them of their Duty, as *St. Jerom* observes in his Comment on the 13th Chapter of *Matthew*. They sometimes chastised themselves severely, even till the Blood gushed out. Yet these were the Men whom our Saviour so frequently and so severely chastised for their Heinous Miscarriages. Here then was their Partiality, in seeming to cherish and practise some Vertues, whilst they were professed Enemies to others.

† Τὴν διαίτην ἐξέτιμίζον, ὡς δὲν εἰς τὸ μαλακότερον ἐνδιδόντες.
Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2.

If we would approve our selves to be *Christians* indeed, we must not act thus: Our Obedience must be without Reserve, we must with the *Psalmist*, have Regard to All God's Commandments. We must not fondly prefer one before another, much less exclude one, to embrace another. These Words therefore of *St. James* ought to be remembred by us, *James* 2. 10. *Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point, (or it may be rendred, in one Law) he is guilty of all.* And what follows in the next Verse shews it is meant of one Law or Commandment; For (saith the Apostle) *he that said, Do not commit Adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a Transgressor of the Law.* Pretend not that thou keepest the Law, if thou wilfully lettest go any one Commandment of it. If thou art just and righteous towards Men, be also mindful to discharge thy proper Duty towards God: And so on the other hand, If thou fearest, honourest, and lovest God, forget not to love thy Brethren, and to be just and honest in thy Dealings with them. By this means thou wilt not incur the Imputation of Partiality in Religion, which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* were charged with.

Thirdly, Their Righteousness was Partial, because it fell short in Necessaries and Substantials, but ran out into the Observance of Little and Indifferent Things. Though it is true these latter were requisite in that Oeconomy, yet not being the main Things, they should not have been prosecuted with the same Zeal, much less with a greater than the others were. This then was one grand Fault of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that the Meanest and most Inconsiderable Things were chiefly looked after by them. This appears from what hath been suggested already, for it is plain that they zealously insisted on the very Punctilios of the Law, seeing they would not detain so much as the Tithe of *Gummin-Seed* from the Priest, seeing also they superstitiously adhered to their particular Modes of Washing, which they fancied were all according to the Law. But this will farther appear, if we consider that they placed Religion in a Dress and Habit: Whence it was objected to them that they loved to wear long Cloathing, *Mark* 12. 38. or (as *St. Luke* expresseth it) to walk in Long Robes, *Luke* 20. 46. They persuaded themselves there was some kind of Sanctity in this particular Garb, and therefore they valued themselves exceedingly upon it. And as for those that were otherwise habited, they despised and vilified them: They looked upon all those as base and contemptible who were not of the Long Robe, whose Garments did not trail on the Ground as theirs did. These Men likewise applied themselves to Nice and Subtile Questions, and such as were of no Use in their Religion: These Grave Seniors busied their Heads about Birds Nests, and had the Confidence to averr that these, and such like, were the Principal Disquisitions of the Law. Thus their Righteousness was Poor and Trifling, Mean and Sordid. The Best Things in Religion were least of all regarded by them, and the meanest commanded their greatest Respect.

* Institutiones de pullorum & mulierum purificationibus sunt Principalia Legis. R. Eleazar. Pirke Avoth. c. 3.

were least of all regarded by them, and the meanest commanded their greatest Respect.

But

But we who own *Christianity*, must act quite contrary, making this our standing Rule; that we ought to prize those things most in Religion which are most deserving. And those without doubt are the Fundamentals and Essentials of Christianity, namely, the necessary Articles of Faith, and the Indispensible Duties of a Holy Life. These we must chiefly be concerned for, these are the Principal Things we are to take Care of. You may every where take notice of Men rigidly observing the lesser Matters, the Criticisms and Ceremonies of Religion, whilst at the same time they are careless and unconcerned as to the Greater and more Important things required in the Gospel. But these are not *Christians* of the right Kind, these are Strangers to the True Evangelical Spirit; for this is the certain Badge of the true Spirit of Christianity, that it makes us most eager and solicitous about the necessary and substantial Parts of it, because in these the Life of Religion consists. And thus I have shewed that the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees was *Partial*: But I have let you see on the contrary, that the Righteousness of True *Christians* must be Entire, Impartial and Universal. The Whole Man is to be dedicated to God, a Catholick Obedience is required, the *Whole Will* of God is to be done.

5. The Angelical Spirits and Deceased Saints that inhabit the other World, know no Fatigue; they are Constant and Unwearied in their Services. Herein we should strive to emulate them according to our measure; remembering that of St. Paul, Gal. 6. 9. *Let us not be weary of well-doing*, but continue and persevere in the faithful Discharge of our Duty. The Graces and Virtues of the Holy Spirit are resembled to *Cloathing*, Col. 3. 11, 12. But they are unlike to it in this respect, that they may not, they must not be put off and on, but they must be *continually worn*. Religion must be the Work of our whole Lives. As we are commanded to *Pray without ceasing*, so all our other Spiritual Sacrifices ought to be of the like Nature. We must never leave off this Work; we must with indefatigable Diligence and Patience persevere in it to the End of our Days.

These are the several *Qualifications* of our *doing the Will of God* here on Earth, according to what is done by the Blessed Spirits above. It may all be briefly expressed in this, That we are to do God's Will in the *perfectest Manner* that we can. Under the Law, no other Sacrifices but those which were Whole and Sound, and of the Best Kind, were to be offered to God; and therefore the Priests that were so base and unworthy as to offer the *Lame* and *Blind* and *Sick*, are sharply reprov'd in *Mal. 1. 8*. The Sacrifices were to be *perfect* and *without blemish*, Lev. 22. 21. There was to be nothing *lacking*, and nothing *superfluous*, Lev. 22. 23. The very * *Pagans* were solicitous as to this, to sacrifice no Animal but what was Fit, to offer nothing but what was Agreeable. *Perfect* is the Word which *Homer* uses when he speaks of the *Beasts* that were to be sacrificed to the Gods. The *most Excellent* were chosen out for that purpose; and accordingly there was a † *Scrutiny* and Examination made about the Animals that were to be made Choice of. The like is to be observed in the Spiritual Oblations; we must present God with nothing but what is some ways Worthy of him, what is in it self most Excellent; in a word, we must give him our *Best*.

And thus we see what we are to *aspire to*, namely, to live *Angelical* and *Heavenly Lives*, that is, to endeavour to obey God, and do his Will as the Saints and Angels in Heaven do. It is *Plato's* mystical way of speaking, That the Vehicles of the *Celestial Spirits* are easily governed by them, because both the Steeds which draw them are tractable and obsequious: But the Vehicles or Chariots of *Human Souls* are hardly managed, because one of the Creatures where-with they are drawn is tame and governable, but the other is fierce and heady. That is, in plain Terms, the Blessed Angels are perfect, having no depraved Principle in them to withdraw them from their Duty: But the Souls of Men here on Earth are imperfect, by reason of that *Fleshly Part* which they are joined to, which impetuously draws and hales them to what is vicious and sinful. So that on this Account we can never in this Life expect to attain to the Exalted State of Blessed Spirits. But this we are to do, we are to *aim at that Perfection*, and according to our Measure and Ability we are to *press after it*, and to come up as near to it as we can. A Lazy Way of Christianity must not content us: We must strive, and labour, and wrestle; we must long to live the Life of the *Blessed*

* Τα ὅ
περὶ τὴν
ἀρίστην καὶ
κατασκευασμένην
θύνην τοῖς
θεοῖς. Plut.
† Probatio
victimarum. Plin.
Hist. Nat.
l. 8. c. 45.

* Luke
20. 36.

fed here on Earth, so far as this State is capable of it. God would have *Heavenly* Service done by Men on Earth. We are to walk as those who converse with Heaven, and the Inhabitants of the other World. Hereafter we shall (as our Saviour saith) be **equal unto the Angels*, but even now we are to *Resemble* them. For they are here propounded as the Pattern of our Obedience. That is the Meaning of *Thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven*. Wherefore let our Conversation be in Heaven, and according to our Capacity and Ability, let us live as those Beatified Creatures do; *i. e.* let our Obedience be Chearful, Speedy, Zealous, Entire and Constant. In our several Stations let us be very watchful and diligent, and attend our Duty with much Concernedness. Let us demean our selves towards God with great Piety and Devotion; towards Men with great Justice and Righteousness, Love and Charity, Gentleness and Meekness; towards our selves with great Sobriety, Self-denial, Mortification, Patience, Contentedness, and Tranquillity of Mind.

Hitherto I have considered the Words *Absolutely*: Now I must take Notice of them briefly in their *Relative* Sense, namely, as they are Part of a *Prayer*, as they are something to be Desired and Begg'd of God. It is our Duty then to Request of the Almighty, that Both those *Wills* before spoken of, may be *done*. 1. That God's Purposes and Decrees may take Effect in the World, and that we may submit to them, and acquiesce in them; that whatever befalls us, may be contentedly entertained by us. It should be the Matter of our Petitions, that we may be enabled to refer all to God, and to rest in his Wise Appointment. It must be our earnest Prayer, that we may will as God wills, and chuse nothing but what he pleases. 2. We are to beg, that whatever God hath commanded and enjoined us, may be faithfully performed by us. Every one of us is bound to pray as the Holy Psalmist doth, *Teach me to do thy Will*, Psal. 143. 10. *O that my ways were directed to keep thy Statutes*, Psal. 119. 5. *O let me not wander from thy Commandments*, Psal. 119. 10. *Make me to go in the path of thy Commandments*: Let me never through my whole Life undertake or perform any thing but what is according to thy Will and Pleasure. And that we may do so, we must implore continually the Divine Grace and Assistance, that thereby we may effectually renounce our own depraved Wills, and resign our selves to the Will of Heaven, and act conformably to the Divine Love, and with Willingness, Readiness, Zeal and Constancy, keep all God's Commandments. This is the Summ of what we are to pray for under this *Petition* in the *Lord's Prayer*.

All that I shall add further is this, That it ought to be considered, what Folly, what Madnes it is to pray that God's Will may be done, and yet to confute our Prayer by our Practice. This wild and unaccountable Piece of Devotion is too common in the World. Thousands of Men daily put up this Petition, and yet labour what they can to disappoint and frustrate the Will of God; their earnest Desire and Endeavour is, that their own Wills should take place rather than his. And whilst they pray that they may be chearful, expedite, zealous and constant in all Acts of Religion, they at the same time are heavy, sloathful, cold and inconstant in all their Religious Undertakings. O let us seriously think how Absurd and Ridiculous this is, yea, how Prophane and Blasphemous it is. What can be a greater Affront to God, than thus to mock him? Wherefore let us be persuaded to abhor all such Impiety and Prophaneness, and to fix this firmly upon our Thoughts, that it is the *Will of God*, not *our own Will*, that we pray may be *done*. Wherefore let our Endeavours and Practices answer to our Prayers, and let us take Care that our Lives and Conversations be a Transcript of this Petition. *Now the God of Peace make you perfect in every good Work, to do his Will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ: To whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

The Fourth P E T I T I O N.

Give us this Day our daily Bread.]

Where the Author's particular Apprehension concerning the Meaning of daily Bread is propounded. How God's giving it to Good Men differs from his giving it to Bad. How it is given by God, and yet purchased by Us.

HAVING treated of the Three First Petitions which have a more direct Reference to God, I am in the next Place to speak of those other Three which more immediately concern ourselves. The First of these [*Give us this Day our daily Bread*] relates to our Bodies and the Things of this Life; the next hath respect to our Souls and Spiritual State [*Forgive us our Trespases, &c.*]: And the Last comprehends under it both Temporal and Spiritual Concerns, [*Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil.*] But as the Learned Usher observes, the Petition for Outward and Temporal Things is put first among these Three, because the good Things of this World are considerable Helps to enable us to perform Spiritual Duties; according to those Words of the Patriarch Jacob, Gen. 28. 20, 21. *If God will be with me, and keep me in this Way that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on, then shall the Lord be my God.* Earthly Things are an Encouragement to Heavenly Ones. By the Necessaries and Conveniences of this Life (when God seeth them good for us) we are rendered more fit to do the Divine Will with Alacrity and Readiness. This Petition for the Things of this Life I am now to insist upon.

And here by the way I might observe its Dependence on the First Petition, for it looks backward as well as forward, because all these Things are to be desired and used so far as they serve to the Glory of God, and the hallowing of his Name. Besides, it follows fitly upon all Three; for having prayed before that we may hallow God's Name, and that his Kingdom may come in us, and that his Will may be done by us, we now pray that we may be provided for whilst we do so, that so we may not use any indirect Courses to get a Livelihood, but that in our lawful Callings we may depend upon Providence, and be content: For this Petition answers to the Eighth Commandment, *Thou shalt not Steal*, and to the Tenth, *Thou shalt not Covet*. This being premised, I come to the absolute Consideration of the Words; and under this I will explain these Three Things. First, What is meant by Bread. Secondly, What by Daily Bread. Thirdly, What is the Import of giving this Bread.

First, What is here meant by Bread? Some of * the Fathers understand by it Spiritual Bread, or the Food of the Soul, viz. Christ Jesus (who is called the Bread of Life), the Consecrated Bread in the Lord's Supper, the Word of God, and all the Helps of Grace, and the Means of sustaining the Spiritual Life. All these they imagine are meant by the Bread which we ask in this Petition. But if we consider, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist was not instituted when our Saviour taught his Disciples this Prayer, we shall have Reason to believe that that could not be meant by the Bread here mentioned. And likewise, if we remember that the other Petitions have reference to Spiritual Things, we shall be induced to be of this Persuasion, that this Petition speaks of Things of another Nature, viz. the Temporal Concerns of this Life; which in so consummate a Prayer as this is, would not be omitted. It is reasonable then to assert that Corporal, not Spiritual Bread is here to be understood. And this Bread, for the Sustenance of the Body and Temporal Life, may be meant,

*Tertull de
Oratione
Cap. 6.
Cyprian de
Orat. Do-
min. Cy-
ril. Alex.
de Adorat.
l. 13.

1st. Strictly, i. e. we may understand by it that which is most properly called Bread, viz. that which is made of Bread-Corn; which as it is the commonest, so it is the chiefest Food and Provision of Man. This may emphatically be called *our Bread*, as it is here in this Petition, it being most proper to Man, and is different from the Food of Beasts, which is also called *their Bread*, Psal. 147. 9. *He giveth to the Beast his Bread* (for so it is in the Original) his particular Bread, as Grass, and whatever else God hath appointed for the sustenance of Brutes. This is *their Bread* or Food (as our Translators render it) this is their proper Aliment, as Men have *theirs*, the most substantial of which is Bread strictly so called, *the Staff of Life*, as the Scripture styles it.

2. By Bread here is to be understood all kind of Food for the use of Man: For the Hebrew Word *lechem* is very large. Whence Abraham's sending away Hagar and Ismael with Bread and a Bottle of Water, Gen. 21. 14. is not so strange and unkind as some have imagined. It is probable that this travelling Couple was furnished with as much Provision and Food as would serve them till they should arrive at that Place to which they were designed: And the Reason why the Water was spent in the Bottle, was because Hagar wandered up and down in the Wilderness of Beersheba, as we read in that Verse. But it is not said that the Bread was spent, which Word in the Style of Scripture denotes not only bare Bread, but it also signifies all Meats useful for Man's Support and Nourishment, of what Nature and Quality soever they be. Thence Bethlehem, i. e. the House of Bread, had its Denomination, because it was a fruitful Place, and had Plenty of Corn, and all other Things for the Food of Man. So ἀρτος is of a large Import among the Greeks, and is here a general Word for all Food. Which seems to be the true Denotation of the English word Bread, which is from the German *brot*, and that from *brōt*, *Cibus*.

3. There is yet a larger Signification of the Word; for not only Food, but all the Necessaries of this present Life are comprehended in it. Bread among the Hebrews denotes every thing requisite to a Livelihood, as *victus* among the Latins doth. This is the usual Acception of it in the Bible, where by a common Synecdoche 'tis put for all Things that are serviceable to sustain our bodily Substance and Life, as not only Meat and Drink, but Cloaths to cover us when we go Abroad, an Habitation to shelter us when we are at Home, Fire to warm us, Sleep to refresh us, and the like. These are called by St. James τα ἐπιτήδεια τῶ σώματος, those Things which are needful to the Body, Jam. 2. 16. And by the Greek Fathers generally they are stiled τα ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὸν βίον, the Things necessary for Life.

4thly, Not only bare Necessaries but all Conveniencies for this Temporal Life, not only Sufficiency but Plenty may be included in this Word Bread. Thus among the Privileges of a Godly Man this is reckoned, that Bread shall be given him, Isa. 33. 16. i. e. he shall abound with all the good Things of this Life which are fitting for him. And in several other Places this Word is to be taken in this Sense. I will mention only one, Gen. 49. 20. where it is said of Ashur, his Bread shall be fat, i. e. the Land of the Tribe of Asher shall be blessed with the Confluence of all Worldly Abundance. Moses expresses it thus, He shall dip or wash his Foot in Oil, Deut. 33. 24. which you read fulfilled in Jos. 19. 24. &c. Nay,

5thly and Lastly, Bread in its largest signification comprehends all the Comforts and Delights of this Life. For even the daintiest Food, the most delicate Fare is expressed by this Term in the Sacred Writings. Set before them Bread and Water that they may eat and drink, 2 Kings 6. 22. And in the next Verse it is added by way of Explication, great Provision was prepared for them, a great Feast was made, (where by the bye observe, that Water is a comprehensive Word; and as Bread signifies sometimes all delicious Food, so this sometimes is a Word for all Strong Drink, for Wine it self.) And in some other Places, to eat Bread and to drink Water imports a Festival Entertainment. If we consult Gen. 43. 32. we shall find that Bread is applied to that Sumptuous Provision which Joseph made for his Brethren. King Solomon's vast Allowance for his Court and all his Train is called * Bread, 1 Kings 4. 22. Belshazzar made a great Feast, Dan. 5. 1. In the Hebrew it is † much Bread. And so the Word ἀρτος is used in the New Testament, as in Luke 7. 33. John the Baptist came neither Eating Bread, nor Drinking Wine. From all which Places it appears, that Bread in the Latitude of its

* Lechem
le jom
achad,
Bread for
one Day.
† Lechem
rab.

Signification includes even the lawful Delights and innocent Pleasures of this Life: And accordingly in the *Lord's Prayer*, if we take the Word in its utmost extent, these are comprehended. We are not stinted to bare Necessaries: God doth not so limit and confine us: But as he hath provided great Plenty and Abundance, so he indulgeth many Things to us for Delight, for Ornament and Decency. Which is clear from what we may observe in the Creation, for we see that there are many Creatures in the World which are not of absolute Necessity for the Life and well-being of Man, but they someways contribute to his Ease and Pleasure, they serve for adorning him, for chearing and comforting him, for giving some Lustre and Delight to him. The great Maker of the World hath created nothing in vain, and therefore these may be lawfully and innocently used. There is not only a Competency, that which may suffice the Necessity of Nature (which can be content with a little) but there is also an overplus given us by the bountiful Hand of Heaven; and of this we may make a sober and sanctified use. Thus much for the first Question, what is meant by Bread?

I proceed to the second, What is meant by *daily Bread*? It is no easy thing to tell what the original Word ἐπιείσθε signifies, for as the Word περισσέω, Exod. 19. 5. Deut. 7. 6. was devised by the Greek Interpreters; so it is likely that ἐπιείσθε in this Prayer is made use of by the Evangelists in Imitation of that, neither of both being in any other Author. And therefore this Word being no where found but here, it is difficult to assign the exact Meaning of it. According to Jerom and the Vulgar Latin, ἐπιείσθε is rendred *super substantialis* in this Place of St. Matthew: So that it was thought ἐπιείσθε is as much as ἐπὶ οὐσίᾳ, *supra substantiam*, above all other Substances. And then it is of the same Signification with περισσέω, *peculiaris, præcipuus, excellens*, and it is applied by St. Jerom to Christ the spiritual Food, and to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But I have already shewed that there is no Reason to apply it to these.

Other Ancient, Pious, and Learned Expositors understand this Petition of corporeal Food, and the Provision which God makes for Men's Bodies and outward Man, and they interpret the Greek Word accordingly: ἐπιείσθε, say they, is ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, that Bread which is necessary for the supporting of our Substance, i. e. our Body and Life. * It is that, saith an Ancient Writer, which is serviceable to our Subsistence, for the upholding this our short Life. † It is that, saith another, which preserves the Substance of the Body, and is able to strengthen and confirm it. And after the same manner saith a third, || It is that Bread which is sufficient for our Substance and Constitution. And several others of the Greek and Latin Fathers interpret the Word concerning those Things which are necessary for our Life, which are requisite for the sustaining of our Substance and Nature. Our bodily Substance or Flesh hath constant need of a Recruit; and this is done by Food, which we take in to supply our Defects, and to nourish our Bodies: Therefore Castellio renders it *panem alimentarium*. We are really supported and upheld by the Staff of Bread, as 'tis deservedly called in the Holy Stile. Answerably to which our Saxon Word Loaf comes from Leaf, which in the same Tongue signifies to sustain or uphold. We cannot subsist without our Bread; we sink and decay without our natural Food: It is absolutely necessary for our Maintenance. Whence according to the Syriack (the Language in which our Saviour delivered this Prayer, and all his Sermons and Discourses, it being his Native Tongue) it is necessary Bread, or (as Tremellius renders the Syriack) the Bread of Necessity, the Bread or Food which is indispensably necessary for the upholding of our Life. Or, if we take Bread (as we did before) in a larger Sense, for All the Necessaries and Conveniencies of our Life, these may be said to be ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, for the maintaining our Substance in the World, for both οὐσία among the Greeks and substantia among the Latins, signify the worldly Possessions and Wealth which Men are Masters of. The Etymologists tell us, that πλούσιος a rich Man is he that hath πολλά οὐσία, a great deal of this Substance. And because we have daily Need not only of Food but of all those Things which are for the Maintenance of our Life and Well-being in the World, therefore Interpreters have taken Liberty to call it *daily Bread*. Thus the vulgar Latin in St. Luke's Gospel renders it *quotidia-*

* Ὁ πῶς ἔφημερον ζῶν τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν χρησιμεύων. Basil.

† Ἀρετὴ ἐπιείσθε, τὰς τῆς οὐσίας τῆς σώματος διαβίων, καὶ συγκρατῆσαι τὰς τῆς δυνάμεως. Chrysost Hom. 30. Tom 5.

|| Ἀρετὴ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ σὺς αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἀντήκεν. Theophylact. in Matth. 6.

num : And several of the Fathers and others explain *ἐπιούσιος* as if it were *ἐπιούσιος*. The Reason is because we every Day stand in need of the Supports of this Life.

But if I may be permitted to insert my particular Apprehension concerning this Word; I conceive that the Word *ἐπιούσιος* hath no Affinity at all with *ἐπὶ*, but as the Adjective *ἐπιούσιος* was made from *ἐπὶ*, *ἐπὶ* the Participle of *ἐπεμύω* *excello*, so *ἐπιούσιος* is an Adjective made out of the Participle *ἐπόμενος*, *ἐπόμενος*, from *ἐπεμύω* *succedo*, *sequor*, and consequently *ἐπιούσιος* is as much as *sequens*. Accordingly St. Jerom saith, that in the Hebrew Text of St. Matthew it is *lechem machar*, *panis crastinus*. And Scaliger interprets *ἐπιούσιος* here by *ἐπόμενος ἡμέρας*, *subsequentis diei*. So that according to the right Etymology of the Word, *ἐπιούσιος* *ἄρτος* is the following or next Bread; and consequently is constant or continual Bread, Bread that follows one Day after another. It is not improbable therefore that our Saviour here alludes to Num. 4. 7. where the Shew-bread, which was day by day set upon the Tables in the Tabernacle, is call'd *lechem batamid*, the continual Bread: For this Bread was every Day renewed, and fresh Loaves were placed in the Room of those that were taken away. So we have our continual Bread, viz. the Provision which God makes for us every Day, one Day after another. And therefore according to this Etymology and Derivation which I have offered, we may render the Petition thus, Give us this Day our continual Bread; that is, the Bread that thou doest constantly feed us with, the Supports of this Life which thou doest duly from time to time bestow upon us. And thus also the Reason is given why it is translated daily Bread, viz. because it is the Bread which God continueth to us from one Day to another. This is exactly according to the Origin of the Greek Word which I have assigned; and thus continual Bread and daily Bread are the same. I take this to be the true Ground of our Translation, and of that of the Vulgar Latin, and some others.

And here it is proper to observe that this hath been the usual way of expressing Things of this Nature, both in the Stile of Scripture and among secular Writers. Thus the Bread which constantly and daily rained down from Heaven in the Wilderness was called *debar jom*, the Portion of a Day, Ex. 16. 4. The Chaldean King appointed the three Children *debar jom*, a daily Provision, as we rightly render it, Dan. 1. 5. Why then may not the Provision which God constantly makes us (and is our Bread from Heaven, and is our Portion allowed us by the Great King) be called daily Bread? The certain and constant Allowance of Corn

* The latter Greeks express it by *διαιτηριον*, *diurnum cibarium*, *viatus quotidianus*. Novel. Justin. 123. cap. 16. Heracl. Imper. Nov. 3. And other Authors are quoted, and their Words set down by Du Fresnoie in his Glossary in the Word *διαιτηριον*.

and other Provision which Lords or their Stewards used to give out to their Families, was called * *Diaria*, as you may see in Martial. And *Annona*, which among the Latins is properly a Provision of Corn or Bread, when it was distributed constantly, was called *Annona diurna*: But more strictly, when it was an Allowance of Corn or Victuals for one Day, it had that Name, as we find in Ammianus Marcellinus.

I could add also that this *ἐπιούσιος* *ἄρτος* this following, succeeding, continual, constant, daily Bread, answers to the known Use of Bread; for this is the constant and successive Nourishment of Mankind in all Ages, the ordinary Staple Food of all Men, the most common Repast. Other Sorts of Diet are not every Day used, but Bread is: It is continually fed upon by Rich and Poor: And therefore it justly hath the Title of daily Bread.

The third Thing to be enquired into, is the giving this Bread. The General Meaning of which is, that it is from God that we have our Provision, our Maintenance, our daily Portion and Allowance. Our Provident and Gracious Master never fails to confer this upon us. This is the comfortable Proposition that is founded on this Expression. For tho' St. James supposes that a Brother or Sister may be destitute of this daily Food, Chap. 2. 15. yet you see it doth not lose its Name here; it is a daily Maintenance from our heavenly Father, who generally supplies all his Creatures with it, but some in a greater, others in a lesser Proportion; some by their own Industry, and others by the Benevolence of those that he raiseth up; and therefore they are said to be destitute sometimes of it, because they are beholden to the Charity of others for it. But still this is an impregnable Truth, that God gives us our daily Bread: He is our great Donor and Benefactor, from whose Bounty we receive all the good Things of this Life. He freely be-

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flows them upon us when they are wanting, when we stand in need of them, and therefore we are thereby made the more sensible of the Value and Worth of them. And he not only supplies us with these Temporal Favours when we want them, but he mercifully continues them to us when we have them, and gives us leave to enjoy them. It is from him that we have the Fruition as well as the Possession of them.

Here then we ought to acknowledge that we serve a Good Master. Whereas in Regard to his Sovereign Authority and Absolute Dominion, he might exact Service at our Hands without the Tender of any Reward; yet, that we may the more chearfully and readily comply with his Commands and obey his Laws, he offers such noble Allowances, so great a Recompense of Reward both here and hereafter, that I had almost said he bribes us to do our Duty. It was well said by the Jewish Doctors, * *The Disciples of Abraham eat in this World*, (that is, † Pirk. Avot. enjoy the good things of this Life) *and shall also possess the World to come*. And another common Saying they have to this purpose, † This (say they) shews the Law to be Great and Noble, that it rewards the Followers and Practisers of it both in this and the other Life. This is more signally true of the Gospel, it is beneficial to all the sincere Observers of it, both as to the things of this World, and of that which is to come. It is the former that I now more particularly take notice of, namely, God's Bounty to us with Respect to Temporal Favours and Blessings. So Gracious and Indulgent is our Heavenly Father, that he allures us to keep his Laws by bestowing of present Felicity and Worldly Advantages on us. *All these things will I give thee*, was the Devil's Vaunting Offer, whereas he was not Master and Disposer of any of those things. But behold, the Great God, who is Lord and Disposer of all things, promises Worldly Gain and Advantage to us, if we will serve and worship him, and we shall certainly be Possessors of them. Though Vicious and Wicked Men look upon *Just* and *Profitable* as Two contrary things; they being of Photinus's Mind, who told King Ptolemy || that these Two are as different as Heaven and Earth, as Fire and Water; yet all understanding and good Men are of another Persuasion, and have real Ground for it. They know and experience that they do not serve God for nought. Godliness, besides its own intrinsick Worth, hath a Dowry to commend it to those who will espouse it. Even Worldly Emoluments accrue to those that are Holy, and *whatsoever they do shall prosper*.

|| ——— Sydera terrâ
Ut distant, & flamma mari, sic
Utile Recto.

Lucan. l. 8. v. 487.

Here further we are reminded to own and to be thankfully apprehensive of our daily receiving all our Temporal Good Things from God, and of the Blessing which flows to us from his sole Bounty. This is a thing we ought to be very sensible of: And the rather because the Number of those that are so is very rare. I live by my Labours, *saieth one*: I maintain my self by my Lands and Possessions, *saieth another*: I have Friends that I depend upon, *saieth a Third*: I live by my Skill and Learning, *saieth a Fourth*. But how few are there that own the Hand of God in their Temporal Maintenance in the World? How seldom do Men acknowledge their Great Benefactor? How few Persons take notice that God gives them their daily Bread, and that a Blessing upon it can be expected and had from him alone? Let us increase the Number by our Thankful Acknowledgments of the Divine Goodness to us. Let us not sacrifice to our own Nets, and vainly attribute our Success to any thing but the Bounty of Heaven. Let us frankly and openly profess that God is the Author and Giver of all our Temporal good Things. It is he, and he alone, that gives us our Bread: And whether this Bread be coarser or finer, he is still the Donor. He supplies our Necessities, and affords us such things as are absolutely requisite to the upholding of our Being. He also denies us not the Conveniences, the Comforts and Refreshments of this Life: He mingles our Enjoyments with Delights and Pleasures.

Thus the Psalmist celebrates the Liberality of this Divine Benefactor, *Psal. 23. 5. Thou preparest a Table before me: Thou anointest my Head with Oyl: My Cup runneth over*. In which Words, without doubt, he alludes to the Manner of Feasting and Banqueting in those Days. The Table used to be furnished with Variety of Dishes, Wine was liberally ministred, Precious Oyl was poured on the Heads of the Guests. By these David expresses the plentiful Supply of all outward

outward Blessings suitable to his Royal State, wherein through the Favour of God he was then established. Here is a *Table*, and a *Cup*, i. e. Meat and Drink: And this Table is *prepared* and well *furnished*. And this Cup is full, and *runs over*. It is, as the *Seventy* render it, an *Inebriating Cup*, i. e. a Plentiful, Exuberant, Festive Cup. But this is not all; there is yet a greater Redundance of these External Favours, *his Head was anointed with Oyl*, his Face shined with precious Ointment, and his Brain was refreshed with the Perfume of it. And this was a Gift bestowed not only on *David* as he was King, but it was designed as a General Boon in those Eastern Countries: For this very Person among the Temporal good Things given by God, recounts not only *Bread which strengthneth Man's Heart*, and *Wine that makes glad the Heart of Man*, but *Oyl which is to make his Face to shine*, Psal. 104. 15. So that it appears there is something given by God to Man not only to satisfy his Nature, but to cheer and delight it, not only to refresh him, but to adorn and beautify him. Thus what *St. James* saith, speaking of Spiritual Gifts, that *God giveth to all Men liberally*, may as truly be applied to his Donation of Temporal ones; for we see, that he is very Liberal and Bountiful in distributing of these. *He gives us Richly all things to enjoy*, 1 Tim. 6. 17. He nobly rewards his Servants even as to the things of this Life.

Let us then as freely and largely acknowledge this his Abundant Mercy. It is God's Complaint against *Israel*, that they *did not know* (i. e. they were not sensible) *that he gave them Corn and Wine and Oyl*, Hof. 2. 8. We ought to be very careful that we be not guilty of this Crime. We should think God speaks to us as *Moses* to the *Israelites* concerning the Manna, * *This is the Bread that God giveth you to eat*. We should call to mind that seasonable Direction in *Deut.* 8. 10. *When thou hast eaten, and art full, thou shalt bless the Lord thy God*. Our daily Bread, our constant Maintenance is from him: Wherefore let us professedly own him to be the sole Founder and Author of all our Enjoyments. *Let the Eyes of all wait upon him* (as the *Psalmist* speaks), *for he gives them their Meat* (their Bread, their Sustenance) *in due Season*, Psal. 145. 15.

But here we must take notice of something of an higher Nature; or else we shall miss of the full Sense of the Words. God is the *Giver* of these Earthly Conveniences and Comforts, but in a *different Manner*; for both Good and Bad Men share in the Goods and Possessions of this World, yet they do it not in the same Way. The Righteous do not possess and enjoy them as the Wicked do. Wherefore that is it which I will now insist upon; I will shew in what Respects God's *giving* these Things to the former, differs from his *giving* them to the latter. Take this in these following Particulars.

1. The Godly have a *Right* and *Title* to what they are Possessors of, but no Wicked Man can pretend to any such Thing. The Right which Good Men have is conveyed to them by that Evangelical Charter, *All Things are yours*, 1 Cor. 3. 21. But Vicious Men have nothing to do with this; for it follows (as a Reason of this great Privilege) *Ye are Christ's*; this Title is purchased for you by the Blood of Christ, and therefore belongs unto you only, and none besides. But you will say, This Way of Discoursing seems to injure the greatest Part of the World, it takes away Men's Estates and Freehold. Such Divinity as this interferes with Human Laws, and even robs Men of their Property. To which I answer; There is a Two-fold *Right* or *Title*: First, that which is Civil and Legal, which obtains in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, in all Assemblies and Courts of Judicature. This Title is confirmed by the settled Laws and Constitutions both of God and Man, and will hold good, maugre the vain Pretences of Levelling Spirits. It is not Godliness that gives a *Writ of Possession* in Earthly Judicatories. Religion doth not give Men *Livery* and *Seisin*: Nor is the Bible any *Writ of Ejectment*. The *New Jerusalem* doth not entitle Men to Lands and Inheritances here. This First Title then, which is Civil and Legal, stands impregnable.

But there is a Second Sort of Right, and that is Spiritual and Evangelical, and of this it is that I speak at present. Now then I say Holy Persons have such a peculiar Title and Claim to the good Things of this Life as no wicked Men have, for their Claim is grounded upon the Promise of God. This is expressly mentioned in 1 Tim. 4. 8. *Godliness bath the Promise of the Life that now is*: And

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And it would be an endless Task to enumerate all the *particular Promises* made to the Godly on this Account, both in the Old and New Testament. All that I have to urge at present is this, that a *Promise* is a *good Title*, it being founded on God's Truth and Faithfulness, which cannot deceive and fail us. A Godly Man then having the Things of this Life conveyed to him in way of a *Promise*, he hath them in that manner which no other Persons can pretend to. Though they are actually in possession of the Conveniences of this World, yet they have them not by *Promise*, and consequently their Tenure is not good, yea, they are Invaders and Usurpers. They may carry on a great Trade, but it is with other Men's Goods. They make a great shew of that which is not their own.

2dly, Good Men enjoy these Things with the *Love and Favour of God*, which cannot be said of Persons of another Character. The Worldly Accommodations which the former have, are the result of God's good Will and Kindness to them. But the Latter hold their Possessions only by permission, whilst in the mean time they are hated of God, and are an Abomination to him. Both their Persons and their Actions are abhorred by him, and then it cannot be imagined that the Things they enjoy are bestowed out of Love and Favour to them. The Apostle lets us know, that those that are *without Christ* are *without God in the World*, Eph. 2. 12. and certainly then without his Acceptance and Favour. This is another considerable Difference between the Enjoyments of the Godly and the Wicked.

3dly, They differ in this, that the one enjoy this World's Goods with a *peaceable and serene Conscience*, with a chearful and contented Spirit, whereas the Possessions of the Wicked are attended with Regret and Horror of Conscience, with Troubled and Distracted Minds. The former rest satisfied with the Providence of God, and resign themselves wholly to his Disposal. They rely on his Wisdom and Goodness, and abandon all Anxious Thoughts and Cares, because God careth for them. They are not perplexed with Fears; yea, their Breasts are filled with Joy, and their Mouths with rejoycing. But the Case is far otherwise with the latter, for though they seem to be quiet, and indulge themselves in Mirth, yet if we could look into their Breasts, we should behold there Wounds and Gashes, horrid Tearings and Rendings, unspeakable Terrors and Tortures, *even in Laughter their Hearts are sorrowful*; for they are conscious to themselves, that though they are Possessors of Wealth and Abundance, yet they are Rebels against God, and are obnoxious to his Vengeance.

4thly, What a Good Man enjoys, is with a *Blessing*. And herein also there is a vast difference between him and the Ungodly, for these have no Divine Blessings annexed to what they have; but all they have, though in the greatest Abundance, is accompanied with a Curse; as we learn from those two remarkable Places Deut. 28. 16, &c. and Job 20. 22, 23. and from that notable Instance in Psal. 18. 30. *Whilst the Meat was yet in their Mouths, the Wrath of God came upon them*. But what cannot God's Blessing effect? This makes the hardest Fare and shortest Allowance exceeding beneficial and prosperous; as in the Case of Daniel and the other Three Jewish Captives, who grew Fair and Fat with mere Pulse and Water. If Want and Scarcity be so successful, what think you will Plenty be with a Blessing? And what a poor Thing is it without this? What Thoughts then may we conceive of the Ungodly, who are deprived of this? Their Table becomes a Snare to them, as the Psalmist speaks; their great Provision, their Wealth and Affluence prove hurtful and mischievous to them. These Beasts are crowned with Garlands, when they are going to be Sacrificed and Slaughtered. *When the Wicked spring as the Grass, and when all the Workers of Iniquity do flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed for ever*, Psal. 92. 7. Their greatest Felicities are but in order to their Ruin.

5thly and lastly, Good Men have the Things of this World bestowed upon them as *Pledges* of the good Things of another. Earthly Blessings are fore-runners of Heavenly ones to them. Temporal Mercies are Tokens of Eternal Felicity. We know that a small Piece of Money which is given as the *Earnest* of some greater Summ, is quite another Thing than a Piece of the same Value given in Full, and received as Whole Payment. Now it is certain, that Worldly Riches are given to wicked Men as their whole Pay, and therefore this is all they must look for. We are told, that *they have their Portion in this Life*, they must

must expect none in the other. Having *received their good Things* here, they cannot promise themselves any hereafter. But to those that fear God and are beloved of him, these Earthly Things are given as an Earnest only : This they have in Hand now, and this assures them of better and glorious Things hereafter, namely, their Full and Compleat Reward in the Highest Heavens. Thus we see there is a mighty *Difference* between God's giving *this daily Bread* to the Godly, and his giving it to those of a contrary Character. The Former have a Title and Right to it ; they enjoy it with the Love and Favour of God, with Peace of Conscience, and with a Blessing, and moreover it is a Pledge to them of Everlasting Bliss and Happiness. But nothing of this can be said of the latter.

Having settled this Notion aright, I must in the next Place yet further rectify our apprehension concerning God's giving us our daily Bread. Though he is justly said to give it us, yet we must take care to gain it our selves. For we are to know, that God gives us this Bread by giving us Ability to *Work and Labour*, by supporting us in our several Callings and Stations in which he hath placed us, by prospering the Work of our Hands, and succeeding our lawful Undertakings. Man was not born to live with his Arms a-cross, or to fold them up in his Bosom, but to exercise and use them in some honest Employment. God cares and provides for us, but this must not exclude our industrious providing for our selves. Yea, as there is a Necessity of Meat for Life, so there is a Necessity of Labour for that Meat. If any Man will not work, neither let him eat, is a plain Apostolical Rule, 2 *Thess.* 3. 10. And again, *Study to be quiet, and to do your own Business, working with your own Hands, as we commanded you, that you may walk honestly towards them that are without, and that you may have lack of nothing,* 1 *Thess.* 4. 11. If any Man then shall make his Profession of Religion to be a Cloak for Idleness, and shall think that his Care for the Food which endureth, privileges him from Labour in his lawful Vocation for the Meat that perisheth, he deserves to be starved out of that Opinion, and the Text where the former Words are, will no ways relieve him. In short, though God gives, yet we must endeavour : For the Things of this Life which we stand in need of, are to be attained on our Part in the use of Means : They are to be acquired by Diligence and Painfulness in our Callings.

But then this also is to be remembered, that we are obliged to do nothing unworthy and sinful in the purchasing of them. All Lying and Deceit, all Defrauding and Cheating, all Violence, and Rapine, and Oppression, whereby Men too frequently get Riches, are to be abhorred by us.

And as we must be Just and Honest in the gaining of the good Things of this World, so we must be Humble and Modest, Sober and Temperate in the possessing and enjoying them. We must often urge this upon our Minds, that these Things were not bestowed upon us, that we should spend them upon our Lusts, or make them any ways instrumental to Vice ; but on the contrary, they were given us to be Helps to Vertue and Religion. In the use of these Earthly Comforts we ought to be Heavenly-minded, and by tasting the Goodness and Bounty of God in the good Things of this Life, to be encouraged to seek after and labour for that Bread which cometh down from Heaven, and is the Nourishment of our Souls. Freely we have received, therefore let us freely give : Let us cast our Bread upon the Waters, let us be loving and charitable to our poor and indigent Brethren, distributing a Portion to Seven and also to Eight, that is, to as many as our Christian Prudence will direct us to relieve. Let us impartially take an Account of what we have received, and how many Gratuities and Favours have been conferred upon us, the least of which requires more Thanks than our whole Life is able to render ; and let us resolve to use these Temporal Blessings as the Gifts of God, that is, such as are to be employed in his Service, and to his Glory.

This also is requisite, that we be prepared to part with them. For we must know, that though 'tis here said [*our daily Bread*] because God gives it us, yet this Bread is Originally his. We have but a Secondary Right to these Earthly good Things : we are but *Usufructuaries*, that is, the Use and Service of them are Our's ; but God hath the Primary Right and the Absolute Propriety. For he holds of himself, but we all from him ; and therefore the former is a Direct and Original Title, and

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Our's is but Indirect and Secondary : and we hold at the Will of our Lord. We must then be always in Readiness to bid adieu to those Temporal Enjoyments, whenever the Master and Owner of them calls for them. And when we are actually bereaved of them, we must take up the Language of that Holy Man, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away : blessed be the Name of the Lord.* And we ought to consider further, that as he takes away, so he can Restore, as in the Case of that Holy Man. God is able to confer upon us the same or greater Blessings than we had before, if we heartily pray unto him in the Words of this Petition, *Give us, &c.*

There is something yet further to be observed : it is *daily Bread* which is mentioned here. Which suggests this to us, that we ought to be Content with the present Allowance, and not to be immoderately solicitous about the Future. It is true, a Provident Care is that which becomes every Christian ; for the Apostle tells us, that *he that provideth not for his own, and especially for those of his own House, hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel,* 1 Tim. 5. 8. But an Excessive Carefulness and Distraction of Mind doth no ways beseem a Person professing Godliness, for this diverts his Thoughts from a better World, and makes him place his chief Happiness in the Things of this Life, and reckon the Perishing Enjoyments of this Present State as his Ultimate End and Center. Against this Pernicious Temper we are sufficiently Antidoted by what is suggested to us in that Incomparable Sermon of Christ on the Mount ; where, as he took the Advantage of the Rising-ground to speak to his Auditors, so he delivered Things far Exalted above the Level of Common Morality. First, he acquaints us that God doth every Minute bestow Greater and Choicer Benefits upon us than those which we spend so much Care upon ; *Is not the Life (saith he) more than Meat, and the Body than Rayment ?* Matt. 6. 25. He is pleased to give us Greater Things without our Care and Sollicitude, and shall we despair of his Conferring the Lesser Ones upon us ? Certainly he would not have given us a Being, if he had not Thoughts of upholding it. Secondly, Christ sends us to the Creatures which are of an inferior Order, and much below us, the *Fowls of the Air, and the Lillies of the Field,* to learn our Duty. God takes care of *them*, and shall we imagine that he will be wanting to Creatures of a higher and nobler Rank ? v. 26. Thirdly, He lets us know how Vain and Frivolous it is to be Anxious and Over-careful. *Which of you by so doing can add one Cubit to his Stature ?* v. 27. Fourthly, He assures us of God's Watchful and Fatherly Eye of Providence over us, *Your heavenly Father knows that you have need of all these things,* v. 32. Fifthly, It is unworthy of Christians, yea, 'tis rather the Guise of Infidels to be Over-sollicitous. *After all these things do the Gentiles seek,* greedily seek, for so the *Greek Word signifies. Sixthly, He propounds and commends unto us a Better Seeking, and Ascertains us, that if *that* takes up our chief Thoughts, and engages our Main Endeavours, these Temporal Things shall be annexed to it. *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you,* v. 33. Seventhly, and Lastly, He informs us what Vexations and Troubles we shall necessarily bring upon our selves by our Anticipating Cares. *Take no thought for the morrow : for the morrow shall take thought for the things of it self : sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.* If you be too Anxious, you will perpetually be molested and disturbed, for every Day hath its Evil, as well as Good. Your best Way is to enjoy the Present Good, and not be discontented at the Present Evil, or Anxious about the Future One.

So pregnant is this Part of our Saviour's Sermon with Excellent Topicks against Immoderate Care. By them he would persuade us to live on our *Daily Bread*, to rest satisfied with our Present Allotment, and not be inordinately Sollicitous about the Future. This is particularly contained in this Petition which is here taught us by our Lord, *Give us this day our daily bread :* for if God gives us bread, and be *daily bread*, we have no Reason to be Excessive in our Cares : We are to commit our selves to the Divine Care and Protection, and yet with a Prudent and Christian Forecast making use of those Lawful Means which are in order to our Temporal Subsistence and Welfare in this World.

I come in the next Place to the *Relative* Consideration of the Words; namely, as they are part of a *Prayer*. And this is denoted by those first Words, *Give us*, which shew it to be a *Petition*. First then, we are instructed here to *pray* unto God that he would *give us our daily bread*, bestow on us the Good Things of this Life. Not only Spiritual Benefits are the Matter of our Requests, but those that are Earthly and Temporal. If we want any of these Things, we must repair to God for them. All the Things of this Life are to be sought by Prayer. We must not take it ill if we be told that we must *beg our Bread*. This in General. But also for the Explication which I have given of this Word [*Bread*] we are instructed what we must *particularly* pray for; namely, in the first Place, for our Food and Sustenance, that the Divine Goodness would be pleased to bless it to us, and to make us thankful for it. Therefore at the very time of taking our Food, it is Laudable and Pious to Implore the Divine Favour and Blessing, and after we have taken it, to return Thanks. This was an Ancient Practice among the People of God, as we read in 1 Sam. 9. 13. *The People would not eat, till the Meat was blessed, and afterwards they did eat.* And this we find practised by our Saviour, Matt. 14. 19. 15. 36. where the Devotion used on this Occasion is called *Blessing and Giving of Thanks*. And thence it came to be the Custom of the Christians in the Apostles Times to Bless God at their Ordinary Meals, Acts 27. 35. Before St. Paul and the Others, Passengers in the Ship, took Bread and Meat, he gave Thanks to God in the Presence of them all, and in behalf of them all. And that the

* Non prius discumbitur quam Oratio ad Deum prægustetur. *Apol.* Æquè Oratio convivium dirimit. *Ibid.*

† Nec cibi sumuntur nisi oratione præmissâ. *Epist. ad Eustoch.* Nec recedatur à mensâ nisi referatur Creatori gratia. *Ibid.*

‡ Cum cibum paramus sumere, —cùm sumpserimus. *De Virginit. lib. 3.*

* See Quintilian. *Declam. 301.* Stobæus, c. 41.

like was done in succeeding Ages, we learn from the Ancient Writers of the Church, as * *Tertullian*, † *Ferom*, ‡ *Ambrorse*, who expressly make mention of Imploring and Thanking God before and after Meat: and other Fathers speak of the same Pious Usage. And I might add, that the very * *Pagans* of old Invoked the Gods before their Meals. This hath been practised by all Persons professing Religion till of late, when it hath been laid aside by an Enthusiastic Sect among us, and by some others of a far different Temper: so that in some Places it is become an unfashionable Piece of Devotion. But all Wise and Good Men still retain it.

Again, We are instructed from this Petition, that not only our *Corporal Food and Sustenance* are to be Matter of our Prayers, but likewise *all other Necessaries* that are required for the Support of our Lives. * *We are*

* Ζητεῖν προσέλαχθαι τὸ πρὸς τὴν συντήρησιν ἐξαρκεῖν τῆς κοινῆς βίτης.

† Τὸν ἄρτον ὁδὸς, ἡ τροφήν, &c.

commanded to pray, saith St. Chrysostom, for whatever is sufficient for the preserving of our Bodies. And he adds, it is said,

† *Give us Bread, not Superfluities.* Yet, in the next Place

likewise we may lawfully pray for *Conveniencies*, to render our Life more easy: yea, for *Delights*, if we know how to use them lawfully. We have indeed no Ground to pray for Superfluities, but we may, with Submission to the Divine Pleasure, pray for Plenty. But this must be said, to Regulate our Desires and Prayers, that we must ask this Abundance, and desire the Enjoyment of it, only as it is fit for our Condition, and suitable to the Circumstances God placeth us in. This therefore doth chiefly concern those who by God's Providence are exalted in the World above their Neighbours, and on whom he hath already conferred great Revenues and Incomes. It is lawful for such to pray that their Riches and Plenty may be continued, that they may have Supplies according to their Place and Station wherein they are, and wherein they study to do all the Good they can. For indeed this plentiful Income is *their Bread*, is as requisite for them in their Condition, as a meaner Portion of the Things of this Life is for those that are set in a lower Rank.

Feed me with Food convenient for me, saith Solomon, Prov. 30. 8. (For 'tis most probable that *Agur* is but another Name for *Solomon*): And what this convenient Food was, you may inform your selves in 1 Kings 4. 23. where you read that his Daily Provision was thirty Measures of fine Flour, sixty Measures of Meal, thirty Oxen, One hundred Sheep, besides Fowls and Venison. This was his Appointed Bread (as 'tis in the Original) or the Bread of his Provision for one Day. The Latins generally call this Stated Provision *Dimensum*, and the Greeks *Στοματεῖον*: whence the Septuagint use this Word in Gen. 47. 12. and St. Luke in ch. 12. v. 42. It is a certain Portion,

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Measure of Food or Corn, as much as is fit for the Persons to whom it is distributed. Solomon had but his convenient Portion, his Bread of Appointment, his necessary Food; for 'tis worth your observing that so the Hebrew is translated in Job 23. 12. So that King Solomon's Great Provision was but his necessary and convenient Allotment, it was his daily Bread, it was that Portion which was most agreeable to his Royal Condition and Quality. Others also, in their Proportion, and according to their Rank, may lawfully desire that they may live in a plentiful Enjoyment of the good things of this Life, if this be the End that they aim at, that thereby they may serve God the more chearfully, and be in a Capacity to do much good with them, and consequently be instrumental to advance God's Glory the more. But this their Desire must be with great Deference and Submission to the Will of God, and they must be ready to frame their Minds to an entire Contentment with their present Allowance, if God should not be pleased to make any Accessions to it. Chiefly they must pray for God's Blessing on whatever they have.

More particularly, we are bid here to pray to God for *Daily Bread*, for the Continuance of it from Day to Day, that we may hereby be reminded to Rely on God for our daily Sustainance. It is said by the *Talmudists, [He that hath Meat to eat to Day, and saith, What shall I eat to Morrow? wants Faith; for he that created the Day, created also its Food.] But this Faith is advanced by this Prayer which our Saviour hath taught us, wherein he directs us to trust on God's Providence and Care of us as to the Concerns of this Life. It is *Bread for a Day*, therefore we must depend upon the most High for our Provision. And by the frequent repeating of this Petition we engage our selves to this Dependance, and Trust on God for the Sustainment of this Temporal Life.

But moreover, we must not forget here that as God's giving us our daily Bread doth not exclude our Industry and Labour (as I observed before) so neither doth our Praying for it exclude these. Our Bread is God's Gift, but he bestows it not without our Care and Pains; wherefore we cannot reasonably desire it without these. Absurdly foolish is that Husbandman who prays for a plentiful Harvest, and in the mean time lives idle, and neither ploughs nor sows his Land. This is the present Case, we irrationally expect and pray that our daily Bread should be given us unless we work for it, i. e. unless we employ our selves in that lawful Way which Providence hath set us in. The Truth is, we cannot heartily and sincerely pray for this Bread, unless we be also diligent in the procuring of it. See then that you banish all Sloth and Idleness, and let your constant Endeavours wait on your Prayers. Be careful and faithful in your Callings, keep your selves employed in honest and lawful Enterprizes; and put up this Petition with great Fervour and Earnestness, Give us this Day, &c.

In the next place I am to speak of the Adjunct of Time belonging to this Petition, *this Day*. As we pray that God would give us our daily Bread, so we request that he would give it us *this Day*. Some have thought that the whole Space of a Man's Life is meant by this: For all the Time of a Man's Pilgrimage on Earth is in Scripture called a Day. Learn hence, saith an Ancient Father, that † the whole Life of Man is to be reckoned only for a Day. Mortal Men have this Epithet of ἐφήμεροι given them by Aristophanes, Pindar and Euripides: They are poor short-liv'd Animals, Creatures of a Day's Duration. This is a good Useful Notion, but is not the Intent of this Place. The plain Meaning of Praying to God to give us *this Day* our daily Bread, is no other than this, that we must not, when we pray, be anxiously looking after to Morrow. Christ bids us here mind *this Day* only: Or, if you take it in St. Luke's Word καὶ ἡμέραν Day by Day, or every Day, it amounts to the same Sense. So that we may think it not improbable that our Saviour alludes here to the Israelites gathering Manna, which fell from Heaven Day by Day. They were expressly commanded to gather the Portion or Thing of the Day in its Day (for so 'tis according to the Hebrew) Ex. 16. 4. The Manna was to be gathered in that very Day in which it fell, and none was to be laid up for the Morrow. Such should be our acting towards the things of this World, we are not to engross them in our Prayers, we are to request them Day by Day, i. e. as we have need of them.

* Tractat.
Tanchu-
mah.

† Εφήμε-
ρος ὅτιν ἡ
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And now I know nothing remains to be observed but this, that in this Petition (which I have laboured to explain to you) we pray not for our selves only, but for others. *Give us*: Bestow, O Bountiful Father, upon our selves and all others, the things of this Life which are convenient for us and them, and which thou knowest to be suitable to our Condition and Quality as well as theirs. The *Publick* must be our Concern, chiefly those of the Household of Faith, those that are truly Religious. We are more especially bound to sympathize with these, and to implore the Divine Goodness and Providence in their Behalf.

The Fifth PETITION.

And forgive us our Debts, as we also forgive our Debtors.]

Where it is shewed how God forgives Debts or Trespasses, and how we are said to do it. The Full Extent of our Duty as to this.

HERE are these Two Things to be considered: 1. The Matter of the Prayer, *Forgive us our Debts.* 2. The Condition of that Forgiveness, *As we also forgive our Debtors.* As to the First, my formerly propounded Method obliges me to speak of these Words first *Absolutely*; and then *Relatively*. First, let us consider these Words in themselves; *Forgive us our Debts*, saith St. Matthew: *Forgive us our Sins*, saith St. Luke. They are both one, for by *Debts* are meant *Sins*. If you would know the Reason of this manner of Expression, you are to be informed that it is in Compliance with the *Syriac* and *Chaldee*: For the *Hebrew Chatta*, *peccatum*, is called in *Syriac Hoba*, *debitum*. So the Verb *Chob* in the *Chaldee* is both *peccare* and *debitorem esse*, and thence the Noun *Chob* is both *peccatum* and *debitum*. Hence it is that in St. Luke the Word is ἀμαρτία, but in St. Matthew ὀφειλήματα. And as *Sin* and *Debt*, so *Sinners* and *Debtors* were the same in the *Syriac*, and accordingly our Saviour saith of those on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell, *Think ye that they were Sinners* (in the *Greek* it is *Debtors*) *above all Men that dwelt in Jerusalem?* Luke 12. 4. This is to comport with the *Syriac* Idiom.

But there is also a Reason in the thing it self that occasions this manner of Speech: For *Sins* and the Penalties belonging to them are real *Debts*, and *Sinners* are truly *Debtors*. For as *Debts* bind us either to pay them, or suffer Imprisonment, so for our *Sins* either God must be satisfied, or we must be cast into the *Infernal Prison* of Hell (as 'tis called in *Matth.* 18. 30.) the Place of the Damned. We must know then, that *Sin* is not properly and strictly speaking a *Debt*, for no Man owes *Sin* to any one: But a *Debt* is either *Criminal* or *Pecuniary*; the former imports an *Obnoxiousness* to Punishment for a Crime committed, the latter makes us liable to pay Money for a *Debt* contracted. Now, 'tis not this latter *Debt* that is meant here, but the other; for we are *Criminals*, and have thereby brought our selves under an *Obligation* of Punishment. But we are of our selves unable to pay this *Debt*, to satisfy God's Justice: Wherefore we remain *Debtors* before God, we are bound to suffer the horridest Punishments and Inflictions which are due for *Sin*. Yea, we are *double Debtors*; for First we are so by Promise and Covenant, by taking upon us (in the General Covenant and Agreement between God and Mankind) to pay Obedience and Service to God: And we are Secondly *Debtors* by Actual Guilt, *i. e.* by our not doing of this which we took upon us to do. By the former we are obliged to Obedience, by the latter we are obnoxious to Punishment: By both we become *Debtors* to

God's

God's Justice. Thus you see how accountable it is, that *Sins* and *Trespases* should be called *Debts*, as they are here in this Petition which is now before us. And this is the Reason of the Liberty which we constantly take of pronouncing of this Petition thus, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us*; whereas we read in neither in St. Matthew nor St. Luke in these words; for in the former Place 'tis thus, *Forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors*: And in the latter 'tis after this manner, *Forgive us our Sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us*. But because *Sins* or *Trespases* are *Debts*, and those that *trespass* against us are *Debtors*, therefore we make bold to rehearse the Petition in those Words.

In the next Place I am to speak of the *Forgiveness* of these our *Debts*, our *Sins* and *Trespases*. And so the grand Truth founded upon this part of the Petition is that of the Royal Psalmist, *There is Forgiveness with God*, Psal. 130. 4. It is He, and He alone that forgives *Sins*, otherwise we should not be commanded (as here) to pray to him for this *Forgiveness*. This then is our Condition; We are poor Debtors, our *Sins* have made us such; We are under an indispensable Obligation of Punishment for our *Sins*; and which renders us more miserable, we are not able to pay our Creditor, we cannot possibly discharge our Debt. But the Son of God can, yea and he will, for the great Design of his Coming was to *forgive Sins*. Now, this *Forgiveness* of *Sins* is both an Abolition of the Guilt which we have contracted by our *Sins*, and also a Relaxing or Dispensing with the Penalty due to our *Sins*. Forgiving of *Trespases* is not only remitting of Sin, but the Punishment which the sinful Person is liable to. Indeed the most proper Denotation of *Forgiveness* is the not exacting this latter; that is, the Punishment of Sin: As we are said to forgive a Man his *Fault* and his *Debt* when we do not require at his Hands any Consideration or Return for what he hath done, or for what he hath borrowed. So here God forgives Sin, when he doth not punish the Sinner according to his Demerits, but treats him as a Sinless and Guiltless Person. This is partly meant by *not imputing of Sin*, as in Psal. 32. 2. *Blessed is the Man to whom the Lord imputeth not Iniquity*. Or more positively in the foregoing Verse, *Blessed is he whose Transgression is forgiven, whose Sin is covered*. The latter Clause is the Explication of the former, and shews wherein *Forgiveness* consists, viz. in *Covering*, *Hiding* our *Sins*; which is called *Blotting them out*, Psal. 51. 1. Acts 3. 19. as if they never had been.

But how comes this to pass? For whose Sake is this done? For the Sake, for the Merits of Christ Jesus, the Son of God's Love. It is for his Sake that God looks upon our *Sins*, as not committed, and looks upon us as innocent; which must needs be because Christ hath paid our *Debts*. There being no *Remission* without *Satisfaction* (notwithstanding what the Socinians confidently, but most falsely affirm, that God freely remits Sin without it) the Eternal Son of God hath made a full and compleat Satisfaction to his Father; and God the Father hath graciously accepted of this Satisfaction as a full and perfect Discharge. This is the astonishing Mystery of our Faith. We could not make Satisfaction our selves, therefore God hath been pleased to accept of Payment from another's Hands, even from Christ Jesus our Surety. He satisfied for us on the Cross, for his Sake alone our *Debts* are cancelled, our *Sins* are pardoned, our Persons are absolved: Sin and Punishment were too nearly related to be separated by *Us*, our Guilt unavoidably making us liable to Penalty. But these are disjoyned by the Infinite Mercy and Free Grace of God in Christ Jesus, or rather they are both remitted for his Sake.

O that we may Admire and Adore this Divine Clemency and Mercy! O that it may be a powerful Spring and Motive in us to all Religious Endeavours! The Connexion of the Psalmist's Words is observable, *There is Forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared*, i. e. that thou mayest be Worshipped, Served, Obedied; to which God's forgiving of our *Sins* doth kindly invite us. If God were not a God pardoning Sin, there could be no ground for Obedience, for we might ever despair of being accepted by God. But now we are assured that we shall be accepted; we know that Christ stands ready to embrace us, to save our Souls, and to make us happy. Therefore we are encouraged to forsake our *Sins*, to repent of our evil Ways, to lay hold on the Mercy and Pardon offered to us, and to walk worthy of it. But I have largely handled this Article of Religion, namely,

namely, *The Forgiveness of Sins*, when I treated of the *Creed*, where it was most proper to discourse of it, and therefore I will not now enlarge.

Secondly, The Words are to be considered with relation to the *Prayer* whereof they are part. The *Petition* is, *that God would forgive us our Sins*: Whence I gather it to be our indispensable Concern to *crave* and *beg* of God the Forgiveness of our Sins. We must with great Importunity and Earnestness request our Heavenly Father to conceal all our Spiritual Debts, that is, our Sins, to pardon our Iniquities, to blot out our Transgressions. We must be frequently imploring the Divine Goodness to pass by the Miscarriages of our Lives, and to remit the Punishment of them. We must earnestly pray that we may not be condemned; and we must pray likewise that we may be Absolved and Acquitted. And as we must beg the Remission of our Sins, so we are concerned to *crave* that we may have a comfortable Apprehension and Feeling of it in our Consciences. This we are obliged by this *Petition* to pray for. And it must be done with all Humility, and with the profoundest Submission; for, as the *Jews* say, *A Man is not presumed to behave himself impudently before his Creditor*. We are by reason of our Sins miserable Debtors to God, and therefore we ought not to appear before him with an unbecoming Boldness, but we ought rather to fear and tremble in his sight.

* Talmud.
Gittin.

But besides this great Duty which is the very Subject Matter of the *Petition*. I might further add, that it is implied here, 1st. That whenever we come to make our Addresses to God, we are to have a deep Sense of our Sins, not only of our evil and depraved Nature, but of all our Actual Transgressions and Offences. We cannot pray heartily for Forgiveness of our Sins unless we be first sensible of them. This is a necessary requisite to Prayer; and this is also necessary in order to obtaining the Forgiveness which we pray for. 2^{dly}, It is implied here that we cannot make Satisfaction for our Sins: Yea, we acknowledge in our Prayers that we cannot do it; for when we desire God to forgive us our Sins, we own that we cannot be Discharged and Acquitted of them by any thing that we can do. God is considered as a *Creditor*; we are *Debtors*; the Law urges the *Obligation* to the Payment: But we cannot pay what is owing; wherefore Christ paid it for us by undergoing the Punishment which was due to us, and so we are discharged. 3^{dly}, This is implied, that when we pray, we ought to rely, yea, and that we do rely on the free Forgiveness of God through Christ Jesus. When we sincerely pray, *Forgive us our Sins*, we have recourse to the Grace and Bounty of God in Christ for the Remission of all our Sins. For that God would vouchsafe to transfer the Penalty from us to him, is an Act of Free Grace. Whence by the way, we may be convinced that *Satisfaction* is consistent with the Free Remission of Sin, for it is Free and Gratuitous to accept of anothers Payment and Satisfaction, whereas these might have been demanded of the Persons that sinned.

But against this Practice of Praying for Pardon of our Sins, it may be objected, that if the Sins of the Faithful be forgiven, there is no need of praying for it, especially a long time after they are forgiven. How then can we daily say, *Forgive us our Trespases*? I answer: There can be no Incongruity in this, that those that have some Assurance of the Favour of God in the Pardon of their Sins, should yet persist in begging the Pardon of them, for we have an Example of it in a very Unexceptionable Person, in a True Penitent and Holy Man, viz. David. He being reproved by the Prophet Nathan for his great Enormities, humbly confessed them, and was pardoned, 2 Sam. 12. 13. *The Lord hath put away thy Sin*. Yet in that Psalm which was composed on the occasion of Nathan's coming to him, we find that he particularly confesses those Enormous Actions, and earnestly prays for the Remission of them. According to the Multitude of thy tender Mercies blot out my Transgressions, Psal. 51. 1. Hide thy Face from my Sins, and blot out all mine Iniquities, v. 9. This he doth after the Pardon was pronounced and ascertained. When a skilful Artist hath with great Care and Tenderness set the disjoynted or broken Member, and the Cure is compleated, yet it is usual with the Patient to have some Remembrances of his former Pain, and little Grudgings of his past Torment. So this Royal Penitent having been recovered and restored by the Mercy of Heaven, and being now in a sound and safe Condition, yet doth feel some little Returns of his former Distemper, and the

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the Remembrance of it is grievous unto him, the Burden is intolerable. There remains upon his Mind an inexpressible Anguish, and this makes him repair to the God of Heaven, and bemoan his Folly, and implore the Divine Grace, and beg some farther Testimonies of his Favour. This without doubt is the Case of others besides *David*: They cannot *altogether* and *at once* receive the exceeding great Pleonasm and Abundances of the Divine Bounty, they must be Partakers of them *by little and little*, and arrive to the full Sense of Pardon by degrees. Whence it is no wonder that you hear them praying for the Forgiveness of their Sins.

But the most satisfactory Answer to the Objection is this, That though our past Sins are forgiven, yet our present ones require Forgiveness every Day; and therefore we must daily pray for it. We stand in need of *continual Pardon* because we *continually sin* and offend God. Whence it follows that we must constantly beg this Pardon. As we say, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, so 'tis as necessary to pray, *Give us this Day our daily Pardon*. Thus praying for Forgiveness of our Sins becomes a standing and perpetual Office of Religion.

I proceed to the second Clause in the Words, which contains the *Condition of that Forgiveness of Sins* which we pray for. *As we forgive them that trespass against us*. And here likewise I must distinctly speak of the *Absolute* and of the *Relative* Consideration of the Words. First, looking upon them absolutely, it will be necessary to shew what this Conjunction *as* imports: First *negatively*, it is certain that when we are bid to pray that God would vouchsafe to forgive us our Trespases *as we forgive them*, &c. this [*as*] is not to be looked upon as the *Measure* of God's forgiving us: For God forgives us fully and perfectly, but we are defective in forgiving those that offend us. Therefore we may infer that *as* signifies not an exact *Equality*, or an Equality in *all* Things, but only a *Likeness* or *Resemblance* in the main, *i. e.* we profess in this Prayer, that we sincerely and freely forgive those that have trespassed against us, and that we are ready to discover and make Proof of this Sincerity and Freeness by all those usual Signs that accompany Forgiveness. 2. This *as* is not a *Rule* for God's forgiving. This follows from what I have said, for what is imperfect cannot be the Rule and Pattern of that which is altogether Perfect. 3. It signifies not the *impulsive* or *meritorious Cause* of the Forgiveness of Sins, which we beg of God. This is alone the Satisfaction of Christ our Redeemer, and therefore it cannot be our forgiving of others.

But *positively* and *directly* to shew what is meant by this [*as*], and the whole Clause together annexed, *As we forgive our Debtors, or those that trespass against us*. 1. It is a tacit Acknowledgment that 'tis our *Duty* to forgive our Neighbours. 2. We do also by these Words *oblige our selves* to forgive those that offend us. There is a *Promise* of forgiving them included in these Words. 3. This denotes our *actual Forgiving* of our Brethren. We cannot say [*as we forgive*] unless we do really forgive. 4. Hereby we *profess* that at the same time when we pray this Prayer, we forgive those that trespass against us. 5. This plainly signifies that our forgiving of our Brethren is a necessary *Qualification* and *Condition* in order to our being forgiven of God. Forgive us *as we forgive others*, is as much as to say, God will not forgive us if we do not forgive others. And this is that which our Saviour himself in the end of the Prayer inculcates with much Earnestness as the Reason of this Petition, *If ye forgive Men their Trespases, your heavenly Father will forgive you your Trespases: But if ye forgive not Men, neither will your Father forgive you*. The 5th Petition is the only Petition in the *Lord's-Prayer* that Christ explains, and you see what is his Explication: He makes our forgiving of others an *absolute Condition*, without which we cannot obtain Forgiveness of our Sins from God. So that there is a Necessity of forgiving others on this Account; and we cannot know that our Sins are forgiven us, unless our Consciences tell us that we have forgiven others. Wherefore it was rightly said by one of the Ancients, upon this part of the *Lord's-Prayer*,

* [What Precept can be more mild than this, what more sweet? God makes thee a Judge of the Pardon of thy Sins. If thou forgivest little, thou shalt be forgiven little: If thou forgivest much, thou shalt be forgiven much: If thou forgivest sincerely and from thy Heart, so will God forgive thee.] 6. This is propounded as an *Argument* or *Motive* to God to forgive us. Accordingly this [*as*] in *St. Matthew* is turned into [*for*] in *St. Luke*, [*For we also forgive every one*

* Τί τότε πρῶτον; πῶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ῥώτερον τῶ περιτρίβεται; ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἐπίστασιν τὴν συγχώρησιν ἡμῶν ὅλων ἀμαρτημάτων. Ἄν' ὀλίγα ἀφῆς, ὀλίγα ἀφίεται, ἀν' πολλὰ ἀφῆς, πολλὰ ἀφίεται. ἀν' ἀπὸ καρδίας ἀφῆς καὶ καθαρώς, ὅπως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀφίησιν. Chrysost. Hom. 60. Tom. 6.

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that is indebted to us.] Which shews that it is mentioned as a Reason to excite God's Compassion to us, and to prevail with him for Pardon. *Blessed are the merciful, saith Christ, for they shall obtain Mercy, Mat. 5. 7.* Wherefore by testifying our Mercifulness to our Brethren in forgiving their Faults, we move God to shew the like Pity to us. We do as much as say, Be compassionate, O Lord, to us whom thou hast stirred up to be merciful to our Fellow-creatures. We beg Mercy for our selves, who are desirous and ready to shew it to others. If our Hearts are affectionate, and disposed to Compassion, Thou much more art so, who art the God of Mercy. If we, who have but a small Portion of that Philanthropy which dwelleth in Thee, forgive Men their Offences whereby they have injured us, much more Thou God of infinite and immense Love wilt remit our Trespases and Offences against thee. 7thly and lastly, The hearty using of this Word is an *Argument to us to believe* that our Sins are forgiven by God. He that is not ready to pass by the Offences of others, never had any Sense of the Benefit of Christ's forgiving him. But on the contrary that Man may persuade himself his Sins are pardoned, who freely remits the Failings of his Brethren. Wherefore from our having Mercy on others, *we argue* the Divine Mercy and Forgiveness to our selves. Thus you see how Pregnant this Clause of the Words is.

Our *great Duty* which is here commended to us, and which I am now to explain to the full, is, That we ought to be careful to pass by Injuries, to forgive and pardon the Offences of our Brethren. This then we must know, that Man, as well as God, *forgives Sin*, but in a different manner. God forgives it as it is properly *Sin*, i. e. as it is a Transgression of his Law, as it is committed against him who is the Lawgiver. In this Sense it was said truly by the *Scribes and Pharisees*, Luke 5. 2. *Who can forgive Sins but God only?* But *Man* can forgive Sins so far as they are a *Harm, Damage, or Injury* to him: And thus we are commanded to forgive the Trespases of our Brethren. The particular Instances of which Christian Duty are these that follow.

1. We must bear no *ill Will* to those who have done us wrong: We must not harbour Hatred and Malice in our Hearts against them. To *forgive* is to extirpate out of our Thoughts and Intendments all *Desires* and *Designs* of being revengeful.

2. Much less ought we to *endeavour Revenge*, and to seek to retaliate the Injuries that are done to us. All private returning Evil for Evil is utterly unlawful, unless in Case of great Necessity.

Yea, 3dly, We are not permitted to look after a *publick Redress*, and to seek Revenge at the *Magistrate's* Hand, if the Crime be but small, or may be compounded, or if it be the first Fault, or if the remitting of it be not an Injury to the Community, i. e. if Impunity will not encourage the Offender and others to commit the like again, and to harden themselves in their Wickedness; or if we cannot go to Law without the Violation of Christian Charity and Meekness, or if we pursue our Right with Rigour and Cruelty, and the utter ruining of our Neighbour. Hence you may learn how we are to *forgive our Debtors*. The Gospel doth not bid us discharge every Man of the Sums of Money which he owes us: For by this means Persons would not be able to call any thing their own; Propriety would be lost in the World, and thereby Confusion would soon invade it. By this means we shall be reduced to Want and Poverty, and take a Course to continue so always. But if the Debt be small, and such as I can remit without Prejudice to my self and those I am to take Care of; and if the Condition of the Person be such, that he cannot by himself or others, either now or hereafter make me Satisfaction, I am obliged by the Laws of Christianity to forgive him his Debt: For Christianity engages me to be charitable, and by forgiving him I shall shew my self so to him. Or if the Debt be great, and he not in a Capacity to discharge it by any means; if I am fully satisfied of this, and that he is no Cheat, I ought not to occasion his running further into Debt by laying him up in Prison, but I must submit to a Composition, and accept of Part for the Whole; or forbear it All till he be able to pay me, or permit him to satisfy me by Degrees, as he shall be able: Or if it will be a very great and signal Act of Charity to him and his Family (if he have one) to release him wholly, and if it will be *no Damage* to my self, or my near Relatives, I am bound to

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discharge him wholly of the Debt, *i. e.* as to any present Trouble and Disturbance which I might give him: But I would oblige him to shew himself grateful to me, if his Circumstances should be considerably amended.

4. As for Injuries by *Words*, upon a humble Acknowledgment and hearty Submission we are bound to forgive the Offenders: only, if they Renew their Fault, and long persist in it, it would be Charity and Service to the Publick (which ought to countermand my Private Intentions) to take care that they be so animadverted upon, that they may not take Courage to perpetuate their Insolency.

5. If we be injured by *real Actions of Violence*, &c. and they be such as are of no great Detriment to us, and the Publick be no ways concerned in them, then upon the Confession and Submission of the Offender I am obliged to pass by his Fault; for so I am taught by our Blessed Lord, *Luke 17. 3, 4. If thy Brother trespass against thee, and repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I-repent, thou shalt forgive him.* But we are to take another Course if the Injury be *very Considerable*, and hath any relation to or influence upon the *Community*: then I am not bound to forgive the Offender, unless he makes me or the Publick Satisfaction, which is done either by recompensing me for my Loss or Damage, or by undergoing the Penalty which the Law prescribes.

6. We must testify our Forgiveness of our Brethren's Faults, by *praying to God that he would forgive them their sin.* Thus when no Man stood by St. Paul, but all forsook him, he prays that it may not be laid to their charge, *2 Tim. 4. 16.* Yea, when we are not only forsaken, but actually abused and injured by Evil Men, we are bound to pray for their Repentance, and that God would shew Mercy unto them. This is according to our Saviour's Direction, *Pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, Matt. 5. 44.*

7. Our Hearts ought to be so disposed, that we would not do them any Wrong, though there were an Opportunity put into our Hands of doing it.

8. Nor must we *Rejoice* in any Harm that befalls them from Others.

9. If there be occasion, we must *testify* to others that we are no longer at Enmity, but that we are Reconciled to them.

Lastly, We ought so to forgive all Persons that have trespassed against us, that we should be *ready to do them any Good*, and shew them any Kindness: according to our Saviour's strict Institution, *Love your Enemies, do good to them that hate you, Matt. 5. 44.* And herein we imitate the Extensive Love of God, who doth Good to all Men.

You see your *Duty* then, namely *Brotherly Forgiveness.* Hearken to this you who are unwilling to be Reconciled to those that have done you Wrong. You that keep in your Minds a long time the Remembrance of past Injuries, and even aggravate the Faults of others against you; take notice of this. You that retain Anger and Passion, and are Unmerciful and Cruel to your Brethren, listen to this Doctrine. And know this, that *Forgiving* is a Duty of an Universal Obligation; it is required of all Men towards all. That this is not commonly believed, appears from the Behaviour of Great and Rich Men, who most commonly are Severe and Rigid towards them that offend them, as if this Command of *Forgiveness* were Calculated only for Poor Folks, as if these alone were to put up Injuries. But be perswaded of the contrary, and charge your selves with the conscientious Performance of this Duty.

Before I proceed any further, I must take notice of an *Objection*, and return an Answer to it. If we must forgive all those that have injured us, how can we be reconciled with the Practice of some very Good Men recorded in Scripture, and particularly that of *David*, who often Curses his Enemies, and desires God to confound them? And even in the New Testament we find the Apostles using bitter Imprecations against Wicked Men. In Reply to this, we must know that some are of Opinion that those Passages in Scripture seem to be no more than *Predictions*, and *Threatnings of Future Punishments.* *David* by a Prophetic Spirit foretold what should befall his Enemies; as in *Psal. 25. 4, 5, &c. Let them be founded, &c.* Where 'tis expressed in the Future Tense: and so 'tis in *Psal. 69. &c. Let their Table become a snare—let their Eyes be darkned, that they see not—*

* Annotat.
on Psalm
35. 4.

let their Habitation be desolate — The same Way of speaking is in *Psal. 83. 17.* Let them be confounded — let them perish: and in *Psal. 109. 8, &c.* Let his Days be few — let his Children be Fatherless, &c. These and the other like Passages, saith * Dr. Hammond, [are not Forms of Execration or Imprecation against Enemies, but are no more than Testimonies of David's assured Confidence that God would make good his Promises to him concerning the Disappointment and Discomfiture of his Enemies.] But I cannot subscribe to the Judgment of this Learned Writer; for I find that in those forecited Places the Psalmist uses the Imperative or Optative Mood, as well as the Future Tense; yea, the 83d Psalm, 13, 14, 15, 16 Verses is wholly Imperative: and the 69 Psalm, 4 v. is not expressed in the Future, but plainly runs thus, *Pour out thine Indignation upon them.* Whence I apprehend it is manifest that these and the like Places are not to be interpreted as bare Predictions, but as downright Imprecations and Maledictions. And the same is to be said of those Passages in the New Testament, which I shall have Occasion to mention anon. But now, how these are consistent with that Forgiveness which I have been speaking of, I will shew in these following Particulars.

1. We must look upon these Expressions as coming from Extraordinary Persons. David was such a one, he spoke by Divine Instinct and a Prophetic Spirit when he thundered out Curses against the Wicked. So in the Denouncing of that Execration, *Thy Money perish with thee,* Acts 8. 20. St. Peter was moved thereunto by Extraordinary Impulse, and by a Particular Commission from God. So Prophets, Apostles, and Pastors may be stirred up to imprecate Judgments on Persons by vertue of their Publick Office and Function: which doth not hinder, much less exclude their Personal Forgiving them any Offences committed against themselves.

But in the Ensuing Heads I shall shew how in some Cases, even Private and Ordinary Persons may wish and pray for the Confusion and Destruction of Wicked Men, and yet do it lawfully and innocently.

2dly then, That these Imprecations may be Lawful, it is requisite that they be not made against our own Private Enemies, but against the Publick and Professed Enemies of the Church. This Distinction is necessary, for there is a vast Difference between God's Enemies and Our's; that is, those who publicly blaspheme and oppose Religion, and those who have injured us only. From the Example of Good Men both under the Law and the Gospel, we are informed that the first of these may have Maledictions fixed upon them. So *Curse ye Meroz,* Judg. 5. 23. was the Effect of that Holy Zeal against God's Enemies which prevailed at that time: so was that in the same Song, *Let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord,* v. 31. So in those Places in the Psalms before-mentioned, the harsh Language which David uses, is directed wholly against the Open Enemies of the Church of God, not against his Own particular Adversaries, who sought after his life, and laid snares for him, and spake mischievous things against him; for with regard to these he saith, *I as a Deaf Man heard not, and I was as a Dumb Man that openeth not his Mouth,* Psal. 38. 12, 13. They were the Open and Professed Opposers of the Gospel on whom St. Paul fastned a Curse of the highest Nature, 1 Cor. 16. 22. *If any Man love not* (it is a *Meiosis*, a frequent Figure in Scripture, whereby more is meant than is expressed; for by *not loving* here, is signified the Publick Hating and Opposing of) *the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maran-atha:* and in other Places, *Let him be accursed,* Gal. 1. 8, 9. The Primitive Christians anathematized Julian the Apostate in such a Form, wherein they desired God to take him out of the World. Such Imprecations are not Unlawful; and the Reason is plain, because that which God himself hath threatned and foretold, may be prayed for by us; but God hath often foretold and threatned the Destruction and Confusion of the Professed Enemies of his Church, therefore this may be prayed for. Nor is this forbid by our Saviour to his Disciples in *Matt. 5. 44.* *Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you;* for he speaks of those that were their own Private Enemies, that is, such as had done them Personal Wrongs, as we may satisfy our selves from the Context.

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3dly, These Imprecations, whenever they are used, must be against those Publick Enemies of God and Religion who are *incorrigible*. Wherefore these severe Wishes must not be our *First*, they must be consequent of others; namely, that these professed Enemies of the Church may see and be convinced of their Madness, and that they may be reformed and changed. Thus it is observable, that before *David* prayed for the Confusion of such Persons, he prayed for their Conversion, *Psal.* 83. 16, 17. *Fill their Faces with Shame, that they may seek thy Name, O Lord!* But when it appears that there are no Hopes of their seeking God, no probability of their Amendment, we may lawfully betake our selves to the harsher Way. *St. Peter* wished that *Simon Magus* might *perish*, but it was conditionally, that is, if he continued Obdurate, and there were no Hopes of his Conversion. *I would they were cut off that trouble you*, saith the other Apostle, *Gal.* 5. 12. concerning the Seducers of those Days; and he meant it without doubt, of those that obstinately persisted in that wicked Course, and who by their Impenitence had declared themselves Reprobates. But no Man can say that this is inconsistent with *forgiving* such Persons, if they have done us any private Injuries.

4thly, Those that desire that Evil may befall the implacable Enemies of the Church of Christ, must not do it for *base* and *sinister Ends*, but for God's Glory. To this Purpose read *Psal.* 83. 17, 18. *Let them be confounded and troubled for ever, yea, let them be put to Shame and perish; that Men may know, that Thou whose Name alone is Jehovah, art the most High over all the Earth:* That is, that God's Name may be exalted, that his Power, Justice, and Wisdom in the confounding of the Wicked may be manifested, and thereby God's Honour in the World advanced. In our Imprecations we must design his Glory, and not our own, nor our private Grandeur and Ambition; no, nor the satisfying our private Revenge and Malice.

5thly, When we pray for Judgments on the Enemies and Opposers of Religion, we must do it not Absolutely and Peremptorily, but with submission to God's Will. We ought to refer this wholly to his Pleasure and Disposal; otherwise we not only irreverently prescribe to the Almighty, but we seem to discover a Hateful and Revengefull Spirit.

6thly, None of these Imprecations which come from our Hearts and Lips, must extend to the *final State* of those Enemies of God. We are obliged to wish well to their better Part, their Souls, and to pray for the Welfare of them. So our Saviour, and the Martyr *St. Stephen* asked Mercy for those that put them to Death. They prayed that God would forgive them, and they themselves forgave them. And this is it which I am now treating of: We must forgive our greatest Enemies: Especially we shall be excited to this when we consider how great Criminals we are our selves before God, and how highly we have offended our Maker, and how willing we are to obtain Pardon from Heaven: Likewise, when we reflect upon our Actions, and find that we have been guilty of the *same faults* with others, or have offended in a *resembling* kind, or *may* for the future: In a Word, if we would be pitied and pardoned our selves, we must pity and pardon others.

As to the *Relative* Consideration of this Second Clause of the Words, I need only observe, how useful it may be to us when we *Pray*. For here we are taught that we must not dare to approach the Throne of Grace without *forgiving* our offending Brethren. We ask Forgiveness of our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us. Wherefore our Prayers cannot be acceptable without this latter; which is implied in our Saviour's Advice, *Mat.* 5. 21. *Go thy way, first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.* As much as to say, that our Prayers, which are our chiefest Offering, are ineffectual without this Reconciliation and Brotherly Forgiveness which I have been describing. In vain do you come before God with Hatred and Revenge in your Hearts against your Brethren: You cannot think to beg Mercy of God with any success, when you are merciless your selves. With what Face can you expect kindness from God, when you shew none to your Neighbours? What a Madness is this to ask Forgiveness and yet not to forgive? I beseech you think seriously what you say, when you repeat this *Petition*. Here you profess that you *forgive* your Enemies; but if you do not really forgive them, you blaspheme God's Name when you

Pray; you mock Heaven as often as you use this Petition. Be convinced of the Absurdity, as well as the Wickedness, of this Practice. Be persuaded how Wild and Extravagant a Strain of Devotion it is to ask Pardon of your Offences at God's Hand, when you will not pass by the Trespasses of your Neighbours against your selves. To this Purpose is that of Ecclesiasticus; *He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his Sins in remembrance. Forgive thy Neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy Sins also be forgiven when thou prayest. One Man beareth Hatred against another, and doth he seek Pardon from the Lord? He sheweth no Mercy to a Man who is like himself; and doth he ask Forgiveness of his own Sins? If he that is but Flesh nourisheth Hatred, who will intreat for Pardon of his Sins?* Chap. 28. ver. 1. &c. If we, who are all of us Sinners, are so hard to one another, how can we hope to find Mercy with God? Yea, we must expect that God will deal with us in the same manner that we behave ourselves towards others.

To convince you of this, I desire you to read with great Seriousness that Parable in Mat. 18. 23. to the End, which most excellently represents to us the Mercifulness of God (for he is the King or Lord who there takes an Account of his Servants) and the Unmercifulness of Men, and likewise God's Hatred of this Behaviour. When the Servant who owed his Lord Ten Thousand Talents, fell down at his Feet, and with great importunity entreated his Patience and Forbearance, he was moved with Compassion, and not only forbore but forgave his Debt. But when this Servant was thus released and forgiven, he severely dealt with his Fellow-Servant who owed him but a Hundred Pence: He would by no means hearken to his Cry, but cast him into Prison, and there kept him in Du-rance till he paid the Debt. But observe how his Lord resented this vile Behaviour of his: He in great Indignation pronounced these Words; *O thou wicked Servant, I forgave thee all thy Debt because thou desiredst me: Shouldest thou not also have had compassion on thy Fellow-Servant, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him to the Tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my Heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your Hearts forgive not every one his Brother their Trespasses.* Have a care then what you do, be not Hard-hearted and Uncharitable to your Brethren, when you stand in need of so great Mercy your selves. Forgive, or pray not to be forgiven. Be careful to put in practice the Apostle's Advice, Eph. 4. 32. *Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.* To this end, earnestly pray for Tender and Compassionate Hearts, for an affectionate Sense of your Brethrens Condition, and for a Sense of God's Patience and Goodness toward your selves; that the consideration of these may beget in you Kindness and Mercy toward those that have injured you; that so you may not render Evil for Evil, but always study to overcome Evil with Good: In fine, that you may be ever as ready to forgive from your Hearts those that have offended you, as you desire Forgiveness of God, whom you have so often and so greatly offended.

The Sixth PETITION.

Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil.]

Upon which is a very Large Discourse shewing how we are Tempted by the World, by Our selves, and by Satan: With Particular and Proper Remedies against these different Temptations. All the Grievances, Complaints and Scruples of Tempted Souls, and Wounded Consciences are fully answered. General Rules and Directions are prescribed for avoiding and preventing Temptations of all Kinds.

AS the Petition which I last spoke of, hath Respect to *Evils past*, (Sins already committed) so this of which I am now to treat hath Reference to *Evils both present and to come*, the Dangers of Temptation. For we pray that God would not lead us into any Peril that is before us, and that he would preserve and deliver us from all Evil for the future. And though here we seem to pray against Temporal Evils, Outward and Worldly Crosses and Afflictions (these being to be numbred among *Temptations*, as will appear afterwards in this Discourse), yet it is the *Spiritual Evil* of them that we pray against. Wherefore it is added, *Deliver us from Evil*, guard us from all Hurt that may accrue to us by them: Let them not be really Evil to us, let them not harm our Souls. And what is *Evil* but *Sin*? All other things, as belonging to the Creation, or coming from God, are *Good*: But this is the genuine Issue and Off-spring of the Evil Spirit, and therefore is deservedly called *Evil*. Yea indeed, this *delivering us from the Evil* is interpreted by most of the Fathers (who have commented on this Petition) concerning our Deliverance from the *Devil*, who is called *ὁ πονηρὸς ὁ ὄντας* the Evil or Wicked One, Matth. 13. 19, 28. Eph. 6. 16. 1 John 2. 13. -- 5. 18. The short is, That though *Temptation* and *Evil* are not always the same, for (as I may have occasion to shew afterwards) there is Good and Advantage in Temptations, yet it is certain that *Satan* designs nothing but *Evil* and *Mischief* to us when he tempts us, or when we fall under any kind of Distress either of Body or Mind. And generally he accomplisheth what he designed, *i. e.* he procures the greatest Evil to Men by these Temptations. Therefore there is good ground for this Petition, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil*. In which Words we request to be preserved both from *Temptation* and *Evil*; first from Temptation, and then from the Evil of that, and from all other Evil whatsoever.

As I considered the foregoing Petitions, so I will this both *Absolutely* and *Relatively*. First, The Words are to be considered *Absolutely*, and so they will necessarily engage us to enquire into these Two Things; 1. What are the *Temptations* which we are liable to, and which God suffers us to be led into? 2. What Course is to be taken that we may *not be led* into these Temptations, or how may we be delivered from the *Evil* of them, which the Devil so industriously and maliciously designs in them?

I begin with the First Enquiry: What are the *Temptations* which we are subject to in this Life, and which God permits us to be led into? And here I will give you a particular Account of the *Nature* and *Kinds* of *Temptation*. Indeed the *Nature* of it is discovered in its very Name: *πειρασμός* (which is the Word here used) is *Trying* or *Proving*: And so *πειράζειν* is to make a Tryal of a Thing or Person.

Person. This important Denotation of the Word is taken notice of in those Words to the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia, Rev. 3. 10. *I will keep thee from the Hour of Temptation which shall come upon all the World, to try them that dwell upon the Earth.* Accordingly St. Paul mentions a great Tryal of Affliction, 2 Cor. 8. 2. And St. Peter, the Fiery Tryal, 1 Ep. Ch. 4. ver. 12. To Tempt then is to make Tryal and Experiment of Man what he will do: And Temptation is trying of Man either for his Good or for his Hurt: This is the proper and genuine Import of Temptation. Next, I will speak of the different Kinds of it, and so give a full Account of Temptation as it is understood in this Prayer: And I shall all along let you see how the particular Kinds of it are real Tryals.

Temptation proceeds either from God, or from his Creatures.

I. There is a Divine Temptation, or that which comes from God the Creator and Governor of the World. It is implied here in our Saviour's Words which he enjoins us to use, *Lead us not into Temptation*, that God is pleased to lead Men into it. And in other Places of Scripture God is expressly said to tempt, to prove, to try. *Episcopus* is of Opinion, that when we read of God's Tempting in the Holy Writ, it is to be understood of the Angels, God's Deputies. He acts by them, and therefore what they do, he saith is applied to God himself. But any Man that consults this Author, may see that he makes use of this Interpretation merely to evade God's knowing future Contingencies, and things depending on the Free-Will of Man: For he asserts, that Man's Free Acting hinders God from foreseeing and knowing what will be the Issue of any Temptation. Besides, this is a groundless perverting of those plain Places of Scripture, where 'tis so often expressly said, that God tempted or proved Persons, and yet there can be no Supposal there of Angels acting in the Case. It remains then, that I shew how God tempts. If we have Recourse to the sundry Texts which speak of this, we shall find that he tempts; 1. By Things that are Extraordinary and Unusual. 2. He doth so also by those Things which are of ordinary and common Occurrence.

First, The Sacred Scripture of the Old Testament acquaints us, that God tempts Man by Strange and Extraordinary Acts of Providence. Thus 'tis said, *God did tempt Abraham*, Gen. 22. 1. Rabbi Jonas and some other of the Hebrew Doctors tell us, that this good Patriarch was tempted by God ten Times: The first was, when he was bid to leave his Country and Kindred, Gen. 12. 1. the last was, when he was commanded to offer his Only Son Isaac. Of this the fore-mentioned Text speaks: By this strange and unexpected Injunction it was God's Pleasure to try Abraham, to make an Experiment of his Obedience. Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thy only Son from me, ver. 12. Which Words are spoken by God after the manner of Men, as is frequent in Scripture: Not but that God knew what Abraham would do in those Circumstances. Only, by this Overture he purposed to make his Obedience known to the World, and that the Patriarch himself might have a Testimony of his own Integrity. And this was very needful, because God intended to place this Person in the Eye of the World, to render him Eminent and Perspicuous, to make him the Father of the Faithful, and to exercise him with great Hardships. These were to succeed this Signal Proof of his Readiness to obey God's Commands, and to do his Pleasure, although it seemed to be repugnant to Nature and Reason. We read also, That God tempted or tried the Israelites by his extraordinary and even miraculous conducting of them through the Wilderness. It is expressly said, *he led them forty Years in the Wilderness to prove them, and to know what was in their Heart, whether they would keep his Commandments or no*, Deut. 8. 2. Judg. 3. 4. More particularly 'tis said, *he proved them by the bitter Waters that were made sweet*, Ex. 15. 25. And in Ch. 16. ver. 4. 'tis said that raining Bread from Heaven upon them he proved them, whether they would walk in his Law or no. And in Deut. 8. 16. 'tis added, that *he fed them in the Wilderness with Manna to prove them*. Afterwards it is recorded, that he tried this People by the Thundrings and Lightnings, and other strange Prodigies at the Delivery of the Law, Exod. 20. 20. And God himself tells them in Deut. 13. 3. that *the Lord their God proved or tempted them*, viz. by sending False Prophets with Signs and Wonders, to know whether they loved the Lord their God with all their Heart and with all their Soul.

Thus

Thus from these several Instances we learn that *God tempts* when he gives Persons occasion of shewing their Faith, Obedience and Love, and all other Graces, and when he gives them Opportunity of discerning their Want of these Graces, and of seeking to God for the attaining of them.

Secondly, As *God tempts* by *Extraordinary Commands and Actions*, so he most frequently doth it by the more *Ordinary and Usual Occurrences* that are in the World, whether they be Prosperous or Adverse. In respect of which *Job* saith, *What is Man that thou shouldest try him every Moment?* Job 7. 18. And he intimates by the last Words that these are Frequent Trials, they are as 'twere *every Moment*. Thus God tries both *Good and Bad Men*.

1. He tries the *former* sometimes with the Good Things of this World, Riches, Plenty, Peace, Honour, &c. Hereby it will be seen what Use they will make of these Outward Blessings: there will be a Proof of their Thankfulness to God, of their Charity and Beneficence to their Brethren that are in Want: there will also be a Trial of their Humility, Modesty, Sobriety and Moderation as to themselves. But the Trial is chiefly made by Afflictions and Troubles, and that both of Body and Mind. First, God is pleased to try Holy Men with such Calamities as his own Hand more immediately lays upon them, as Sicknes, Pain, Diseases, Loss of Friends, Penury, Scarcity, &c. He likewise thinks good to prove them sometimes by leaving them to the Corruption of their own Hearts, by exercising them with Disquiet of Mind, by withdrawing the Light of his Countenance from them, and shutting them up in the Dark, by forsaking them for a time, and shutting out all Peace and Comfort. This *Desertion* (as 'tis usually called) is a proper Temptation of *God*: for He in his unspeakable and infinite Wisdom is pleased to abandon his own Children for a time. Secondly, He tries them with such Evils and Calamities as he suffers to be laid on them by the Hands of Wicked Men, as Reproaches and Injuries of all kinds. *Thou, O Lord, hast proved us, thou hast tried us as Silver is tried*: which is explained by the following Words, *Thou broughtest us into the net, thou laidst affliction upon our loins: thou hast caused Men to ride over our heads: we went through fire and through water*, Psal. 66. 10, 11, 12. There was a Trial made of their Graces and Vertues by the great Variety of those Persecutions which they underwent from the Malice and Cruelty of their Enemies. Thirdly, God tries his choicest Servants sometimes by giving leave to Satan, the Enemy of their Souls and Bodies, to assault both. Thus he commissioned a Lying Spirit to go forth, and be in the Mouths of the Prophets, 1 Kings 22. 23. He let the Devil loose upon *Job*, and the Dismal Effects of it we read in his Book. *St. Paul*, by God's particular Direction, had the Messenger of Satan sent him to buffet him, 2 Cor. 12. 7. Yea, Christ Jesus himself was led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness, to be tempted of the Devil, Matt. 4. 1. And some of the choicest Servants of God, both before and after our Saviour's time, had been led into the Wilderness, a State of Temptation and Desertion.

2dly, There are Temptations sent by God not only upon *Good and Holy Men*, but those that are yet in their Sins, and live in the Love and Practice of them. God tries these in the same Way that he tries his own peculiar and chosen People. First, There is the Temptation of Prosperity, whereby he tries how they use the Good Things of this World, how they behave themselves in the Confluence of Earthly Enjoyments: *He maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil as well as the Good, and sendeth Rain on the unjust as well as the just*, Matt. 5. 45. And he confers upon them all other Worldly and Secular Benefits, and that in great Plenty, to make an Experiment of their Temper and Disposition. And this Trial is in its own Nature farther Good; for the Apostle speaking of this Sort of Men, lets us know that this Goodness of God leads to Repentance, Rom. 2. 4. i. e. Though they grow worse by these External Favours bestowed upon them, and after their hardness and impenitent Heart treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath, (as the Apostle saith of them in the next Verse,) yet these Earthly Enjoyments are in themselves proper Motives to Thankfulness and Obedience, fit Means to remind them of God their Benefactor, and to win them to Vertue and Goodness. These Cords of Love are naturally apt to draw and to bind them to their Duty. Wherefore here will be a Trial made of their base and perverse Frame of Mind, which is disposed to render even the Kindness of God serviceable to their Sins and to their Ruin.

Again,

Again, There is the Temptation of *Adversity* as well as *Prosperity*. By this God proves this Sort of Men: by Calamities on their Bodies, Names and Estates, by severe Punishments on their Families, on their Relations and Friends, by National and Publick Judgments, and by all other Outward Evils and Distresses, there is Proof made of what they are. Yea, they are not destitute of Inward Temptations, such as concern their Spiritual State; for God tries them by subtracting his Grace, and suffering them to be under the Power of their own vile and wicked Nature. So God *hardned Pharaoh's heart*, Exod. 4. 21. So God *gave the Gentile Idolaters up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts*, Rom. 1. 24. and again, v. 26. *He gave them up to vile affections*: and v. 28. *He gave them over to a reprobate mind*. Of the Followers of the Man of Sin the Apostle saith, *God shall send them strong delusion, that they shall believe a Lye*, 2 Thess. 2. 11. God shall wholly abandon them to the Temptations of the Devil. Thus they are made an Experiment to the World. In short, God is truly said to *Tempt* both the Good and the Bad, both the Godly and the Wicked, because he *suffers* and *permits*, and because likewise he *orders* and *disposes* of all their Temptations. *There is nothing comes to pass*, saith an * Ancient and Pious Writer, *but what God either doth himself, or permits to be done*. When therefore we pray [*Lead us not into temptation*] what do we say but this, [*Suffer us not to be brought into it*]? So he. But this *Permission* is attended with a *Positive Ordering*; for nothing is more evident through the whole Volume of Sacred Writ, than that the most Wise God disposes and manages the Temptations of all Persons as to the Time, Place, Event, and all other Things appertaining to them.

* S. Augu-
stin. lib de
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sever. c. 6.

And this is to be added by way of *Cautio*n to what hath been said, (though I have hinted it before,) viz. That when we assert, according to the Infalible Doctrine delivered in the Scripture, that *God trieth* all sorts of Persons; it is not to be understood as if this were for his sake, i. e. as if he were ignorant of what is in Men's Hearts, or of what they will do. This cannot be said of the Omniscient God, the Searcher of Hearts. But he is therefore said to *Try Men*, because thereby he discovers the secret Intentions and Inclinations of their Hearts both to themselves and others: there is by this means an Experiment made to them of their Weakness or Strength, of their Sincerity or false Pretences. God hath no need of *trying* any Man on his own Account, because he hath a perfect knowledge of him; but that Persons may know themselves, and that they may be known to the Spectators, this Tryal is requisite. By being in the *Furnace* it will appear whether they be *True Gold* or no. Particularly, the Temptations of Good Men are their *Fire Ordeal* whereby their Innocence and Integrity are attested, whereby their Vertues are not only proved, but are made to shine forth with greater Luster to all Men. The Vertuous and Holy know by this *Exploration* what Proficients they are in Faith, Humility, Love, and all other Graces. And others seeing this Tryal are mightily confirmed and established in the Faith: and by the whole Religion is advanced, God's Name exalted, and his Glory wonderfully propagated among the Sons of Men.

I have only that Place *Jam. 1. 13.* to give an Account of, and I have done with this Head. *Let no Man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for as God cannot be tempted with Evil, so neither tempteth he any Man*. This seems at the first Sight or Hearing to contradict what I have said: for I have been proving that *God tempteth* both Good and Bad Men, and I have fetched my Proofs from the unerring Word of God: yet this Apostle peremptorily asserts that *God tempteth not any Man*. The plain and short Answer is this, That though *God tempts Men*, yet he tempts them not to Sin. Wicked Men abuse God's Dealings towards them, and make them subservient to their Lusts and Sins; and this is their own proper Act and Fault, and God is by no means to be charged with it. He tempts, he tries, he proves, but not out of any Evil Design. All that is aimed at is, to lay Men open to themselves and to the World, that God may be glorified thereby. Thus much for *Temptation* as it proceeds from *God*.

II. There is that *Temptation* which proceeds from the *Creature*, and that is Three-fold, viz. from the *World*, from *Our selves*, and from the *Devil*. These Three are direct and formal *Temptations to Sin and Wickedness*, and therefore exceedingly differ from the former Way of Tempting, which was not intended to any evil Purpose, as I have said.

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I begin with the First of these Sinful Temptations, *viz.* That which is from the *World*. And by the *World* I mean the *Men* and the *Things* of it.

First, There are the Temptations of the *Men* of the *World*. One Man tempts another when by any means he solicites and seduces him to that which is sinful and unlawful. It is commonly said of Persons infected with the Plague, that they are hugely inclined, through the Virulency of their Disease, to a Desire of mingling themselves with the Sound, that they may spread the Contagion among them. Most certain it is, that wicked and debauched Livers are solicitous how they may infect others, and render as many as they can possibly like themselves, that so the Multitude of Sinners may take away the Shame of Sin. In this Sense that is true, *homo homini Dæmon*, one Man proves a Devil, a Tempter to another. He invites, he encourages, he stirs up his Neighbour to the Commission of Vice by his Irreligious Speeches and Discourses, or by his downright declaiming against Vertue and Piety, or by his Prophane and Scandalous Example, which often proves to be of greater Force than the other Two. Sometimes by Friendship and near Affinity Persons allure one another into Lawless Practices: As, in the Parable, the Man that had lately married a Wife, alleged That as the Reason why he could not come. It is sometimes seen that Persons by the great Power and Sway they bear in the World, cause Men to comply with their wicked and prophane Designs. At other Times the Men of the World are wont to discourage Godliness and the Professors of it by Disgraces, Reproaches, Revilings, Affronts, and open Persecution. They reek their Spite and Malice against good Men, that by the Effects of these they may tire their Patience, and make them weary of Religion, and even storm them out of the Profession of it. And so it happens sometimes, many decline and fall away because of the ill Usage which they meet with in the World. Sometimes we find Temptations occasioned by the false and uncharitable Judgment which is made of Afflictions and Crosses by some Men: They pronounce all that are afflicted Unhappy, yea hated and cursed of God. Thus Job was tempted, *Ch. 4. ver. 7.* Thus David, when they cried out upon him under his Diseases, *Where is thy God?* *Psal. 42. 3.* And several other ways there are whereby Men are too often the Authors and Promoters of Temptation.

But we must effectually arm our selves against them by such Considerations as these, that no Man's Company and Society ought to influence upon us against the clear Dictates of our own Consciences; that it is Folly and Weakness to be misled by Example; for no one is to be a Pattern to us but in things that are vertuous, good and laudable; that no Nearness of Relation, no Greatness and Authority can alter the Nature of Good and Evil; that it is Childish to be inveigled by flattering Promises; that it argues base Fear and Cowardice to be deterred and discouraged by blustering Threats and Menaces: And that it is the inseparable Character of a good Man that he resolves to do his Duty, maugre all Opposition and Hindrances he meets with from the Persons he converses with.

Secondly, Not only the *Men*, but the *Things* of the *World* prove very dangerous Temptations. These indeed cannot so properly be said to tempt, as Men or Devils do, who are intelligent Creatures. And truly the *World* could have no Power to tempt, unless the Devil, or our selves made use of it. Yet notwithstanding this, the *World* is a Tempter, and that a powerful one, by reason of the *Objects* and *Occasions* which it affords for Temptation. These being continually set before us, these being the things which we daily converse with, they have Power to work upon us, and to solicit us to that which is evil and unlawful. St. John in *Ep. 1. Ch. 2. ver. 16.* gives us a compleat Inventory of *All that is in the World*, *viz. the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, and the Pride of Life.* The first of these is Carnal Pleasure, and all sensual pampering of the Flesh. This comprehends under it all immoderate Laughter, Feasting, Musick, Recreations of all sorts, the Delicacies of Meat and Drink, all that pleases the Ear, and gratifies the Touch, the Taste, the Smell. By the *Lust of the Eyes* is meant whatever the Eyes desire to see, all the grateful Objects of Sight, as Money, Goods, Possessions, Houses, Lands, and all the Bravery of Riches. In Respect of these the Lust of the Eyes is *Covetousness*: Which oftentimes proves an Incitement to defrauding, to Oppression, and even to downright Theft, Robbery and Violence.

Thus *Achan* confessed that he *saw*, and *coveted*, and *took*, Josh. 7. 21. The Ground of his Sin was his *Eye*, which had an Influence on his *Heart* and *Hand*. Another Object of this Ocular Lust is Female Beauty; which hath proved as fatal a Temptation as any that can be named; Whence by the Christian Laws we are forbid to *look upon a Woman to lust after her*, Matth. 5. 28. For this is committing Adultery, first in the Eye, and then in the Heart. Therefore *Eyes full of Adultery*, and which cannot cease from Sin, i. e. from the Sin of Lasciviousness; are condemned by the Apostle, 2 Pet. 2. 14. Other Temptations of the Eye are the Ornaments of Dress and gay Apparel, which generally are Incentives to Lust and Lewdness. And lastly, Meats and Drinks are reducible to this Head as well as to the former; for the Sight of these is tempting to the Glutton and Drunkard, else *Solomon* would not have left us that Advice, Prov. 23. 31. *Look not thou upon the Wine when it is red, when it giveth its Colour in the Cup.*

* Ἀλαζονεία ὅς τις.

Then as to the *Pride of Life*, by it is meant a being proud of the Things which we have in this Life, as Mental Endowments and Acquisitions, such as Wit, Learning, Wisdom, Parts: Spiritual and Moral Accomplishments, as Vertues and Graces: Nay, the very Vices, as Fornication, Drunkenness, Cheating, &c. which too many Persons are proud of and glory in, especially if they surpass (and as they think, excel) others in them. But it is most probable that this *Pride* is spoken chiefly of Temporal and Bodily Gifts, as Strength, Health, Beauty, Plenty, Worldly Profit, and Secular Enjoyments. These are Matter for that *Pride of Life*, or rather (as we should render the Greek) that * *Boasting of Life* or of *Livelihood* and *Revenues* which is here mentioned, and is so frequent in the World. And not only these are to be understood by these Words, but all that Estimation, Credit, Applause, Praise, Preferments, Honours, which accompany these; and in a word, all the Grandeur, Pomp and Glory of the World, which are fitly and properly called *the Ostentation of Life*. These are mighty Temptations, and have sometimes prevailed when no others could. Among the several Sorts of Punishments, Sufferings and Torments which the Saints underwent, these are mentioned, Heb. 11. 37. ἐπειράδιον they were tempted, i. e. it is probable that their Persecutors mingled their Cruelties with Offers of Preferment, and tried their Resolution and Constancy by them.

Thus you see how the *World* by these Three Kinds of glittering Temptations dazzles Mens Eyes, charms their Hearts, infects and debauches their Minds, so that they are led into all manner of Vice. Indeed these Three are the Principles of most Sins. These are particularly observable in the First Temptation, that of our Mother *Eve*: By these Three the Devil allured that unhappy Woman to the direct disobeying of a Positive Law of God. And the very same Method he observed in tempting our Saviour. This Division of the Things of the World into *the Lust of the Flesh*, *the Lust of the Eye*, and *the Pride of Life*, is found in the Writings of *Philo* the Jew, and of some Pagan Philosophers, as the *Pythagoreans*. It is true, they frequently express it in other Terms, as Voluptuousness, Covetousness, Ambition; which are an Immoderate Desire of Pleasures, Riches, Honours: From whence the Generality of Evils and Enormities in the World proceedeth.

The Proper Remedies against these *Mundane Temptations* are such as these; first, Let us take care to *Avoid* them as much as we can. *Flee Fornication*, 1 Cor. 6. 18. and the like is to be said of all other Vicious Practices, and the Allurements to them. Hasten away from them, and entertain no Converse with them. It is lawful and laudable, and carries no Suspicion of Cowardice with it, to run away from a Temptation, to get a Victory by flying. There are many that wilfully expose themselves to the Snares of the World, and thrust themselves into Danger, and endeavour to meet all Occasions of Vice. It is no wonder that such Persons plunge themselves into Mischief, and irrecoverably lose themselves. But we are to take another Course, we must shun the Opportunities of being tempted; we must, as far as we are able, withdraw from the Objects themselves, and from the Company and Converse that entice to Sin and Vanity.

There have been notable Examples of Persons that have retired from the World, and held not any intimate correspondence with it, lest they should be infected by it. We read of those that have even quitted their Thrones, and abandoned their Royal Honours, and voluntarily exchanged them for a private Condition,

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because they thought that was most free from Vanity. *Johannes Cantacuzenus* of an Emperor became a Monk; and our own Nation affords several Instances of Kings and Queens of the *Saxon* Line, who resigned their Scepters, and betook themselves to a Religious Privacy, because (as they professed) their Worldly Greatness was an Impediment to their Vertues. In this very last Age *Christina* Queen of *Swedeland* surrendered her Crown, to be at leisure for her Studies and Contemplation. But the most remarkable Example that ever I met with, is in the Age before, namely, *Charles* the Vth, Emperor of *Germany*, King of *Spain*, and Lord of the *Netherlands*, the Glory of the House of *Austria*, one of the most successful Monarchs that ever reigned, for he had been Victorious in sundry pitched Battles, he had openly triumphed Six times, he had subdued Four Kingdoms, and added Eight Principalities to his Dominions, according to the Tenor of his Motto, which was *Plus ultra*. But this Great and Admirable Person, after all his Glorious Acquirements, resigned his Empire, and embraced a private way of living, giving this Account of his Retirement, that the hearty Study and Practice of Christianity had in them such Joys and Delights as the Courts of Princes were Strangers to. I will not now dispute whether it had not been better to have kept his Throne, and to have made his Court as Religious as himself, and to have transfused by his Authority a Spirit of Religion into his Subjects; for he that gained such Conquests by his Arms, might have effected greater Things with his Piety. But here I only produce this famous Instance to shew, that the greatest Men have had a Sense of the *Vanity of the World*, and that they thought the best Antidote against it is to retire from it, and to have little to do with it. The most Eligible Way of Life is that which is sequestered from the Tumult and Noise, the Distraction and Folly, which for the most part accompany a very splendid Fortune.

But when I say this, I do not mean that Men should suddenly quit their lawful Station, and leave their Business and Employment which Providence hath set them about. Kings and Princes, if they be Vertuous, are the most useful Persons in the World, for they have the happy opportunity of making the World good; and therefore I cannot but think it savoured too much of Bigotry and Superstition to throw down their Scepters, and run into Monasteries. They might have been True Votaries of Religion; yea, they could not have been otherwise, whilst they ruled for Christ their Lord: And they might have been reminded of his Cross by looking upon that on their *Globe*, one of the Ensigns of their Royalty. For any one to leave his Place wherein Providence hath fixed him, and wherein he may act vertuously, with a Pretence of shunning the Vanity which attends it, is running into an Extreme, and being guilty of one great Vanity whilst he avoids another. It is true, we must often retire, and converse with our selves, but yet we need not wholly shut our Eyes to the World, and bid farewell to the Affairs of it. Even the Old Philosophick Pretenders to a silent and private Life did not think themselves obliged to keep within Doors, and never to concern themselves with what is abroad. The *Cynick* did not always confine himself to his Wooden Cell, but frequently went into the City, and took notice of what they did. *Democritus*, though he was addicted to his Studies, and spent most of his time in his Garden in the Suburbs of *Abdera*, there dissecting of Beasts, and searching for the Seat of the Black Bile, yet he walked out often, and went to the Haven to see how they behaved themselves. We are at fit times to betake our selves to Solitude, and yet not to abstain wholly from Society and Converse. We may go abroad and see the Vanity of the World, and despise it. The Summ of all that is to be said under this Particular, is thus delivered by a Great Man, one who acted in a Publick Sphere himself, and that with singular Repute as well as Integrity, * *Meddle as little with the World, and the Honours, Places, and Advantages of it, as you can.* Thrust not your selves into secular Affairs, be not desirous of great Dealings with the World; but where you have a lawfull Call to be interested in it, study how to use and manage it aright. But take all Occasions of a Retreat, and of descending into your selves, that you may know your Deportment toward the World, and that you may not by too great Familiarity and Intimacy with it, be defiled. Therefore be sure, as much as you can, to keep a Distance.

* Judge
Hale's Con-
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Secondly, That we may manage our selves aright with respect to these *Worldly Temptations*, and that we may manfully resist them, let us study the True Nature of the Things of this World. Let us consider that they are for the most part acquired with Toil and Vexation, that they are possessed and enjoyed with little satisfaction, and which is the greatest Disparagement of them, they fail us in our greatest Needs. For first, say that we are visited with Sickness, with Languors and Pains of Body, how useless are all these things to us? A Fit of the Stone, or Cholick, or Gout, nay sometimes of the Tooth-ache makes a Man incapable of enjoying all his Wealth, Pleasures and Honours. One single Malady is able to imbitter these, and render them of no Advantage to us, and that at a time when we are most desirous of Relief, and when we most want it. Neither are these Things helpfull to us when some great Distemper of Mind invades us; they cannot pull out the Sting, or ease the Torment of a wounded Conscience. When a Man hath acted against the Dictates of his Natural Reason, and thwarted the very Principles of common Morality, and hath never given himself time to reflect on the Exorbitances of his Life, but hath run on in a constant Course of Lewdness and Prophaneness, deriding the Ways of Vertue, and like a *Fool making a mock of Sin*, and glorying in his Vice and Folly, when thus he hath demeaned himself, and at last by the Judgments of God upon him, and the Alarms of the Divine Vengeance, or the forcible Convictions of his own Mind he arrives to a Sense of his Wicked and Godless Behaviour, and the Wrath of the Almighty, which he lies under, who can express the Agonies of his distracted Soul at such Resentments as these? How exquisite are the Tortures he labours under, how vehement are his Pangs, how unspeakable his Remorse and Anguish? If you can now imagine that his plentiful Estate, or numerous Progeny, and hopefull Relatives, or the Honours and Preferments he hath acquired, can give him any Ease, you force your selves to imagine an impossibility, and the Forlorn Sinner will assure you of it by his own sad Experience. He will tell you that *Riches profit not in the Day of Wrath*, Prov. 11. 4. Yea, that they are so far from this, that they are one of the greatest Causes of his Vexation and Trouble, because he had wilfully made them the Instruments and Fewel of his Vices. He will tell you that by these he provoked the Divine Majesty, and procured the Wrath and Indignation of the Almighty; and how then can these be any way profitable unto him? Which is the Thing that the

† Ezek. 2. Prophets of old inculcated, viz. that † *Neither Mens Silver nor Gold are able to deliver them in the Day of the Lord's Wrath.*

15. Zeph.

1. 8.

Nor are they any ways useful and available at Death, or afterwards. When the Man approaches towards his End, and fetches his Breath short, it cannot be remedied by all the Air of Popular Applause which he sucked in so greedily before. His Pains and Tortures find no mitigation from his former Pleasures and Softnesses. His Gold is no Cordial now to retrieve his Faintings and Languishings. What are spacious Houses and Lands to him who must forthwith be confined to the narrow Tenement of a Coffin? In short, what is this World to him who is just now leaving it? And it is as certain, that these Things can be of no use to a Man in another State, because they are altogether unsuitable to it, and because he is shut out from them for ever. This sufficiently convinces us of the Emptiness and Vanity of the most splendid Possessions of this Life, for if they will not go along with us into another World, they are little worth: If they are not related to Heaven, and belong to our future Salvation and Happiness, (the grand Things we are to aspire after) they may be truly said to be Vain and Trifling.

Thirdly, It would be very useful against the Temptations of the World, to observe what the *Sentiment* of the most *Able Judges* concerning these mundane Things hath been. And whom can we look upon as the most competent Judges but those who have had Occasion to see furthest into these Things, those who have lived in the Affluence and Abundance of all this World's Goods and Enjoyments, and have been fully acquainted with the utmost Nature and Quality of them? Whereas ordinary Men, and such as are of a mean Figure in the World, cannot pronounce impartially and fully concerning these Things. If these declare them to be Empty and Vain, and Unsatisfactory, perhaps it may be interpreted as the Language of Discontent and Melancholy: We may be induced to

think

think that they complain without Cause, or that what they say proceeds not from a Knowledge of the true Nature of these Things, but from the Want of them, and that they brand them as Vain, because they have them not. Let us hear then the Judgment of two Crowned Heads in the present Case, as we find it delivered in the Sacred Volume.

The first of them is that Great and Pious Monarch, King *David*, who not only tells us that *Man is like to Vanity*, Ps. 144. 4. (which is very remarkable in the *Hebrew*, which is thus, *Adam is as Abel*, an Allusion to the Names of our first Parent and his Son *Abel* or *Hebel*, the latter of which Names signifies *Vanity*) but in another Place he speaks more fully, Ps. 62. 9. *Surely Men of low Degree are Vanity, and Men of high Degree are a Lye*; the Sons of *Adam* and the Sons of *Ish* (for so 'tis in the Original) are all one as to this. And that you may know that this is a Matter which he had well and duly weighed, he adds, *To be laid in the Balance, they are altogether lighter than Vanity*. And this Doctrine is asserted again, Ps. 39. 5. *Verily every Man at his best State is altogether Vanity*. It was not sufficient to say that *Man is Vanity*, but he tells us that *every one* is so. As *Adam* gave the Name *Abel* or *Hebel*, i. e. *Vanity*, to his second Son, so it may be the Name of all the Children of *Adam*. Nor is it simply said that all of them are *Vanity*, but that they are *altogether* so. The Original is very emphatick, *Every Man is all Vanity*; as if he had said, all the *Vanity* that is scattered up and down in the World is reduced into this Compendium, it all centers here. Nor is this enough, for he pronounces this concerning *Man* when he is *at his best State*, when he is *sitting* (as the *Hebrew* hath it) when he is in his most settled Posture. Take any *Man* in his best Circumstances, take him with his Wit and Parts, his Wealth and Possessions, his Pleasures and Delights, his Dignities and Titles, he is even then *Universal Vanity*; and the more he hath of these, the greater doth his *Vanity* appear: And if the *Man* should think that it is otherwise, he is still yet so much vainer. To confirm all this, the *Psalmist* here uses an Asseveration in the beginning of the Words, *Verily*, saith he, it is so: and he closes with *Selah*, a Note of the Remarkableness and Importance of what he saith. Thus he would establish us in our Perswasion concerning the *Vanity of the World*, of which *Man* is the principal Part.

Another Crowned Head, the Heir and Successor of the former, hath left this on Record, concerning the Things of this World, that *all is Vanity*, Eccl. 1. 2. This is the Determination of that Great *Man* that had made a Trial of all that the World was able to present him with, *Whatsoever my Eyes desired*, saith he, *I kept not from them*; *I withheld not my Heart from any Joy*, Eccl. 2. 10. He had gone through all the Classes of worldly Delights, and was perfectly skilled in them: And now, after he had made a Proof of all from his own particular Knowledge, he cries out, *All is Vanity*. This is the brief Map of the whole Inferior World which *Solomon* drew up after he had carefully surveyed all its Parts, and travelled it over by Experience, which is the most Authentic Teacher. Which I take to be the meaning of those Words, Eccl. 2. 12. *What can the Man do that cometh after the King?* As much as to say, If any one shall object against what I have said already, or what I shall afterward add concerning the *Vanity of the World*, and shall think I am no competent Judge in this Cause, I would have him know that he is very much mistaken; for I being a *King*, and so Great a one (for none ever surpassed me in Wealth, Honours and Pleasures, or whatever adds a Grandeur to the Royal State) I am the fittest Person under Heaven to give my Judgment in this Matter. He that thinks to *come after me*, that is, to search further into, and to give a better Account of these Things than I, is deceived, for that transcendent Experience of the Enjoyments of this World, which I have been, and am still Master of, renders me capable, above all other Men, of affixing the Character of *Universal Vanity* upon them.

Besides, these are the Words of one that was the most celebrated Person in the World for *Wisdom*. He was as famed for his Knowledge as for his Riches: Inasmuch that they came from the remotest Parts of the Earth to consult this Divine Oracle, and to carry back his astonishing Answers. He that had the soundest Notions of Things, both Human and Divine, and had the greatest Advantages of improving them, preaches this Doctrine to us. He that was the most profound Philosopher that ever any Age produced, reads this Lecture to us, and there-

therein acquaints us, that it is the highest Piece of true Philosophy to know and be sensible of the *World's Vanity*.

Further, these are the Words of an *inspired Person*, that is, of one who knew more than Philosophy and Experience could teach him. He was immediately moved and stirred up by the Holy Ghost to dictate and write with an unerring Mind and Hand what we here read, and therefore we ought to attend to it as an infallible Verity.

Lastly, These are the Words of him who had made deliberate and serious *Reflections* on his past Life, and had abandoned his former Miscarriages: For this Book of *Ecclesiastes* is his solemn Retraction, and he doth here declare himself a publick Penitent. This is the happy Man that had looked back on his foregoing Crimes with a deep Sorrow and Remorse, and had wiped them out with this weeping Sponge, and was now become a new Man, and was received into Favour again with the Almighty, and was ripe for Heaven and eternal Glory. So that we may look upon that as a wrong Portraiture of King Solomon, which one of the Archbishops of *Toledo* is said to have made of him, when he caused him to be painted on the Walls of his Chapel half in Hell and half in Heaven. His hearty Repentance by the Divine Grace exempted him wholly from the former, and gave him a compleat Possession of the latter. Thus not only as a *King*, as a *Philosopher*, as an *Experienced Person*, and as one *inspired*, but as a *Reformed Man*, and a blessed Saint, he utters this solid Maxim, *All is Vanity*. And here he doubles and redoubles it, to express his full and steady Apprehension and Perswasion of it. This is a common *Hebraism*, that is, two Substantives are put together, one of which is in the Place of an Adjective: For the *Hebrews* having no *Superlative*, express that Degree of Comparison by a *Gemination of the Word*: So here it is said *Vanity of Vanities*. This is the Royal Preacher's Text, and all that follows in this Book is his *Sermon* upon it, where he proves and illustrates it by several particular Instances. And as he began so he ends; as he prefixed this to his Book, so he closes with it, *Chap. 12. 8. Vanity of Vanities, saith the Preacher, all is Vanity*. Which Decision and Arbitrement of so good a Judge may powerfully invite us to think meanly of this World, and to fortify our selves against the Allurements and Temptations of it.

Fourthly, That we may do this, let us always *be expecting a Change*, and be *providing* for it. Let us not fondly brag that our Mountain stands fast, and that it cannot be moved. Tho' we are taken up to the top and height of all worldly Felicity, yet let us not be thinking of *building Tabernacles*, of fixing our Rest here, for we may soon find that all this is but a *Transfiguration*, and we may quickly be in another Posture. Let us not rashly conclude, tho', our present Condition be never so Prosperous, that it will be perpetual. We shall do well to call to mind the Advertisement which wise *Solon* gave the wealthy *Craesus* (which he afterwards found to be true, and acknowledged it to be so) that no one can be said to be happy before Death. For till then he is subject to innumerable Disappointments and Crosses, which as he cannot foresee, so he cannot possibly avoid. We are concerned then not to confide in any of the Enjoyments of this World, and not to promise our selves a Continuance of them. But let us reckon thus with our selves, That though our *Gourd* be never so hopeful and flourishing, yet there may be a *Worm* breeding in it, which may cause its Decay. And why should we repine at the withering of the *Gourd*? This is the Nature of our State in this World, all that we inherit is perishing and fading: Our Portion is all in Moveables. If we would seriously think of this, and carefully lodge it in our Minds, it would be of singular Benefit to us, for we should be hereby excited to look upon these Things as always taking their Leave of us, and whilst we have them, to use them with great Sobriety and Moderation, and to expect no more from them than they are able to afford us. For what would you have of a vain World? What can you promise your selves from Emptiness and Nothing? Therefore never trust to these Things, but learn to take down your swelling Hopes and Expectations concerning them. And let me tell you, if you can arrive to this, you are above the *Temptations of the World*.

Fifthly, and Lastly, In order to this, fix those Memorable Words of our Saviour on your Minds, *What is a Man profited if he shall gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul? Or what shall a Man give in exchange for his Soul?* Art thou tempted

to cheat and defraud thy Neighbour, that thou mayest thereby enrich thy self? Remember these Words of our Lord, and say to thy self, All my Commerce and Traffick, all my Gain and Profit will be unavailable and most disadvantageous to me, if by Injustice and Dishonesty I lose my Soul. Art thou tempted with the Glory and Honours of the World, with its Applause and Preferments? Set these Words before thee, and say, I have a rich Jewel in my Custody, and I will not part with it for all the World's Dignities and Greatness: I have an Immortal Soul, and I will not hazard it for the fairest and goodliest Proffers that are made me. Art thou tempted by the Delights and Pleasures of the World? Urge this important Text upon thy Soul, and say, If I purchase the Pleasures of this World, and fall short of those of another; if I gain a considerable Share in Earthly Delights, and in exchange for them pay my Soul, I am a great Loser. I do but make *Esau's Choice*, I prefer the present Satisfying of my *Appetite* before the substantial Blessing of my *Birth-right*. In plainer Terms, I prefer a base and brutish Lust to the Everlasting Happiness of Heaven. But I will not be guilty of such absurd Madness: I am fully satisfied that 'tis a very Ill Bargain to gain any thing with the Loss of my Soul.

He that knows not the *Value* of the Thing he possesses, may soon be cheated and imposed upon, and may easily be prevailed with to part with it on very bad Terms. Wherefore we ought to be acquainted with the Price of our Souls, to know our own Worth, and be sensible of it, and likewise to know how Mean and Vile the World is, and then to consider how unreasonable it is to prefer this latter to the other; as those in the *Parable of the Marriage-Feast*: One had a Farm to see, another had Married a Wife, and a third had a Yoke of Oxen to try. What sorry Pleas and Shifts are these? What is a Farm to the Inheritance Incorruptible, and that fadeth not away? What are a few Acres of Ground to the spacious Mansions of the Blessed? Who would lose Heaven for a Clod of Earth? What is the Concern of Wedlock to the Marriage of the Lamb, to the Espousals of Christ and the Soul? What is a Yoke of Oxen to the Pleasant and Easy Yoke of Christ? And what are all the Advantages of Earth to the Joys of Heaven? Let us then labour to understand the *True Value* of Things; let us often turn this Terrestrial Globe round, and with a serious Eye survey all its Quarters, and upon an impartial View persuade our selves that it is a very Mean Thing compared with Heaven, and that it is too mean a Quarry for our Immortal Spirits. It is plain enough to any Christian Philosopher, that this *Earth* is not the *Center*; here is no Rest for such active and noble Beings as Humane Souls. Or, if we see any thing in this World that carries a Shew of Ease and Happiness in it, let it raise up our Thoughts to the Meditation of that Pure and Unmixed Satisfaction which the Other World affords, and which we shall enjoy without any fear of losing. In short, whenever the World tempts us, let this be recalled to Mind, that he who endangers his Immortal Soul, though at the same time he purchases the World, makes but a Fools Bargain: and it will not be long before he repents of it, tho' too late.

But we have not yet done with the *World's Temptations*. Its *Splendid Ones* we have spoken of, but there are (besides these) others that are *Black and Dismal*. As the Enjoyments of the World, so the being Deprived of them, the being reduced to Want and Poverty, the suffering Disgrace and Dishonour, the being stript of the Conveniences and Comforts, the Delights and Pleasures of this Life, are great and heavy *Temptations*. You read of the *Trial* (the *Temptation*) of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, of Bonds and Imprisonment, Heb. 11. 36. There are few that have weathered out any considerable Time in the World, and have arrived to any Maturity of Age, but they have at one time or other encountered with such *Afflictions* and *Troubles* as have proved great *Trials* to them. An Unhealthful and Sickly Body presseth some down; Poverty and Want give others no small Disturbance; and those who have been pretty well able to grapple with Pains and Sickness, have found it extreme difficult to bear up under Penury and Scarcity, especially if God had blessed them before with a prosperous and plentiful Estate. Again, Others of a more refined Temper have sunk under Disgrace and Obloquy, their Bodies and Estates, it seems, being not half so considerable to them as their Name and Credit: and therefore when these are blasted, their Minds are utterly overwhelmed with Grief and Despair. There is a fourth Sort that

that are of a more kind and soft Complexion, I may say of a more Christian Temper than the rest of the World; who tho' they have escaped somewhat well as to their own Persons, yet by Compassion and Tender-heartedness we see them share in the Calamities of others. The Distresses of their Neighbours and Friends, and near Relatives, afflict and wound their Souls with an unspeakable Dolour: the Evils which light on others give them a smarter Grief than those which befall themselves. And there are others who have a just Occasion for a deep Sorrow on other Accounts.

Thus which way soever you look, Man is liable to the Outward Evils and Disasters of this World; he cannot spend many Days before he experiences it to be a Scene of Misery. So true is that of *Eliphaz* to his Friend, who was no mean Sharer in the Calamities of this Life, *Man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upward.* Now, since his Fall and Corruption, Trouble and Afflictions are as natural to him, as 'tis to heavy Bodies to Descend, and to light ones (such as sparks) to Ascend. Affliction of one quality or other is made necessary and unavoidable: Trouble is even entailed on the Sinful Race of *Adam*. The *Jewish Doctors* express it Proverbially thus, *This World is like a broken Bridge*: there is no Security anywhere, a Man cannot tread safely, he is always in Danger. But that which is worst of all is, that by these Worldly Evils he is too often brought to comply with those of a higher Nature; he is tempted to a Distrust of God's Providence, and to endeavour to extricate himself out of them by unlawful and sinful Courses. These are the *Mundane Temptations*. And by what hath been said it appears, that the Devout *Hermite's* Dream was a Reality, viz. that the World is hung round with Snares. These are every-where (not only in the prosperous, but adverse Condition) spread to entrap us, and really do so. By these Temporal Evils and Afflictions Men are tempted to various Sins, but especially to Murmuring and Discontent. Thus it appears how the *World tempts*.

But there are *Specifick Medicines* and *Remedies* against this particular Kind of Temptations from the World, as it is full of Crosses and Calamities. First, That these may not occasion any undue Thoughts and Imaginations in us, that they may not produce unbecoming Apprehensions concerning God and his Providence, that they may not create in us any Discontent and Impatience, or in any Manner or Degree hinder us in the Discharge of our Duty, let us remember that the Cross is *honourable*. For Christ himself bore it, he was pleased to submit to the highest Affronts, Indignities, Injuries, and Persecutions that could possibly be undergone. And we are ascertained by infallible Authority, that Affliction attends the Sincere and Publick Profession of the Gospel: *We must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God*, Acts 14. 22. *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer Persecution*, 2 Tim. 3. 12. The free Exercise of Religion and Godliness will procure us the Hatred of Bad Men: but this Hatred is an Argument that we are loved of God, and that we are in his Favour. Whatever Ignominies, Distresses and Hardships a Good Man undergoes, he reckons as Badges of Honour, and Marks of the Divine Pleasure. Thus we find *St. Paul* glorying in all kind of Calamities and Sufferings, 2 Cor. 11. 23, to 28. And in another Place he represents Afflictions and Chastisements as certain Tokens and Evidences of God's Love: For *whom God loveth* (saith he) *he chasteneth, and scourgeth every Son that he receiveth*, Heb. 12. 6. It is a sure Sign of the Divine Affection towards us, that he vouchsafes to visit us and try us by Affliction. Even the Wise Men among the *Gentiles* had a Sense of this great Truth: Thus * *Arrianus* represents how Brave and Noble a thing it is for a Man to say to himself, in a State of Calamity and Distress, God is now making Trial of me; and what need I fear or care what Men say of me, if He approves of me? There can be no greater Honour than that. Besides, he proposes me as an Example to others, that they may have a Proof of my Integrity; which is a farther Honour done to me. And why then should we repine under such Afflictions, or be tempted by them to do Things that are base and unworthy?

In the next Place, let us consider that Afflictions are not only *Honourable* but *Advantageous* and *Beneficial*. No man understands the Scriptures except he be acquainted with the Cross, said that Man of God *Martin Luther*. And in another Place he tells us (and we have reason to credit what he saith, because he was so experienced in this Matter) *Without Tryals and Temptations no Man knoweth what Faith and*

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the Strength thereof are : They are understood only in Times of Trouble and Adversity. And it is as true, that we come to the knowledge and understanding of our selves and of our whole Duty, by that Experience which we gain in Affliction.

Besides that we become beneficial to others by this means, which is an Advantage that the Apostle takes notice of in 2 Cor. 1. 4. when he lets us know that he and other Christians are in Tribulation, and are comforted in it, that they may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith they themselves are comforted of God. By having been afflicted our selves, we know how to Administer Direction and Solace to those that are in the like Condition, and we know how to do it with success ; as he that hath travelled a Country and seen its several Parts, can better describe it, and if there be occasion guide you through it, than he that knows it in the Map only. The Advantages of the afflicted State are exceeding numerous, as I have particularly shewed on another Occasion, and therefore forbear enlarging here ; but all that I will say further of it at this time is this, that it is necessary to prepare us for Heaven and Happiness. The Sorrows and Troubles of this Life are requisite Fore-runners of the uninterrupted Joys of the other. The boisterous Winds in this rough Sea drive us to our Port. Thus by such Thoughts and Suggestions as these we are to baffle the Temptations of the Afflictive Part of the World. But there is more work yet calls for us : For,

Secondly, There is the Temptation from our selves, the depraved Principle within us, which excites us to all manner of Evil, and is that which makes the Temptations of the World successful, and therefore is the stronger of the Two. This is that which I am now to speak of in the next Place, viz. the Temptations of our own Hearts. Man tempts himself by his inbred Depravity ; he pusheth himself on to the perpetration of Sin. Though he were free from that External Foe before-mentioned, the World, yet he may be destroyed at home by this Enemy within him. Perhaps this is meant in 1 Cor. 10. 13. *There hath no Temptation taken you but such as is Humane* (*ἀνθρώπινη* is the Word) such as Men bring upon themselves, and are subject to by reason of their Humanity, the Nature of Man which prompts him to Evil. Thence it is that he is blinded and deceived, and thinks he stands, as the Apostle speaks in the foregoing Verse, to which (it is probable) this refers. But I will not dispute at present whether this be the meaning of the Place. It is certain, that in abundant other Places this tempting Principle in Man is taken notice of, and is observed to be the grand Cause and Spring of all our evil Actions. This is most generally expressed and known in the New Testament by the Name of *the Flesh*, which is that Inferior and Brutish Part of Man that suggests to us the Pleasure of Sin, and boggles at the severity of a Holy Life, and is an Advocate at first for lesser Failings, and then makes Apologies for greater ones, yea for all Sins whatsoever. This is that Corruption of our Nature which prompts us to the love of Ease, and makes us impatient of Difficulty, yea which makes us recoil and fly back when any worthy and laudable Action is to be enterprized. It assaults us in various Shapes ; sometimes we feel it furiously invading us in the boiling up of Anger, Rage, and Revenge ; or in the fiercer and impetuous Eruptions of the Flames of Lust. At other times it is as mischievous by Soothing and Flattering us, by prevailing on us by tame Artifice and Cunning. Finally, this is that Disorder of our Faculties whereby we are inwardly excited to forsake our Duty, to neglect the Divine Commands, and to affront Heaven by our wilful Disobedience.

I will give a Particular and Full Account of the Nature of this corrupt Principle, which is the perpetual Source of Temptation in Man's Life, from Two remarkable Texts of Scripture, namely, *Jam. 1. 14, 15. A Man when he is tempted, &c.* And *Gal. 5. 17. The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, &c.* I begin with the First : *A Man, when he is tempted, is drawn away and enticed of his own Lust. Then Lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death.* From which Words I will explain the Nature of this particular Sort of Temptations, viz. *Self-Temptation*. Here the Apostle in the first Place assigns the Root and Source of it, namely, every Man's own Lust or Concupiscence. There is in all Men, by reason of the Loss of Original Righteousness through the Fall of Adam, which had an Influence on all his Posterity, there is (I say) in all Men a Defiled and Polluted Nature, a Corrupt Temper which inclines

them to Evil. It is this Animal Power, this Sensual Bias in their Inferior Faculties and Appetites which puts them upon desiring those Things which are carnal and contrary to the Will of God. It is this their *own Lust* which is the true Cause of this *Temptation*. And in the next Place St. James sets down the Method of it in these Five Steps or Degrees:

1. By this Innate Lust or Concupiscence a Man is *drawn away*, viz. from the True Good, that he may not rest in it. The first Thing that is done in us by this Inbred Lust is the *drawing us off*, the diverting us from God and our Duty; which is effected generally by our demurring about it, by disputing with ourselves whether that or the contrary is to be done. When the Mind thus begins to entertain Thoughts of committing Sin, it goes astray, it is led out of the Way, it is seduced; and that vitious Force and Violence which are offered to Reason, and usually accompany this first Suggestion of Evil Thoughts and Desires, are intimated in that Expression *drawn away*, which imports that forcible Inclination and Propension of our Natures, whereby we are *drawn* to Sin.

2. By this Lust we are *enticed*, we are allured and inveigled. We are not only *drawn off* by this impetuous Spring, but we are *drawn on*; we are not only carried away from the chief Good, but we are hurried by the False Appearance of Good to prosecute that which is really Evil. I say, by the False Appearance of Good, for that is included in the Greek Word here made use of, which shews that the Person is *enticed as with a Bait*, he is deceived and deluded by this seeming shew of Good. This is the second Step of Human Temptation, viz. when a Person after he hath turned from God, turns to the World, to Satan, to Sin and Vice, i. e. entertains these in his Mind with Pleasure and Delight. He finds a Complacency in Thinking on the unlawful Object propounded to him; he hath Actual Desires towards it, and they are attended with some Affection, Satisfaction and Delectation. Thus Lust *enticeth* and allureth; and when the pleasurable Thoughts of Sin are thus admitted and retained awhile, they stir up the Will to Sin. Which is the

3d. Degree of this Temptation: wherefore it is added that Lust *conceiveth*, i. e. the Will is drawn into Consent. The other Motions of Concupiscence were from the Imagination, and the Passions and inferior Faculties, but this is from the perverted Reason and Free-will. Now the Heart conceives a full Purpose, Design, and Resolution of actually committing Sin, and it contrives ways to effect it. It is the plenary Consent and Approbation of the Will that makes the sinful Conception. And the Sinner having thus *conceived Mischief*, and *travelled with Iniquity*, (as the Holy Scripture in * other Places expresses it) now he

* Job 15.
35. Psal.
7. 14. Isa.
59. 4.

4th Thing taken notice of by the Apostle here in this excellent Metaphor, whereby he sets forth the Nature of Man's Tempting Himself. Lust, when it hath conceived, *bringeth forth Sin*, i. e. the former consenting to it is brought into Act. It was a Sin before, as the Child in the Womb is a true Child, but now the Monster is born, and shews it self visible in the World. Before it was the Offspring of the Will, now it is also the Issue of the Bodily Members. Sin is brought forth by putting the vitious Desires and Intention into Execution; when the Body as well as the Soul actually exerteth these. Briefly, the Birth of Sin is the outward Perpetration of it. The Apostle proceeds, and tells us,

5thly, That by vertue of this it is that Sin is not only brought forth, but finished, perfected, consummated: Which is when Sin is frequently acted, often repeated, and become a Custom; when it is habitual in our Lives and Practices, and grown into a Facility by often acting: When Sin is delighted in (I speak not here of that Delight which accompanied the Thoughts of it, or the contriving it before it was acted, but the Pleasure which is taken in the Acting of it) when it is committed with Greediness, when it is retained with great Obstinacy and Pertinacy, when it is accompanied with Boasting and Glorifying, and when it ends in a reprobate Sense. This is the *finishing* and *perfecting* of Sin. Thus Lust begets actual Sin, and by Degrees brings it to its utmost Heighth. Thus the monstrous Embryo being brought forth, is cherished and fostered, and grows up, and arrives to full Age. And lastly, here is adjoin'd the direful Close of all: Sin committed *bringeth forth Death*, if it be unrepented of, it ends in Eternal Death and Misery. This is the Order and Method, these are the several Steps and

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and Degrees of Self-Temptation, according to the Representation of it which St. James gives here.

But that other Text, viz. of St. Paul, [*The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh: And these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would,*] doth yet more amply lay open the Nature of this Evil, and therefore I will largely insist upon it. We may say of Man, * that he is that Creature (as one of the Ancients observed) who is made up of every Kind of Souls. He hath a Threefold Life, or Incorporeal Energy, viz. Rational, Animal, and Natural. The first of these consists chiefly in

* Διὰ πέντε ἰδέαι τῆς ψυχῆς
κατακρίνεται τὸ λογικὸν τῆς ζωῆς
ὁ ἀνθρώπος. Greg. Nyss. de Opif.
hominis.

the Understanding and Will, whereby Man approaches towards the Nature of God and of Angels: The Second consists in the Perception and Sensation of External Objects, whereby Man is equall'd with other Animals: The Third is Eminent for its Natural and Vital Functions, whereby the Body is upheld, augmented and invigorated, and in this he partakes of the Nature of Vegetables. The first of these is that Faculty of the Soul whereby we are distinguished from Brutes; but the Two latter are those which are common to us with them. But because the last is comprehended in the middle one, they are all generally reduced to these two Operations or Powers, viz. the Rational and the Sensitive, or the Superior and Inferior Faculties of the Soul.

Indeed some have thought that these are Two distinct Souls in Men: The Pythagoreans and Platonists seem to have broached this first, and afterwards it was received by others: Paracelsus and those of the Hermetick Way, vigorously contend for it: † Gassendus approves of it, and so do || some of our

† Phys. l. 9. c. 11.
|| Dr. Hammond's Annotat. on
1 Thes. 5. 13. and Dr. Willis
De Animâ Brut. c. 7.

Countrymen. But others, and that with very good Reason, oppose this, and will by no Means suffer a Man to have a double or triple Soul: But they assert, that one and the same Soul exercises the Faculties of Reason, Sensation, and Vegetation. And they are of Opinion, that even Pythagoras and Plato are of their Side; for those Philosophers meant no other than this, that Human Souls have Two Faculties, the one higher and the other lower, one Rational and Intellectual, the other Sensitive and Animal: The one is the free and calm Dictate of the Mind, the other is the turbulent Commotion of the Passions. The former dictates nothing but what is really Good and Reasonable, but the latter bids Men pursue Worldly and Sensual Happiness. Thus there are distinct Faculties in the same Soul: and hence there arises a great Scuffle and Strife between them. The Rational Part drives one Way, and the Sensitive another: Their Inclinations are repugnant, their Impulses are opposite. Every Man consists of these Two Principles, which fight with one another. The Upper one directs him to what is morally good and right: The Inferior one hath no other Object but what is Bodily and Externally advantageous: So that he desires and flies from the same things at the same time.

Thus far I have spoken of these Faculties as they are in themselves, according to their natural Frame and Constitution: But their Contrariety to each other will be more visible, if we consider them (as it is requisite we should do) according to that Alteration which they have undergone since the Fall of our First Parents. These Faculties of the Mind have been corrupted and depraved by that first Degeneracy; but in those Persons who are regenerate by the Holy Spirit, they are renewed by Supernatural Grace. And thus they are to be considered in the Words which are now before us, *The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, &c.* Where observe, 1. The Combatants, the *Flesh* and the *Spirit*. 2. Their actual Hostility; they *lust*, and *they are contrary the one to the other*. 3. The Event and Issue of the Combat, *so that ye cannot do the things that ye would*.

First, The Combatants or Parties engaged in the War, are the *Flesh* and the *Spirit*. The former of these is that Principle in us, which I told you is the Inferior and Sensitive Faculty of the Soul, and now, since the Apostacy of Adam, is the Source and Spring of all the Sin and Evil that are in the World. It is no other than Original Sin displaying it self in us, it is our Nature as it is vitiated and corrupted; it is the strong Inclination and Propension of the Carnal Mind to what is repugnant to the Law of God. This is here, and frequently in the Style of the Holy Scripture, called *the Flesh*, and that for these Three Reasons:

1. Because of the Manner of its Propagation, which is by Carnal Generation, and so it is conveyed from one to another, and will always be as long as Mankind is propagated. 2. This natural and inbred Corruption is stiled *Flesh*, in Respect of the Seat and Place where it is lodged, viz. in this fleshly Part of ours; for this is under the immediate Dominion of the inferior Appetite or Faculty of the Soul. Thence it is called *the Law in our Members*, Rom. 7. 23. In relation to which, the Apostle exhorts the *Colossians* to *mortify their Members which are on the Earth*, those Members which incline them to Earthly and Sensual Objects. And so we read of *the Body of Sin*, Rom. 6. 6. which may, it is probable, be so denominated, because the *Body* is the Place where it chiefly resides. 3. This Corruption of our Nature is called *Flesh*, in Regard of the Execution of it, i. e. the Body, the fleshly Part of Man is the Organ, the Instrument whereby it is exerted, and brought into Act: And accordingly the Members of the Body are stiled the *Instruments of Unrighteousness unto Sin*, Rom. 6. 13. i. e. by these Sin is perpetrated and executed.

This Fleshly or Animal Faculty of the Soul is called the *Old Man*, Rom. 6. 6. Eph. 4. 22. and *φεινμα τῆς σαρκός*, Rom. 8. 6, 7. which we translate *to be carnally minded*, but in the Margin of our Bibles is rendered *the minding of the Flesh*. In that Tripartite Division of Man, 1 *Thess.* 5. 23. it is called *the Soul*, for the Soul here is opposed to *the Spirit*, and therefore by it we are to understand the inferior Faculty, the Animal or Sensitive Power of Man's Soul. And accordingly *λογισμός* (which we translate the *Natural Man*, 1 Cor. 2. 14. and the *Sensual Man*, Jam. 3. 15. Jude 19.) is he that follows only the Dictates of his lower Appetite, that is, a mere Animal, and (I may truly say) a Brutish Man, that desires and affects those things alone which relate to the Terrene and Sensual Life. But if by *Soul* here be meant the corrupted Faculty, how could the Apostle pray that it might be *presented blameless*? I answer, The Apostle hath Respect here to this Function of the Soul, as it is abstractly considered, as it is in it self and of its own Nature, and so it is not sinful; for as God created it, it is *blameless* and innocent; and it is so likewise as it is renewed and sanctified by Regeneration: And on that Account may be presented blameless unto God, notwithstanding the Corruption of it by the Fall of *Adam*.

And here I could observe also, that this Fleshly and Sensual Part of Man is, in the Language of the Scripture, called *the Spirit* (notwithstanding here in the Text before us this is the Word to express the contrary Faculty) *The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to Envy*, Jam. 3. 5. This is that very Principle which by St. Paul is called *the Flesh*, but here by the other Apostle is denominated *Spirit*, because it is actuated by the Evil Spirit, and because it hath so great Influence on that other Part of Man which hath that Name. This is a brief Account of what the Apostle here calls *Flesh*, viz. the Inferior and Sensual Part of the Soul, which by Original Pollution through the Defection of *Adam* was wholly depraved, but by the Redemption and Sanctification wrought by Christ, is in a great Measure rectified and reformed.

The other Combatant is the *Spirit*, viz. that Function and Operation of the Soul of Man, whereby, in his Primitive Integrity, and in his restored and renewed Condition, he is powerfully disposed to that which is Good and Holy. Or the *Spirit* is that Principle of Regeneration and Sanctification, which is wrought in all the Faithful; it is the Renovation of the Mind through the powerful Grace of God influencing upon it. And it hath this Denomination, because, 1. The Holy Spirit is the Author of it. *That which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit*, John 3. 6. The Operation or Exertment of the Rational Soul truly enlightened by the Spirit of God, is deservedly called here *the Spirit*. 2. Because it is seated in the Spirit, the inward and noblest Part of Man. Therefore it is called *the Mind*, Rom. 7. 25. and *the Law of the Mind*, v. 23. 3. Because all its Acts and Operations are Spiritual, they are not of the Nature of those of Sense and Matter. For such Reasons as these this Excellent Principle is called here *the Spirit*: And so it is in that forenamed Place, 1 *Thess.* 5. 23. And thence *Spiritual* is the Word in the New Testament to express such a Person as hath subdued the Carnal and Brutish Appetite, and is led and acted by the Divine and Nobler Faculty, Rom. 8. 9. 1 Cor. 3. 1. Gal. 6. 1. The *Spiritual Man* is he that is illuminated by Divine Grace, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and is opposed

sed to *Joyns*, of which I spake before. And in other Places this Noble Principle hath other, but very significant Names, as *the New Man*, Eph. 4. 24. The *Desire*, or *Will*, or *Cogitation of the Spirit*, for so *οὐνοειδὲς τὸ πνεῦμα*, (which we translate *to be spiritually-minded*) doth import, Rom. 8. 6.

Thus you see who the *Combatants* are, the *Brutish* and *Rational*, the *Fleshly* and *Spiritual* Part of Man. And even the Light of Nature gave Men a Sight of these two disagreeing Principles in human Souls, as we may gather from abundant Passages in the Writings of the *Pagan* Philosophers. But under the Gospel we are helpt to more distinct and improved conceptions concerning this Matter, we being informed by Divine Revelation in the Scriptures, of the sinful Corruption of Man's Nature, by the Transgression of our first Parents, and also being acquainted that there is a Holy Renewed Nature in all those who are effectually redeemed by Christ, and born again by the Spirit. These two are in all Regenerate Persons; and of such, and no other the Apostle speaks in the Place before us. Their Souls are partly sensual, and partly spiritual, partly defiled and partly purified. They have in them a mixture of Nature and Grace, of the carnal Appetite and sanctified Will. And these contrary Principles and Qualities cannot but produce a great *Strife* in them. Which brings me to the

Second Thing here observable, the *Combat* or *Conflict* it self: which is expressed in those Words, [*lusteth against*] and [*they are contrary the one to the other*]. As to the former, the Greek Word *ἐμφορεῖ* denotes the Intensity of the Act, the Vehemency of the Desires and Endeavours on both Sides. There is a fierce falling forth, an impetuous Contest. First, the *Flesh* strives and struggles, contends and resists; it stirs up even the best Men to vile and unworthy Undertakings, it powerfully provokes them to sinful Enterprizes. And not only so, but it hinders, stifles and suppresses those Holy Inclinations and Desires which proceed from the contrary Principle. I see another Law in my Members, warring against the Law of my Mind, Rom. 7. 23. So St. James speaks of *Lusts that War in the Members*, Jam. 4. 1. And St. Peter of *fleshly Lusts that war against the Soul*, 1 Pet. 2. 11. Here is nothing but Wars. So these three Apostles are pleased to express the Warm Conflict, the sharp Encounter between the sensual Part and the Spiritual. The stirring of the *Flesh* against the *Spirit*, of Corruption against Grace, of the Law of the Members against the Law of the Mind, is no other than a *Warfare*. The inferior and brutish Faculty rebels against the Superior one, and is up in Arms against it: And there are not only Bickerings and Skirmishes, but set Battels between them.

Again, the *Spirit* (as well as the *Flesh*) shews its warlike Temper, it opposes that brutish Foe with all its Courage and Skill; it musters all its Forces to suppress the sensual and carnal Desires, and to establish a spiritual, divine and heavenly Dominion in the Soul. This may be stiled *bellum servile* as truly as that of the Romans was, when they fought against their *seditionous Servants* that had taken up Arms against them. The inferior Inclinations and Lusts of the *Flesh* are but *Slaves*, yet they too commonly rise up against their Lords, the superior and rational Powers. But as often as this happens, the Masters ought to fight these Vassals with great Vigour, and severely chastise their Insolence. This is a War that is accompanied with great Pains and Toil; these fierce Antagonists engage each other with unspeakable Difficulty and Fatigue; with sore Pangs, Groans and Outcries, such as that of the Apostle, *O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from this Body of Death*, Rom. 7. 24.

In the next Place this spiritual Struggling and Fighting is set forth by those Words, *These are contrary the one to the other*; which doth farther express the Vehemency of the Conflict; for the Parties engaged against each other are at the greatest Opposition and Contrariety imaginable. What can be expected therefore but a very furious Onset, a close Encounter, and the utmost Hostility? And withal, these Words denote the Cause of the Conflict, viz. the Irreconcilable Enmity, the Implacable Contrariety between the two Combatants. Light and Darkness are not more opposite, Fire and Water are not more repugnant than these are. These two Principles put Men upon contrary Courses, and forcibly carry them to the Prosecution of contrary Ends and Designs, and as to every thing else they are *contrary the one to the other*. Yea, the Apostle tells us that *the Wisdom of the Flesh is Enmity against God himself*, Rom. 8. 6. *Ἐχθρὰ* is the

the Word which the Apostle here uses, which is (as *Aristotle* observes) more than *Anger* or *Wrath*, for it is conversant about All, and reaches to the whole Kind: And again, *Anger* is a Passion that is mollified and appeased by time, but *Enmity* is incurable, and there is no appeasing and qualifying of it. Now, seeing these Two are thus diametrically opposite, and have the greatest Averseness and Antipathy to one another, it is no wonder that there are continual Wars and restless Fightings in the Soul. Or, if there be a short Truce in this Holy War, yet the Enemies soon renew their former Strife, and even grow fiercer than before. And they would most willingly fight it out, if infirm Nature did not call for a Cessation on one Side, and if the Divine Power did not interpose on the other. So much of the spiritual Duel, or Combat it self.

Thirdly, The Event of it is to be considered, *so that ye cannot do the Things that ye would*. This may be taken in a double Sense, viz. as it refers to the *Flesh*, or to the *Spirit*. Sometimes one prevails, and another time the other. The *Flesh* will not suffer a Man to do the Good which he wills by the *Spirit*: The *Spirit* will not let him do that Evil which he is inclined to by the *Flesh*. First, this is oftentimes the Event of the Combat between the *Flesh* and the *Spirit*, that the former gets the better. The Holy Man cannot do the Things that he would, that is, the good Things which he desireth to do, for the fleshly Principle impedes his doing of them. The bodily Motions and Passions are too strong for the spiritual Part of the Soul. The carnal Appetite hurries away the Will against the Dictate and Judgment of Reason, and of Grace too for a time. The strong Corruptions which remain in a regenerate Christian do sometimes so prevail as to captivate him to the Law of Sin, as the Apostle expressly acknowledgeth concerning himself, *Rom. 7. 23*. Nor shall we wonder at the Prevalency of this Principle, if we consider these two Things, 1. That the sensitive and animal Faculty had the Priority of the Rational in its Actings. Man as soon as he is born, and so for a long time, acts the brutish Part, before there be any Exertments of the other. Hereupon the sensual Appetite hath the Advantage of the Superior one, and gets Strength by Education and Custom, even before this had any Power to shew it self. 2. The Prevalency of the inferior and corrupt Part proceeds from this, that the Object of it is sensible and gross, and is always before our Eyes, and takes up our Fancy, and so possesses our Minds, and comes thereby to be more forcible and charming than the intellectual Good. This latter being refined makes not that sensible Impression upon us which the former doth.

Again, the Issue of the spiritual Conflict is this, That the *Spirit*, the better Part hath the Predominancy at last; it not only opposes and contradicts, but defeats and baffles the *Flesh*. This is the final Event of the Combat, for these Words, *so that ye cannot do the Things that ye would*, refer to that Passage immediately foregoing, *the Spirit lusteth against the Flesh*, and therefore ye cannot do the Things which the *Flesh* instigateth you to: You find a superior Power that countermands you. Or, the Words may be read thus, * *That ye may not do the Things that ye would*. So the Greek, and according to that the *Vulgar Latin*, *Vatablus*, *Beza*. And our *English* Translators have rendred it in the Margin thus, *To the End that ye may not do the Things that ye would*. This then may be the genuine Sense of the Words, The *Spirit* lusteth against the *Flesh*, that by this Means ye may be hindred from doing the Things that ye would do according to the *Flesh*. So then we see what is the Result and Close of the Conflict here spoken of: It is this, that the *Spirit* in good and regenerate Men gets the Victory. Which is according to what the Apostle had said before, *Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the Lusts of the Flesh*. Though the fleshly Part solicits with great Earnestness and Importunity, yet the *Spirit* and Divine Principle generally gives an effectual Repulse to it. I say generally and for the most Part; whereas those who are yet unregenerate, constantly yield to the Dictates of the sensitive Appetite, and are led by it, and perpetually follow its Suggestions. This is the grand Difference between Good and Bad Men: The one most commonly and usually conquer the brutish Inclinations in them, but the other are continually conquered by them: Or if at any time they refrain from a Compliance with them, it is out of some sensual Principle and Design.

* *ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχή τοῦ σώματος ἵνα ἑαυτὴν ἡγήσεται ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχή τοῦ σώματος ἵνα ἑαυτὴν ἡγήσεται*

This

This gives us the true Notion of *Vertue* and *Vice*: The former consists in this, that the Will determines even contrary to the Sensual Appetite, and follows that which Reason dictates to be right. The nobler Faculty exercises a Dominion and Empire over the lower one. The Rational Mind checks and moderates, yea wholly contradicts the Sensitive Power of the Soul. This is properly *Vertue*. As on the contrary, when this latter inclines to Evil, and hurries Men to the Commission of it, and draws the Will to a Consent to and approving of what is done, notwithstanding the Dictate of Reason on the other side, this is *Vice*. But here I must add this, to distinguish *Moral Vertue* from *Grace*, that besides the efficacious Power of Reason in those that are truly Holy, there is also a Supernatural Ability infused into them, there is a New and Sanctified Temper bestowed upon them: Or in other Terms, their Understandings and Wills are so enlightned and moved by the Holy Spirit, that they are thereby enabled to resist and subdue the corrupt Principle which is yet dwelling in them. This is *Evangelical Vertue* or *Grace*, and it differs exceedingly from that *bare Moral* Endowment whereby many Persons (although not Regenerate) are empowered to hold a Conflict with their Lusts, and very often to get the better of them. This proceeds from the Opposition which the Rational Part or Natural Conscience makes to the Sensitive one. But the Combat I am now treating of is of an higher Nature; for it is between the Conscience or Reason as it is renewed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and the Carnal Dictates of the inferior Functions of the Soul as they still remain corrupted, and shall in some Degree continue so all the time of our abode upon Earth.

From the *Event* of this Inward Fighting and Wrestling we may know whether our selves and others are in a *State of Nature*, or of *Grace*. They who readily comply with the Motions of the Animal Part, and execute whatever the Carnal Faculty puts them upon, and indulge themselves in a vicious Course of living, they are to be concluded to be of the *former* sort. But if the good Principle be predominant in them, and shews that it hath a powerful Ascendant over them by regulating their Lives, and making them conformable to the Laws of Christ, we may infer they are of the *latter* Rank, *i. e.* that they are Possessors of true *Grace*, and are meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance with the Saints in Light. The *Spirit* which is in them *lusteth against the Flesh*, with great Eagerness opposes it self against it, and will not permit it to do the things that it would.

And this must needs be so because of the Divine Power which accompanies it. *I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me*, saith the Apostle. And the same Omnipotency (if I may so call it) is derived to all the Faithful: They have that Heavenly Aid and Help whereby they can grapple with this Carnal Enemy with good Success. Christ died to procure the Death of Sin in them, and he will not fail to vouchsafe them his Holy Spirit, which will effectually enable them to mortify their Lusts. It is true, this is not done presently and on a sudden. The first Onsets may be desperate, the Engagement may prove very hazardous, and we may lose the Day: But at last, when we arrive to a fixed Habit of Goodness, through the abundant Grace of the Spiritual Helper and Comforter of our Souls, we shall be continual Conquerors. And though sometimes the Victory may hang doubtful for a time, yet at length it will declare it self on our side. And every Day, the more Strength and Vigour we attain to, we shall find the Conquest grow easier and easier. But as long as we sojourn here, our Inbred Foe, our Native Enemy the *Flesh* will not suffer us to be wholly at rest.

I will here intersect Three or Four *Collateral Observations* and *Reflections* on what I have said, and then proceed to the *Main* and *Principal* One, which will direct us to the subduing and mastering, or at least the mortifying and keeping under this corrupt Principle.

1. We learn hence, that Regeneration is *imperfect* in this Life: The best Actions of the holiest Men are partly Sinful: And the Reason is because there is a *Double Principle* in the best Men. Geographers tell us (whether truly or no I shall not now enquire) that the *Danube* and the *Saave* run with party-coloured Waters in the same Chanel. This may serve as an Emblem of a Regenerate Man: There is a Difference of Streams in him from those two Fountains,

Grace

Grace and Corruption. Or give me leave to set forth the Matter before us by this Comparison or Similitude; Suppose a *Ball of Iron* between *two Loadstones*, one drawing one way, and another another: This is a Representation of a Holy Person, he is placed between different Attractives; he is haled on this side and on the other, he is distracted by disagreeing Appetites and Desires. His Soul jars with it self, his Faculties fight with one another. He is a mere *Amphibion*, he converses in different Elements, he is a *Miscellaneous* Creature, he is a *Compound* of contrary Principles, a *Medley* of Flesh and Spirit, a *Mixture* of Nature and Grace. His *Ore*, as precious and valuable as it is, contains in it both *Metal* and *Dross*, his Gold is blended with a base Alloy. The Rational Part of him, which is renewed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and is here called the *Spirit*, is his *Gold*: The Sensitive and Inferior Part of him, which is corrupted by the Apostacy of Mankind, and is here stiled the *Flesh*, is his *Alloy*. This sets forth the Deficiency and Imperfection of the most righteous Person.

2. See here how the best Men come to fall. We read in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, of the gross and heinous Miscarriages of some of the greatest Saints. And we are told by an Inspired Writer, that *the righteous fall seven times a Day*; for I don't see but that these Words may be thus applied, notwithstanding what some of late have suggested against it. The true Reason of which is this, there is a double Principle in the best. Every regenerate Man is partly *Flesh* and partly *Spirit*. His Case is somewhat like that of the Lower Parts of the Heavenly System, which according to some Astronomers were thought to be whirled about by the uppermost Sphere toward the *East*, but they have a particular Motion in the mean time of their own to the *West*. So fares it with him who, though the Rational and Divine Part leads him one way, is hurried in a contrary by his Corporeal Appetite, his Carnal Desire. This is the ground of that vast Difference which is observed to be in the same Men at different times. *Noah* who was a Preacher of Righteousness, and an unblameable Saint for the most part, yet was not able to continue so always, witness his giving way to Intemperance. *Lot* who was a just Man, and vexed at the filthy Conversation of the Wicked, and not only abhorred but abstained from all Uncleaness whilst he was in *Sodom*, was unhappily guilty both of that and Drunkenness afterwards! *Moses* was generally a Man of great Meekness, but yet we read that he fell into great Fits of Anger and Impatience. No Man was more bold and courageous than *Elias*, and yet sometimes he shewed himself very Fearful, and would be flying. *Job*, who most Religiously blessed God, even when he exercised him with very great Afflictions, at other times was provoked to curse the Day of his Birth. *David*, a Man after God's own Heart, and full of Joys and Exultations in the Divine Mercy and Providence, is sometimes found doubting, yea even despairing of these. *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, is at one time most zealously forward to suffer with Christ, at another time he is tempted to deny him, and he shamefully yields to the Temptation. As for St. *Paul*, the latter part of *Rom. 7.* shews that he was a Double Man, and differing from himself. And so is every good Man, if you take him at different times, he seems to be quite another Person, he is not himself. That which solves this Wonder, this Difficulty, is this, that his Mind, his Superior Part is right towards God; but his Inferior and Sensual Faculty is drawing him to Objects of another Nature, and so hinders his Pursuit of that which his other Principle in him carried him towards. The poor Man is made up of Heterogeneous Ingredients, and thence his Soul hath different Tendencies and Inclinations. Thence it is that he differs so much from himself; thence it is that he appears not to be the same Man.

3. If it be thus with Good and Holy Men, how sad is the Condition of the Unregenerate and Wicked? They are wholly led by the Fleshly Principle, and therefore they must needs fall under Temptations, and be overcome by them. It is true, they have a Rational Power, they have a Natural Light set up in their Consciences, which directs them in many things; but this is not able to give them a Discovery of the Great Mysteries of Christianity, of the hidden Truths of Religion; much less is it able to reform them in their Lives and Practices, and to render these agreeable to the Rules of the Gospel. They are destitute of that Divine Principle which must effect this, and accordingly their Under-

standings,

standings, Wills and Manners are extremely disordered. If the Regenerate themselves are compounded of Flesh and Spirit, if there be a brutish as well as a sanctified Nature in them, which is the Source and Spring of so many Obliquities in their Lives, then surely those Men who have Nothing of this latter, cannot but act very extravagantly, they must needs be *taken Captive by Satan at his Will*, they must be under the absolute Command of their great Spiritual Enemy, and be miserably enslaved by him. By reason of that Diversity, and sometimes Contrariety of Lufts which swarm in them, they cannot but be under a constant Distraction, and tossed from one Side to the other, and dashed upon different Rocks. On this account they are the most to be pitied and lamented of all Creatures on the Face of the Earth.

4. This Doctrine administers *Comfort* to those that are truly Godly. It ought not to discourage them that they find a Conflict, a Wrestling, a Striving within themselves: But this is rather Matter of Consolation, for it is a sign of the Presence of the *Spirit*, it is a Testimony of Inward *Grace* possessing the Heart, it is an Argument of true Spiritual Life there. If there be no Combat, no Fighting, if all be peaceable and still, it is a sign that Satan hath possession: according to that of our Saviour, *When the strong Man armed keeps his Palace, his Goods are in peace*, Luke 11. 21. The Unregenerate are all Flesh, and so they have no Strife, no Battle within themselves, unless it be that which is caused (as I said) by the Variety and Diversity of their Lufts. Therefore be not dejected, because of the Inward Contests and Encounters, the restless Assaults and Scuffles which you feel. Know this, that these are proper to the Regenerate: they and they only have experience of this continual Opposition and Hostility. When the better Principle acteth and influenceth on them, then the Sinful Nature, the Flesh within them re-acteth, contradicts and resists the Motions of that Principle, and sometimes frustrates and defeats it.

But let not this, I say, dismay you: nor should you think it strange that you are not always *alike* zealous and fervent in the Religious Duties and Performances which you are engaged in. Contrary Principles make Saints seem contrary to themselves in their Hearts, Lives, Exercises, Conditions. Travellers tell us, that upon the Top of Mount *Atna* are Snow and Flames, Frost and Fire. So fares it with Good Men, their State is as contrary and repugnant. Their Hearts are inflamed with great Zeal and Ardour in some Duties: in others they do as it were freeze, and are benumbed. They are mightily forward and vigorous in some Acts of Religion, but they are very slow, dull and almost dead in others. It cannot be otherwise, because the best Children of the most High are partly *Spiritual*, and partly *Fleshly*, and therefore they find great Impediments in the Discharge of their Christian Offices, they are attended with great and many Infirmities. The most upright Souls are guilty of gross Imperfections, but these are consistent with God's Favour; these are mercifully overlooked by the Eye of Heaven, because there is a Sanctified Principle which remains entire in them. The Reluctancies and Rebellions of the *Sensual* Part are not interpreted as *Theirs*, as we may gather from *Rom. 7. 20*. *If I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me*. It is not I, saith the Apostle, that am guilty of these Disorders, it is not my self, not my *Inward Man*, not my *Mind*, not my Settled Will that consents to these Things, but it is the Corrupt Moiety in me, the *Law of my Members* that gives me these Inclinations, and puts me upon such Actions. But whilest you are examining whether you find this Conflict in you, this Civil War in your own Breasts, be careful to take notice whether the Renewed Principle *checks* and *over-rules* that of Nature, for you are to judge of your Condition by this. It was a choice Saying of an Eminent Philosopher, * A Man is to be accounted that which is the Principal Thing in him, that which is his Better Part, that which bears sway and hath the Mastery in him.

* Δόξειε δ' αὖ καὶ ἕκαστος εἶναι
τὸ πρὸς ὅπερ τὸ κρείον καὶ ἀμεινον.
Aristot. Ethic. l. 10. c. 7.

5thly then, Be continually endeavouring that the Spirit may always get the Conquest in this Combat, *that ye may not do the things which the Flesh would have you to do*. Look as it is in the Fermentation of Natural Bodies, the subtil and more active Spirits labour to free themselves from the Obstacles of the drossy and terrene Matter in which they have endured a long Fixation and Imprisonment: such should be the Workings of our Minds, such and much more should

be the Operation and Endeavour of our Souls, those Refined Beings: they should struggle to free themselves from the Terrestrial Dregs and Defilements of these Sinful Appetites, to be *delivered* (as the Apostle saith) *from this Body of Death*. Let us discover what we really are, let the World see which of the *Combatants* in us is the *strongest*. Let it be our constant Care to assert the Authority, to maintain the Superiority and Sovereignty of our Spiritual Part. Though the other Principle in us cannot wholly be destroyed and rooted out, yet let us make it our Business to keep it low, to have it always in subjection, that Sin may not reign in our Mortal Bodies.

And now I come in the last Place to the *Main and Principal Thing*, that is, to prescribe some *proper Remedies* against the *Temptations* which have their Rise from the *Flesh*, that Corrupt Part within us which I have been treating of, and that very amply.

1. The very first Thing which we are to be advised to, is this, Let us be truly *Sensible* of this grand Cause and Root of all Temptations, namely, that *Carnal Principle* which dwells in us. Our greatest Enemy is *of our own Household*, he is born and bred with us, and is natural to us. This is an Adversary that lurks in our own Tents, and is entertained within our own Breasts, and there proves false and perfidious: wherefore he is to be looked upon as the most Dangerous Adversary we have. *Plutarch* tells us of one *Polydore*, that when he was in great Distress and Misery, he dreamt that his *Heart* appeared before him, and accosted him with this Language, *It is I that am the Cause of these Misfortunes which befall you*: So may every Man's Heart bespeak him, and not in a Dream, but even when he is most discerning and most awakened, it will tell him that all the Evils and Plagues which attend him spring from his Own Corrupt Appetite, and that Innate Principle of Evil which is in him. From hence it is that the greatest Part of Mankind lead a Wicked and Vicious Life, and are Eternally ruined. Their Own Hearts betray them to all Vice, their Wanton Desires are their Bane. Hence it is that every cold Blast of Adversity makes them shrink, and every fair and pleasant Gale of Prosperity puffs them up: every Spark of Lust sets them on Fire: every Vice that makes any Offers of Pleasure, or Gain or Honour presently over-matches them. In a word, when their most hateful Foes encounter them, they cowardly yield to them. Thus it happens by Man's Innate Defilement, which is the Spring of all Vice. Let us be thoroughly *Apprehensive* of this, for this is the first Step towards the hindring the Conception and Birth of Sin in us, towards either the Stifling it in the Womb, or the Suppressing it when it sees the Light.

2dly, Let us seriously consider how Preposterously and Absurdly we act when we suffer the *Sensitive and Inferior Faculty* of the Soul to bear sway over the *Higher and Rational* one. This is like the *Israelites* making a League with the *Canaanites*, whom they ought to have expelled. This is to let the Brute dominate over the Man. This is (to use *Solomon's Words*) *to set Servants on Horseback, and to make Princes walk as Servants upon the Earth*. What can be imagined more incongruous and ridiculous? Wherefore let that Admirable and Divine Counsel of that Great Man take place, * It is the Office and Concern (saith he) of Man to do all he can to live according to the Direction of that Part in him which

* "Απαντα πείνῃ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ κρατῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ. *Aristot.* *Ethic. l. 10. c. 7.*

is Best and Noblest. For it is reasonable, according to the Law of Nature, that what is less perfect and worthy should be inferior to that which is more so. He that considers this will grant it equitable, that the Sensual Desire and Inclination should be restrained by the Rational, that the Flesh should be in subjection to the Spirit. And this will remind us to take care to fortify our Souls with Principles of Virtue and Holiness. Our Minds must be laid in and furnished with Maxims of Divine Truth, whence will proceed a firm and determined Judgment of Good and Evil. And the constant Application of these will enable us to stifle the Motions and Dictates of the Corrupt Monitor in our Souls.

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3dly, Let us endeavour to *divert* the Temptations of the Flesh by turning our Thoughts another way. We are told, that among the *Turks* there are many Persons that are *Ecstatical*, and they learn to be so by earnestly fixing their Minds on some certain Object, and there dwelling without taking off their Thoughts from it. Some say *Duns Scotus* had attained to this in perfection, by the same unhappy Token that he was Buried (being thought to be dead) when he was in one of those Ecstasies. But this is certain, that we may attain to an Useful and Safe Way of fixing our Minds, whereby we may be able to divert any Vicious Motion and Inclination arising in our Hearts. For the Intense Operation of the Soul about one Thing hinders the Intenseness of it about another; because the Mind cannot have different or contrary Operations at the same time in the most intense Degree. Wherefore, when we feel vicious Sollicitations in our own Breasts, we must vehemently exert our Thoughts about some other Matter, and thereby quell the present Sally of Thoughts that infests and disturbs us. We must on such Occasions accustom our selves to severe Speculation, and close Meditation, and fasten our Thoughts with all Vigor and Earnestness on Divine and Spiritual Things, such as are worthy of our Contemplation, and which will be so far from hurting our Minds that they will improve them. *Think of those Things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the Right Hand of God: Set your Affections on Things above, not on Things on the Earth, Col. 3. 1, 2.*

4thly, We must keep a constant Guard over our Bodily Senses, because by these very often undue Appetites and unruly Desires are kindled. Therefore we must not only with *David* pray that God would *turn away our Eyes from beholding Vanity*, but we must make this the great Matter of our *Endeavours*. In order to the stifling and baffling the Temptations of the Flesh, we must with great Caution converse with Outward Objects. The Intercourse of our Corporeal Senses, whereby we hold Communication with them, must be narrowly watched and looked after. I do not mean that we should follow the Example of *Democritus*, who made himself blind to free himself from the Enticements of Sense; or of *Amiantus*, a Primitive Bishop, who put out one of his Eyes because it was too Wanton and Straying. But that which Reason and Prudence dictate to us is, that we ought strictly to guard our Senses, and to avoid as much as we can whatever is apt to infect and corrupt them, and thereby to call forth our exorbitant Passions and Lusts. We must continually keep Forces on the Frontiers, to withstand the Incursions of the Enemy. We must block up all Passages and Avenues by which the Adversary may make his Entrance: We must cut off all Aids and Succours, all Supplies and Provision; and by this means starve our Lusts, and allay our extravagant Desires. That

5thly, The Temptations which arise from our selves may not prove successful, it is requisite that we do not so much as *deliberate* and *consult* about the Commission of that Sin which hath entred into our Thoughts. We must not hold any Dispute or Debate with Vice, nor make it a Question whether that or Vertue is to be followed. For that Man who *considers* whether he should do Evil, hath already done it in part, he having hereby let go his Hold; and then you may expect that he will go on apace, and soon finish what is behind. When our Minds suggest to us some unlawful and wicked thing, we must not take time to think whether we should comply with the Suggestion or not, for by doing so we dispose our selves for a full Compliance. A Fort which Parlies is half surrendered. The Man who comes to some Terms with Vice will in a short time give himself up to it.

6thly, Venture not on the *Confines* of any Sin, keep at a distance from it. That this Direction may be the more effectual, we are to consider that there are several Steps and Stages in Sin, there is a gradual Progress in the Ways of Vice; which the Psalmist expresses by *walking in the Counsel of the Ungodly*, by *standing in the Way of Sinners*, by *sitting in the Seat of the Scornful*, Psal. 1. 1. There is indeed a Learned * Critick, who will by no means allow a Climax in these Words; nay, *Gatak in Cin. he saith the Sense is frigid and frivolous if the Text be understood so. But he is singular and by himself in this Judgment on the Words; therefore I leave him, and adhere to the general Suffrage of Interpreters, who unanimously carry it on

* Tres hic gradus describuntur
malè viventium, eorum qui inci-
piunt, eorum qui perstant, eorum
qui planè in malà vità acquief-
cunt. *Grot. in loc.*

the contrary. Let the Learned *Grotius* speak their Sense:
† "Here are set down, saith he, three Degrees of such Men
"as live Ill, namely, of those who begin, of those who con-
"tinue, and of those who altogether rest in an evil Way
"of Living. First, the Sinner walks in the Counsel of the
Ungodly; there is his early consenting to, and complying

with Sin. Having thus walked for some time, he proceeds afterwards to stand in the way of Sinners: There is the Actual Commission and Perpetration of Sin. And Lastly, he sets himself down in the Seat of the Scornful: There's his Hardness and Obstinacy, his Customary Practice of Sin, and his Delightful Acquiescence in it, nay, his Prophane Scoffing and Deriding at whatsoever is Holy, Just and Good, and whatsoever looks like Vertue, or bears the Name of Honest. These are the several Steps and Ascents of Vice, these are the Rounds of the fatal Ladder, these are the Boughs and Branches of the Tree where the Forbidden Fruit hangs.

It is most certain that Vice is insatiable, and Sinners being left to themselves usually run from one Wickedness to another, and know not how or when to stop themselves. The Sinner when he is once on the Career, never makes an end of Sinning, unless the Grace of God intervene and stay him in his full speed. For Sin finds new Ways, and makes its Passage by strange Arts and Methods, and will not suffer him that acts it to be wearied. Go no farther is none of the Sinner's Motto; he is for a farther Pursuit still, and scorns all Limits and Boundaries. They must be Pillars stronger than those of *Hercules* that can stop him in his Course. Sin rises every Day higher and higher; it hath continual Recruits and Accessions; and one Sin (as it falls out oftentimes) must be committed to defend and maintain another. You read that *David* was first Idle and Slothful, and could not dispose of his Time unless he slept it away. This Idle Temptation, which is generally attended with Lust, inclined him to Gaze and Look about him before he lay down. His Lustful Eye betrayed him to Actual Adultery, and this pushed him on to the committing of Murther; for to hide his Lust and Adultery he chose to defile himself yet farther with Blood, and that Blood was the Cause of many innocent Persons perishing in Battle at the same time. Thus one Sin makes way for another, and one Vice is joyned to another to guard and secure it. This was the Sense of that Apocryphal Author, when he said, *The Wicked shall heap Sin upon Sin*, Eccl. 3. 27. which he calls

binding one Sin upon another, Eccl. 7. 8. And this was well represented in that old Hebrew Saying, * *One Transgression draws on another*. And Pagans as well as Jews had a Sense of this, as we may learn from *Valerius Maximus*; † "No

* *Pirk. Avoth.*

† *Neque enim ullum finitur
vitium ibi ubi oritur. Lib. 9.
cap. I.*

"Vice, saith he, stops there where it begins, but generally
"it increases, and spreads it self, and is improved after a
"wonderful manner. When Men begin to act viciously and wickedly, they cannot tell where they shall end, how far their Folly will reach, how far the Virulency of Sin will extend it self. Some thing is daily added to the Heap of Sin; and you may generally observe, that Sinners outdoe themselves at last.

If we would enquire into the Reasons of this, this Four-fold Account may be given: 1. This proceeds from the Strength and Prevalency of Man's Evil Nature. He is a depraved and degenerate Creature, he is miserably corrupted and defiled. The Law of Sin in his Members (as the Apostle stiles it) is very vigorous and urgent, the Tendency and Biass of his Will are very impetuous and strong, so that it is not to be wondred at that he gives himself over to Lewdness, to work all Uncleanness and Wickedness with Greediness, as the same Apostle speaks. The Depraved Nature of every individual Person prompts him to this. By reason of the Strength of Corruption which is in Man, he cannot do otherwise. It is only a New and Divine Principle that can put a Check to this.

2. This proceeds from the Nature of Sin. It is a known Maxim in Morals, that there is a Connection among the Vertues, that they all hang together. It is as true, if you speak of the several Vices, that they are chained and linked together: One depends upon another, and one draws another after it. This is the cursed Nature of Sin; and hence it is that it so strangely multiplies and increases. It must needs be so, because of the Affinity that is among Vices. For this

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this Reason they seldom go single, but Sin proves a Fruitful Mother, and hath many Children at a Birth.

Besides, 3. We weaken and emasculate our Minds by giving way to Sin, and by closing with the Motions of it. Hereby our hale Temper is impaired, and we become crazy and sickly. The Principles of the Spiritual Life are enfeebled, and our Reason is invaded, and our strongest Fort is betrayed, and we are now unfit to withstand the Enemy.

4. This happens also by the Judgment of God, who is pleased to let Satan loose, and to give him a Permission to draw those to all manner of Sin, who have abused all manner of Grace and Kindness towards them. Besides, God judicially hardens Mens Hearts after they have wilfully hardened them themselves. And when 'tis come to this, what can be expected but that Sinners should add Iniquity to Iniquity, and run greedily into the Commission of all Vice? This is that which is offered to us as a great Truth by the Apostle, in 2 Tim. 3. 13. *Evil Men and Seducers shall wax worse and worse.* They shall not only by their own Nature, and by that of Sin, but by the just Hand of the Almighty proceed from one Iniquity to another, and not be able to stop and arrest themselves in the Pursuit of Vice.

Let us now then weigh these things, and be thence persuaded to stifle the first Beginnings of Sin, to check the first Motions and Tendencies of our Minds towards what is Evil; for we see how dangerous it is not to suppress these betimes. Hereby we set our selves in a Posture and Way of sinning: We taste the Forbidden Fruit, and that tempts us to eat, and after that to glut our Appetites. When the Ice is once broken, when the Way is made, it cannot be imagined how prone and ready our Natures are to make the Breach wider, and the Way broader. Our Sins, which are called our *Debts*, increase upon us, and the Bill with its *Items* will grow larger and larger, and the Accounts will so swell that we shall repent that ever we admitted of an *Imprimis*. The Consideration of this should make us have a quick and tender Sense of Sin, even of the least Inclinations and Sallyings forth towards it, and to give Vice a Repulse at its first Assault. We should not make an Essay of it, and try what it is. The same Word among the *Latins* signifies to make Trial and to be in Danger: The Account of which we find in the Case that is now before us. Adventuring to sin is Perillous: Experiments here are very Hazardous. Wherefore we should listen to the Apostolical Precept, which bids us *abstain from the very Appearance of Evil*.

7thly and Lastly, To baffle the Temptations of the Flesh, let us guard our selves more especially from our Particular and Beloved Sins. This being, I conceive, a Direction of singular Use, and vast Importance, I will dwell upon it for some time. And to prepare the Way for it, I will premise these Two Things: 1. That there is a great Diversity of Sins. 2. That there is generally some Peculiar and Darling Sin that is indulged above the rest. As to the first, the Apostle declares in behalf of himself and other Christian Converts, that in the time of their Ignorance and Disobedience they served divers Lusts and Pleasures, Tit. 2. 3. And what the same Apostle saith of those of the other Sex, is as true of both, and of all Mankind, they are led away with divers Lusts, 2 Tim. 3. 6. The Gate is wide, the Way is broad, saith our Saviour, that leads to Hell and Destruction, because there are many and various Ways of sinning; Vice is Multifarious and of different Guises. In this Broad Way there are several Paths and distinct Tracks, though they lead to the same fatal End. All do not travel in the same particular Road, all are not Vicious alike, all do not offend God in the same Instances. Neither do the same Persons tread in one Path, and content themselves with the Commission of the same Sin: No, they expatiate and wander, and pollute their Consciences and Lives with different and various Kinds of Vices. There are divers Lusts in one Man; there are different Species of Sin in the same Person. It must needs be thus:

1. Because Men forsake God the Center, and then they cannot but sally forth, and lose themselves in a wide Circumference. Whilst their Souls terminate on God, they are united; and their Desires carried on in one Chanel: But when they are taken off from the Supreme Good, and diverted another way, then there are no Limits set to their extravagant Inclinations. As in Error, one Absurdity being granted a Thousand follow; so 'tis in Vice, when Men once give way

way to their Lusts, the numerous Shole of them press in upon them, and do not so much crave as command Admittance. It cannot be otherwise when Men stagger from their Center, *i. e.* abandon God in the only Repose and Satisfaction of human Souls.

2. This happens from the *Variety of Objects* in the World. These being so greatly diversified, it thence follows that Mens Lusts and Vices are so too. When they look abroad into the World, they are entertained with different Temptations; and the Evil Spirit, the grand Enemy of our Welfare and Happiness, courts and allures them by propounding Baits and Snares of a different Sort and Nature. And now it cannot but follow hence that the Vices which are the Product of these, must needs be of a diverse Kind. *Pleasures* occasion one sort of Disorder and Vice; *Profits* another: And so according to the *different Objects* there must consequently arise and be produced a Difference of Sins and Vices.

3. As the Diversity of Sins proceeds from that of the *Objects*, so likewise from the Diversity of the *Subjects* wherein they reside, or from whence they issue forth. The Faculties of the Understanding, the Will, the Memory, the Imagination, the Affections, do all contribute towards this numerous Brood of Sin: These are as it were the several Wombs wherein they are conceived, nourished and impregnated: All Vices do partly receive their Principle of Individuation from hence. Accordingly as they are shaped, and at length produced by these several Operations and Powers of the Mind, they vary in their Kind from others. So the *Irrascible* and *Concupiscible* Faculties (which are inferior Exertments of the Soul) are of a different Nature, and consequently have a distinct Influence on the Actions that come from them: And thence it is that one Sin so much differs from another. And as it is in the *Mind* of Man, so it is in his *Body*: Vices are differently denominated, and receive a distinct Nature and Quality from the Difference of the Corporeal Senses which are the Subjects of them. Every Sense administers to a particular Disorder of Life. The Sight, the Hearing, the Taste, the Touch, the Smelling, have some individual Vices which make their proper Residence in them. And it was the Sentiment of a Great Man, that there is a *different Sense* from all these which is more mischievous and vicious than all the rest: But there is no Necessity, I think, of establishing that Opinion, and to found a *New Sense*, it being reasonable to refer it to one of those before-named, and to the *Concupiscible* Part of the Soul which naturally produceth Carnal Emotions and Fermentations of the Body. Thus a Man is constituted of several *Bodily Senses*, he is subject to a great Variety of Disorders; for these, since the Fall and Degeneracy of Mankind, are become particular Receptacles of Vice, the Food, the Fuel, the Instruments, the Weapons of Unrighteousness and Unholiness.

* Eccl.
7. 29.

4. I might give an Account of this Diversity of Sins from the *Unsatisfiedness* of Mens Souls. * *They have sought out many Inventions*, as Solomon speaks, and they are still upon the Search; and are for trying of all things. Nothing comes amiss to the depraved Mind of Man. He is not contented to act the same Vice always, he insatiably longs after some new and fresh Entertainments of his debauched Desires. This is the boundless Folly of corrupted Mankind; so infected and poisoned is he by the Contagion of Original Impurity.

Secondly, I premise this, That there is some *Peculiar* and *Darling Sin* which Men indulge themselves in, above any other whatsoever. I kept my self from *mine Iniquity* saith the Psalmist, Psal. 18. 23. *Mine Iniquity*, in Contradistinction to what he saith in another Place, *I have refrained my Feet from every Evil Way*, Psal. 119. 101. I have carefully shunn'd all Sin in general, saith he; whereas now he hath a Guard upon himself, as to some particular Miscarriage of his Life, which he had found himself too much addicted to. Thus the Words are understood by some of the best of the Ancient Interpreters; and some of the Moderns of good Note embrace this Exposition. And that not without good Reason; for this Way of Speaking is conformable to this Holy Man's Style and Manner of Expressing himself in other Places, as in Psal. 25. 11. *Pardon mine Iniquity, for it is great*, great and heinous, because I have delighted in it above any other. So in Psal. 38. 3. *My Sin* and *mine Iniquities*, have a plain Reference to some particular Failings which he had been guilty of, and for which God had inflicted

inflicted upon him particular Maladies and Disorders of Body, as well as Unquietness of Mind, as you read in the Beginning of that *Psalm*. And again in the same *Psalm*, v. 18. *Mine Iniquity* and *my Sin* have Relation to that particular Offence against God, which he laments in that *Psalm*. So it is probable that *my Transgression* and *my Sin*, in *Job* 13. 23. are to be understood of some peculiar Vice, which that great Sufferer found to be too prevalent in him. For so it is, there is in every Man some one particular vicious Inclination, which he is more liable to than to any other whatsoever. Though Men serve divers Lusts, yet one is predominant, and that is divers in divers Men. There is a peculiar Vice in every Man, which he may justly call *his own Iniquity*, his Favourite-Sin, his Darling, his Beloved Vice. There is a *peccatum in deliciis*, as one or two of the Ancient Writers of the Church call it, that evil Inclination or Practice which a Man is most delighted with. This, according to our Saviour's Way of expressing it, is our *right Eye* and our *right Hand*, Mat. 5. 29, 30. and it is very fitly so stiled, because it is as dear to us as our Right Eye or our Right Hand. This is that *Sin which doth so easily beset us*, as the Apostle expresses it, Heb. 12. 1. that special Obliquity which we are most addicted to, and which hath our most passionate Regards. The Grand Signior hath many Concubines, but one only he is married to, and she is the *Sultana* and *Empress*. In a resembling Manner, (if I may be permitted to apply this) there is a great Number of Sins that Unregenerate Men allow of in their Practice, but they usually espouse one above all the rest, their principal Affection is set upon it, and it hath the chief Ascendant over them, and reigns in their Lives.

Thus it is sometimes, but rarely, even with good Men. David had his prevailing Corruption, *his Iniquity* (as he here calls it) his Sin that he was most prone to, his Sin that was, as it were, the Empress in his Affections, and ruled over all the rest, that is, *for a time*: But we cannot call him a good Man, who continues and persists in any vicious Practice that he knows to be such. And thus it is sometimes with other Religious Persons: They are *for a time* under the Power and Command of some Master-Vice: They favour some Party-Sin, and will not be persuaded to part with it. As the Servants of God have their *peculiar Excellencies*, wherein they outdo themselves as well as others, whence we read in the Holy Scriptures of *Abraham's Faith*, of *Moses's Meekness*, of *Job's Patience*, and the like; so there are sometimes certain *peculiar Blemishes* which they are noted for; and even in the same Person, some one Vice outstrips all the rest. But this cannot properly be called a *beloved Sin* in them: It is not so in those that are truly Pious, for such cannot be said to *love* their Sin. But *others* are truly said to indulge an entire Love to their Vices; and amongst these, one particular Vice is usually more caressed and loved than all the rest. Nothing is more common than this, and it were well for Mankind, if there were not daily Instances and Examples of it in the Lives of Men: Where we cannot but observe and see, that this Darling-Sin is different according to the Difference of Persons in the World. In some it is Pride, in some Anger, in others Intemperance, in some Covetousness, in others Uncleanliness; and the like may be said of other ill Propensions and Practices. Would you be acquainted with the *Reasons* of it? Then let me assign such as these:

i. This Indulging of one Sin above another, and making it a Favourite, arises sometimes from the Difference of the *Natural Complexion* and *Temper* of the Body. Whence there are particular Sins of particular *Constitutions*: Thus *Melancholick* Persons are most subject to Discontent, and are naturally inclined by the Disposition of the Fumes of Black Choler over their Bodies, to have dismal Thoughts of God, to make false Representations of the choicest of his Attributes, as his Truth and Faithfulness, his Mercy and Loving-Kindness, to distrust his Goodness and All-sufficiency in order to their Salvation, and even to plunge themselves into Despair, which is the greatest of Sins. These are the *Spiritual Maladies* of such whose Bodies have a great Dose of Melancholy in them, for these evil Dispositions of their Minds are most agreeable to that particular dark sullen Temper. The *Sanguine* Constitution prompts Men to Sins of another Nature, and inclines them to presume on the Mercy of Heaven, when there is the least ground for it: It disposes them to Wantonness and Lewdness, to spend their precious Hours in vain Discourse, in unlawful Amours and Dalliances, in Sport-

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ing, Revelling, Riot and Luxury, and all Manner of Unhallow'd Mirth: For these exactly suit with their Airy and Mercurial Humour. The *Phlegmatick* Sinner is most inclined to Sloth and Idleness, to a Disregard of his Duty, especially if it be accompanied with Difficulty: He is Faint-hearted and Timorous, and on that Account is disposed to be an Apostate; in a word, he is Cold and Unconcerned in all the Offices of Religion. These are the Vices which are most suitable to his heavy Constitution and dull Mould. Lastly, The *Cholerick* Man by his particular Make and Temper is prompted to be Angry and Wrathful, and to discover the Boiling up of this turbulent Passion in his Heart by unseemly Words, and worser Actions and Behaviour.

Thus it is no Wonder that there are *peculiar Vices* and *Delinquencies* in some Mens Lives and Actions, which are not to be found in others. The Ground of it is sometimes in their Natural Make and Constitution. Hence it is that one Man is most addicted to this Sin, and another to that, and a Third to a quite different Vice, and so another. Though this must be added here, that no Man is by this Means excused from the *Guilt* of his particular Sin, notwithstanding his Natural Temper pushes him on to it: For God hath afforded him sufficient Helps to correct his Nature, to restrain his Inclinations: And this is the great Work of *Reason* and *Religion* (in which we are all concerned) to curb and suppress the Vices of our Nature, to struggle and combat with our Tempers, and get the Mastery of them: And if in order to this we use our best Endeavours, God's Grace will be sufficient for us, and we shall have no Reason to complain of any invincible Difficulty that attends this Task.

2. The *Peculiarity of Vices* in some Persons proceeds from the *Difference of Age*. Not that we must wholly abstract this from the former Particular, for it is certain that this depends much upon that: For the *Complexion* doth in some Measure alter with the *Age*. But this I say, in Concurrence with the foregoing Head, that Diversity of Sins doth frequently arise from the Diversity of Years. The Vices of *Youth* and of *Old Age* are very different. Those that are appropriated to the former are such as these, Folly and Vanity, Levity and Inconstancy: For these Persons are not arrived to Maturity of Judgment, and thence it is that they are very fickle and inconstant, and change their Purposes and Resolutions, and are engaged in very vain and foolish Enterprizes, and repent of them after they are done, and yet return to them. Again, doating on sensual Pleasures is another of their peculiar Follies. For they are not come up to a steady Use of their Reason, but in lieu of that are led by External Sense, and thereby are inclined to affect all Carnal Delights, and to entertain themselves with Sports and Recreations rather than to betake themselves to Business and Employment. This makes them Gay and Loose, and give themselves up to Ease and Pleasure. Hence it is that young Men generally are not capable of solid Truths, and fly away from serious Proposals; which might give Occasion to what *Origen*, and *Ferom*, and others report concerning the *Jews*; namely, that they would not suffer some Books and Parts of the *Bible*, as the beginning of *Genesis*, *Solomon's Canticles*, and the Beginning and End of *Ezekiel*, to be read by any, till they were past 30 Years of Age. Next, we might take Notice of the Violence and Impetuosity of their Passions, which gives them a great Disturbance, and oftentimes gives others no less Trouble. Their Joys are of too high a Flight, but their Grief and their Fear are too low. Their Anger is too keen and sharp, for sometimes 'tis pointed into Revenge. Their Desires are too vehement, and their Hatred too inveterate. But of all their Passions there is none more violent and unruly than their Love. This Torrent bears them down with such a Force that they are not able to recover themselves. Lastly, Youth hath a good Opinion of it self, and is conceited of its own Wisdom: It scorns to be counselled by others, and is impatient of Government and Direction.

* Vitium hoc commune omnium est quod ad res in Senectute attentum sumus. *Terent. in Adelph.*

Then as to *Old Age*, it hath its *Peculiar Sins* and *Miscarriages*: It hath been a common Observation, that *Covetousness* is the Catholick Vice of aged Persons. *Aristotle* would excuse it thus, It proceeds, saith he, from their Experience, for they can tell how difficult it is to keep what one hath got, and to acquire more; and they know how easy 'tis to lose what one hath. But by the great Philosopher's leave this should not make them *immoderately* desirous of keeping

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ing what they have purchased, for Riches were given by God, not so much to be kept as to be used and enjoyed : Which cannot possibly be done by a Man that is very covetous. Besides, is there any Reason that their Avarice should begin at this time when they are about leaving the World ? If what they had purchased would suffice them before, certainly it will be more than sufficient now, when they have but a short time to live. I am rather apt to resolve this Miscarriage of theirs into their having been so long in the World. I speak here of those who are void of all true Sense of Religion, and of the Things of a better Life : These Men have had a larger Portion of Time upon Earth than others : And their long continuance in it, their enjoying of Life and the World with it, hath made them set their Hearts upon these Things in an extraordinary Manner. They have been so used and accustomed to this lower World, that they have no Thoughts of an Higher one. They have been so long upon Earth, that they are now as 'twere grown to it, and are become a Piece of it, so that it goes to their very Hearts to think of their being pulled from it. Hereupon they are extremely Covetous and Tenacious : As dying Men are seen sometimes to hold and tug the Bed-Cloaths, so these snatch at the World when they are going out of it. They grasp what they can, and are loth to leave any thing behind them.

Another particular Vice of this declining Age is *Frowardness*. Which if it proceeded merely from the *Infirmities and Diseases* which this Age is most commonly clogged with, it might be excused : But I speak of that froward and morose Temper which is the Effect of worser Causes. Those aged Men whose Years are not seasoned with Piety, are frequently dissatisfied with Providence, and murmur at the present Administration. They like nothing that is contrived by younger Heads ; as if nothing were well done that is not done by themselves. They cannot bear the present Times, if they have seen better before, and they despair of an Alteration in their Days. This makes them peevish and querulous. No wonder then that *ὀδυσίμοι* is the Epithet that the great Philosopher gives them. And *Canities morosa* is the Expression that *Horace* somewhere uses. Another unhappy Attendant of these Persons Years is this, that if they have accustomed themselves to a vicious Way of Living, and a neglect of God and Religion, they are very hardly if ever Reformed. † By a long Custom of Vice they have contracted a Hardness which is become impenetrable : And moreover, they bear themselves upon their great Seniority, and therefore will not endure to be checked by their Underlings.

† Grandior ætas dura & intrinsecus
stabilis, non potest reformari.
Sen. l. 3. Epist. 25.

These are the Immoralities of *Old Age*, i. e. they are so for the most Part, but not always. There are those that have arrived to a great Length of Years, and yet you can discern nothing of Avarice and worldly-Mindedness in their Words or Actions : They have nothing of Morosity and Peevishness ; they quarrel not with the World, because they are going out of it, though 'tis true they are very much disturbed and mortified with the Consideration of the Wickedness of the Times. They are not unwilling to be reprov'd by any faithful Monitor, and they are the more forward to leave their Sins and to reform their Lives, because they are in a very short time to give an Account of them to God. Therefore when I say that those forementioned Sins are the particular Faults of *Aged Persons*, and likewise when I assert that those other Vices before specified are the peculiar Blemishes of *Youthful Years*, I would be understood thus, that though some Persons of both Ranks, and I hope some considerable Numbers, are not actually guilty of and carried away with those Sins, yet the greatest Part are. Wherefore I speak not of such *Youths* as are seasoned with virtuous Principles sometimes, those whom the Grace of God hath had an early Influence upon : Nor do I speak of those of *Years*, whose Hearts and Lives God hath effectually changed by the powerful Operation of his Holy Spirit, tho' both Sorts of Persons, by Reason of those particular Ages, are most liable to those peculiar Failings.

3. This Singularity of Vice in some Persons proceeds from the Vanity of their Conditions and State of Life. Thus Luxury was the Sin of the rich Man in the Gospel ; he fared deliciously every Day. And from St. James we learn that Men of this Rank are addicted to Inhumanity and Cruelty, even killing the just ; to Oppression and Defrauding of poor Labourers and Hirelings ; and they live in Pleasure,

sure, and nourish their Hearts as in a Day of Slaughter. Who sees not that their great Abundance and Wealth do frequently administer to Pride and Boasting, to a Contempt of God and Men, to Irreligion, Prophaneness, and even downright Atheism? On the other Hand, the usual Sins of the Poor and Needy are Discontent, Impatience, and Murmuring, a Disregard of God's Providence, and sometimes a blasphemous complaining of their Condition; together with a strong Inclination to supply their Wants by depriving others of their Right, or by any other unlawful Means whatsoever. I might take notice here of the particular Sins adhering to Persons as they are secular *Governors* and *Magistrates*, or as they are placed in *Subjection* under these. I might recount the Particulars wherein *Ministers* and *Guides of Souls* are apt to transgress, and wherein those who are their *Flock* and *Charge* do commonly offend. I might enumerate the Miscarriages which *Masters of Families* and *Parents* are most subject to, and then shew wherein *Children* and *Servants* do most commonly offend. But lest I should be too tedious, I will leave the Enlargement on these to the Readers Thoughts.

4. This Peculiarity of Sinning is the Result not only of Men's different Conditions and Relations, but of the different Professions and Employments which Men are in. Hence in the Courts of Princes, in great and populous Cities, in Country Towns and Villages (in which different Places the Business of Men is not alike) there are Offenders of a peculiar, yea sometimes of a contrary Guise (for you must know that some Vices bear a Contrariety to others, whilst there is always a mutual Agreement and Concord among the Virtues.) Nothing is more evident and visible than this, that Men are obnoxious to certain Vices, by Reason of the particular Employment which they follow. If we should break into the Retirements of the Contemplative, and view the Scholar in his Study or his Walks; if we should observe the Physician with his Patients; the Lawyer with his Clients, or at the Bar; the Merchant on the Exchange, or in his Warehouse; the Tradesman in his Shop, or in his Counting-House; the Soldier in his Camp, and in his Quarters; the Mariner on the Seas, or in his Port; the Husbandman in his Fields and his Closes, or in the Market; and the Labourer at his Day's Work; if (I say) we should impartially examine these different Ranks of Men in the World, and their different Employments, I might give an ample Account of what I have asserted, that is, I might make it evident that there are peculiar Defects and Aberrations belonging to the particular Callings which Persons are conversant in.

5. The Places Men live in, the Countries and Climates in which they inhabit, do in some Sort contribute to those particular Vices and Enormities which are observable in their Manners. Thus the People of Crete or Candia (as it is now called) have the same ill Character given them by Modern Travellers, which their Countryman Epimenides fastned upon them above 2000 Years ago, viz. that they are Liars, Evil Beasts (Mischievous and Inhuman in their Conversation) slow Bellies (inclined to Idleness and Luxury): But especially they were heretofore Infamous for their Lying and Dissembling. And so were the Old Greeks, and therefore were stigmatiz'd by all Ancient Writers as False and Perfidious. The Carthaginians bear the same Character in History, and thence we hear not only of the Greek but Punick Faith, or rather Faithlessness and Inconstancy. The Sicilians of old were noted for the like Fault, and were looked upon as very Fraudulent, Crafty, and Deceitful. The Capuans were Infamous for their Gormandizing, the Alexandrians for their Scoffing and Jeering, the Argives for their Thievery. The Boetians were Dull and Heavy, the Sybarites Effeminate and Luxurious, the Indians were taken Notice of for their Sauntering and Laziness. The Druids were Superstitious and given to Witchcraft, the Scythians were abhorred for their Savage and Cruel Nature, and the Turks afterwards for their Polygamy. Other Nations, more civilized than these, are observed by all Writers to indulge themselves in some more Particular and Beloved Vices; as the Spaniards in Idleness and Pride, and a disdainful Hectoring of others in Words and Gesture; the Italians in Unnatural Lusts, in Jealousy, in Treachery, and in Revenge; the Germans in Intemperate Drinking; the Russians or Muscovites in Sloth as well as Drunkenness; and the French in Levity and Fickleness, (though perhaps these last are the only People that have restored themselves, as to their Topical Vice, and are to some Peoples Cost grown more steady and serious than

ever

ever they were). Thus the *Difference of Countries* carries with it a particular Propensity to some Immoral Actions.

Not that we are to think that God and Nature necessitate the Inhabitants of any Place to be Vicious; for these things are not so natural to them but that they may correct and subdue them, if they please: And we see that in these several Countries, there are great Numbers of Persons that are free from these vicious Tinctures, and even among the *Scythians* there was an *Anacharsis*; and among the *Bæotians*, a *Plutarch*. Nor are these Vices so natural and proper to these Nations, but that they may change them in time for others; and some of them have partly done so already. See this in *Christendom*; they have generally declined from one Extreme to another: *Superstition* heretofore prevailed, and now *Prophaneness*. Before they were too ignorant, and now they make ill Use of their Knowledge. Thus there is a Circulation in Mens Minds and Manners, as well as in their Blood.

But to confine my self to the Head which I am now upon, we may reasonably assert, that Persons are disposed and inclined to some Criminal Practices rather than to others, not only because of their Natural Temper and Complexion, which differs from that of other Persons, not only because of the individual Make and proper Turn of their Bodies, but by Reason likewise of the Nature of the Soil, the Temper of the Air, and the particular Regency of the Heavenly Bodies in those *Climates* and *Regions* of the Earth where they live. To these Causes we may partly attribute those *Local Immoralities* which have been mentioned, and which all Historians speak of.

Briefly to mention some other Heads: *Education* sways many Persons, and forcibly inclines them to such and such particular Perswasions and Practices. Again, *Custom* and repeated Acts of Vice dispose Men to one Sin more than to another. And unto these Two last Causes may also be attributed that Difference of Vices in particular Countries, which I spoke of before: For the particular Education, and the long and inveterate Custom of the Inhabitants of those Places, have rendered those peculiar Sins in a manner natural to them. Lastly, *Particular Occasions and Opportunities*, which some Men have put into their Hands, prompt them to commit those Sins, and be guilty of those Disorders, which others are never sollicitous to. Upon these several Accounts it must needs be that some *Darling Vice* prevails in one Man, which another is freed from. Tho' Original Depravation be equal in all Men, yet it exerts it self, in some particular Eruptions of it, more in one Person than in another.

Having premised this (which it was necessary to do) I proceed to urge the *Direction* which I offered, and which follows upon what hath been already suggested. It is this: If we would be successful in our Encounters with the *Temptations of the Flesh*, we must more especially guard our selves against the *peculiar Sin* which we find our selves most obnoxious to. Above all we must be sollicitous to get the Victory over that *particular Lust* which we have most addicted our selves to, and made, as it were, natural to us. It is true, we are obliged to have a general Eye upon our Ways, and to be watchful against all Sin, but in a more solemn Manner we are to set our selves against our prevailing Infirmity, and to encounter that chiefly. Our Saviour's Counsel is here proper, *Mat. 5. 29, 30. If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out: And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off; i. e. When thou discoverest any Sin in thee, which is as dear to thee as thy Right Eye or thy Right Hand, which thou most delightest in, and hast the greatest Passion for, take Care to eradicate that chiefly; banish this Minion, discard this Creature; cast off this Favourite, cashier this Admired Inmate.*

All Men are concerned in this necessary Work: But in the first place, *Spiritual Guides and Ministers* are obliged to tell Men of their Beloved Sins. They are to address themselves to their Charge, as *Nathan* to *David*, *Thou art the Man*, this is thy *Darling Vice*, this the Sin which thou most doatest upon; the World sees, as well as thy Conscience bears Witness, that thou art most addicted to this: Therefore speedily rid thy self of it, shun this, whatever thou doest, keep thy self from thine Iniquity. It may be there is some more than ordinary Emphasis in those Words *Ezek. 16. 2. Son of Man, cause Jerusalem to know her Abominations*, those abominable Practices which are hers more properly, which she more than other Nations is liable to, which she in a more signal Manner allows her self in.

John Baptist told *Herod* of his most delightful and Darling Lust, *his having his Brother's Wife*: He told the *Soldiers* of their *Violence*, and other Crimes which those of that Employment are most subject to. *Christ* plainly laid open (and that very frequently) the *Pharisees* particular Vices, as Hypocrisy, Pride, and Love of Applause: He touched the *Rich Ruler* to the quick, and discovered to him the Sin which did so easily beset him, when he bid him *sell all that he had*, and distribute it to the Poor: He freely told the Woman of *Samarita* of her *Adultery*, the greatest Miscarriage (it is likely) of her Life, and that which she was most unwilling to reform. *St. Paul* reasoned before *Felix* of *Temperance* or *Continence*, (for so the *Greek Word* signifies) thereby reproving that Great Man for the contrary Vice he was given to. And for a Modern Example, I cannot produce any more Eminent and Remarkable than that of *Latimer*, who presented King *Henry* the Eighth with a Bible with this Scripture-Motto on the Outside of it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge*. No Minister can discharge his Office faithfully, unless he strikes more especially at those Sins which he knows are more especially indulged in Mens Conversations. It is not enough to speak in general, but there must be a particular Application of the Reproof to those Practices. But this must be managed with Christian Caution and Prudence, and first the Admonition must be in private, and that more than once: And when at length there is a Necessity of speaking those Matters in Publick, it must be done with Love and Compassion, and without exposing Mens Names and Persons; that it may appear to the World, that our Business is not to disgrace, but to reclaim Sinners.

Parents and Masters, and Governors of Families are concerned here likewise, for they see into the particular Delinquencies of those whom they so intimately and constantly converse with, and therefore they must reckon it as a Charge incumbent upon them to direct their Reproofs accordingly, and to beat down those wicked Practices, especially, which they find their Servants or Children are most incident to, and wherein they chiefly delight. Lastly, All of us are interested in the Duty which I am now speaking of. We must begin with our beloved Sin (whatever it is) and with our greatest Force batter down that. We must not only lop the Boughs, and cut off the Branches, but we must lay the Axe to the Root of the Tree.

Now that we may do this effectually, it is absolutely necessary, that we have a distinct and full Knowledge of this particular Sin or Sins which I have been speaking of. Men are apt to mistake here, and out of Self-Love and Flattery they are wont to over-look and pass by their most delightful Sin, when they are bid to make search after it. Therefore in the next Place I will shew how we may make a full Discovery of our peculiar Lust, of our most Beloved Vice, and consequently how we may keep our selves from our Iniquity. Here I will proceed 1. More generally. 2. In a particular and closer manner. The general Directions which I offer are these Two. First, Be earnest in Prayer. Secondly, Examine your selves. First of all, Remember to begin with Ardent Addresses to Heaven. With great Importunity beg that you may be enabled to discover and discern that disorder in your Hearts or Lives which may deservedly be called *your Iniquity*. Thus it was *Job's* Request to the Almighty, *Make me to know my Transgression and my Sin*, *Job* 13. 23. which hath reference to some Particular and Special Enormity, of a very high Nature, as may be gathered from the Words immediately foregoing, *How many are mine Iniquities and my Sins*? The Question runs in the Plural: But here it is changed into the Singular, *My Transgression and my Sin*, to denote some peculiar Miscarriage which above others he had most indulged himself in. That this may effectually be discovered and made known to him, is the Petition of this Penitent Sufferer. And so it should be of us all; we should crave the Divine Assistance in this Case, and on our bended Knees most vehemently desire that Holy Skill whereby we may find out, and exactly discover our Bosom Vice. The

Second General Direction is, Examine your Consciences well, Rife your Hearts, see what is in you. There are very few Persons that employ themselves thus, and therefore it is no wonder that they discover not their peculiar Failings, but continually live in them with Remorse and Regret. But you must make it your Business to be acquainted with your selves: Set some Hours apart for this Purpose

Purpose (especially after you have been hearing of a Warm Discourse from the Preacher, or after some signal *Mercy* or *Judgment* hath made Impression upon you), be faithful to your own Souls, and make a diligent and impartial Search. *If there be any way of Wickedness in you*, labour to find it out, but more especially first to know your Capital Sin. As the *Philistines* were exceeding solicitous to know concerning *Sampson*, so be you the like as to your Sins, namely, to know *where their Strength lies*, or which is the Strongest and most Powerful Lust in your Hearts and Lives, which is the Master-Vice, and gives Rules to all the rest. Call your selves to a strict Account, and be willing to know your selves, and to be acquainted with your own Hearts, and you'll find that this will give you a Sight of what you look after, you will (after you have made use of this severe Inquisition several times) discover your Great Malefactor, your Grand Criminal, and then I hope you will not be backward to see Execution done upon him. But more particularly, you may use this Distinct Method to find out the Peculiar Enemy of your Souls, the Domineering Sin which you are making search after.

1. Ask your selves what is that which you *think of most*, for 'tis certain your Thoughts will run on that which you most love. As suppose your Mind is continually employed about your Worldly Gain and Profit, and your great Care both early and late is to heap up Wealth and Riches, then you may infallibly conclude that Covetousness is your Master-Vice. Or suppose Pride of Apparel be your reigning Folly, then your Thoughts will always be employed about this Vanity, your perpetual Care will be to invent or to embrace new Fashions, you will be immoderately solicitous about curious and costly Dresses, and whatever you are doing, this Vanity will haunt and perplex your Minds. Or suppose Incontinence or Carnal Lust be your Darling Vice, you may easily know it to be so by the Bent and Tendency of your Thoughts; your Minds will be taken up with impure Fancies and with obscene Ideas, and your Imaginations will dwell upon the Contemplation of Lustful and Lascivious Objects, and the Enterprizes that attend them, and with great Delight and Satisfaction. And so indeed it will be with you as to any other unlawful Thing which you most affect, your Thoughts will continually be set upon it, you will be ruminating on it, and with pleasure revolving it in your Minds. The Character of such a one is thus set forth in a very lively and graphical manner, *Job 20. 12. Wickedness is sweet in his Mouth, he hides it under his Tongue, he spares it, and forsakes it not.* And again in the next Verse, *he keeps it still within his Mouth*, or more exactly according to the Original, *in the midst of his Palate*. It being a dainty and delicious Morsel, he detains it as long as he can, that he may have the more lasting Relish of its Sweetness. This doth most exactly and sensibly express the Thing that I am now speaking of, *viz.* That he who entertains any beloved Vice, is continually thoughtful concerning it, and indulges himself in his frequent Imaginations about it, and he doth as it were rowl it up and down in his Mind, because of the pleasure he takes in it: which is the very Reason that our Saviour in his excellent Sermon on the Mount, gives of this, *Mat. 6. 21. Where your Treasure is, there will your Hearts be also.* That which is most dear and precious to you, will engross your Thoughts. Wherefore by this you may examine your selves, and where you observe you place your Thoughts first and last in the Morning and in the Evening, and the whole Day (yea and in your Dreams in the Night) there, there you may assure your selves is your Reigning Sin.

2. Ask your selves what it is that you *desire and long for most*, what it is that you most passionately wish for, and cannot be satisfied without, and that is your *Dalilah*, your Iniquity. As suppose it be an immoderate Love of the World that you are devoted to, then you are impatient in your Desires till you have a compleat Possession of that Measure of Riches, or that Degree of Honour and Preferment, and that full Fruition of them which you are so much taken with. You will have an insatiable Thirst after Honour and Greatness, after the Applause and Respect of Men, as we see in the Example of *Haman*, he could find no rest in his Mind because *Mordecai* did not Bow and do Reverence to him. You will greedily covet your Neighbour's Goods and Possessions, and will never be contented till you procure them. Of this *Abab* was a notorious Example, for he would not be quiet till he was Master of *Naboth's Vineyard*. Again, suppose

suppose your chief Sin be Intemperance and Debauchery, your *Desires* will shew it; your *Wishes* will discover it, for these all tend that way. You will be uneasy if you be confined to be Sober, you will be constantly longing to bear a part in the Society of Drinking Men, and in the Clubs of the Debauched. In short, if we mind the Byass of our *Desires*, we may soon discern what our particular Iniquity is.

3. Ask your selves what it is that you are most overcome by in the general Course of your Lives, what holds you fastest in the Bond of Iniquity, and hinders you from turning unto God, and makes you liable to be at Satan's Pleasure, and to be taken captive by him at his Will. Search what particular Sin it is that causeth this; and question not but it is the Sin we are discoursing of. And here let me commend this particular Expedient to you, for the more successful managing of your Enquiry, when you betake your selves to the solemn Work of Repentance, and desire to express your Sorrow and Grief for your Sins, and resolve to forsake them for the future. When you undertake this serious Task, observe how it is with you, take notice of what it is that retards your Repentance, what sinful Miscarriage of your Life it is that you are very backward to shew any Remorse and Regret for, and are wholly unwilling to make any Resolutions against. When, I say, you thus find your selves disposed and affected towards any Vice, as suppose Uncharitableness, or Drunkenness, or Swearing, or Lying, or the like, you may without Doubting and Hesitation infer that this is the Sin which bears Sway in you.

4. Observe what Sin it is that makes thee commit other Sins, and then thou canst not but inform thy self which is the Topping Vice of thy Life. Thus where Covetousness is the Supreme Lust, the Man will by the Force and Influence of that oppress the Poor, defraud his Neighbours, lye and cheat, and have no Regard to Justice and Honesty. And indeed what Evil Action is there which he will not undertake, to satisfy his Avarice and greedy Desire of Gain? So where Pride is the Lording Vice, the haughty Man will despise the Poor, reproach and defame those that are better than himself, use all unlawful Means to exalt and promote himself, and nothing comes amiss to him in order to the depressing of others, and advancing himself. So I might instance in the Immoderate Love of Pleasure and sensual Delights, where this prevails, a whole Squadron of Vices is at its Beck and Command. For the Voluptuous Epicure will boggle at nothing that may promote his Designs: He will rob others of what is necessary to supply himself with Superfluities: He will bid adieu to Sobriety and Temperance, he will violate his Chastity, he will waste his Time and Estate, he will injure his Body and Soul: In brief, he will break through all the Laws of God and Men, to gratify his unruly and wanton Appetites, and to make him Master of those Pleasures which he is so unreasonably devoted to. And it were easy to set before you other Instances, whereby it would appear that a Man's Darling Vice is the fruitful and pregnant Womb where other Sins are conceived and hatched, fostered and nourished, and thence brought forth into Action. The rest of a Man's Sins are but Servants to this, they all minister to it. Wherefore this is another Token whereby you may know which is the Superintending Vice in you.

5. Observe what Sin it is that you hate to be told of and reproved for: That questionless is a dearly beloved Sin. Herod was galled when John Baptist told him he must abandon his Brother's Wife, and no longer hold any vicious Correspondence with her. It is true, he heard that Holy Preacher gladly, he was pleased with some of his Excellent Discourses, and he did many things; but this he would not do, He would not break off his incestuous Marriage. And because he was rebuked for it, he was resolved to avenge himself on the Reprover, and you know how inhumanly and bloodily he did it. So it is with other Persons, they abhor to be checked for that Disorder of their Lives which they have the greatest Kindness for. They cannot brook a Reprimand here; and if any one will be so bold as to be free with them in this Particular, he must expect the utmost of their Displeasure. But however, this should not deter us from freely animadverting on the apparent Faults of others. And as for the Guilty, they should make good Use of what I now say, that is, they should learn to discern their Capital Sins by this Mark which I have now offered. When you take the

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Bible into your Hand, and peruse the Word of God, where all Sins are reprov'd : Or when you hear the Word preached by the Publick Reprovers of Vice : Or when you receive Admonitions of your Brethren, take notice what your Minds are most disturbed and discomposed at, what Lust you were most unwilling to have checked, what Evil Practice you were least desirous to hear reprov'd, and thence learn that this is *your Iniquity*.

6. Mark what Sin flies in your Face most *in a Day of Danger*, in a Time of Trouble and great Affliction. For then, if ever, Men put in Practice that Lesson of the Wise Man, *In the Day of Adversity consider*. They then begin to bethink themselves, and descend into their own Breasts, and ransack their Hearts and Lives : Wherefore make use of this Occasion for the Discovery of your Great and most Indulged Sin ; for at such a time as this it will come into View most, and be most felt and observed. Take notice then what it is that you reflect upon with the greatest Concern and Dread, what it is that you look upon as the Ground and Cause of the Divine Wrath against you. And by this means you will certainly find where your greatest Guilt lies, and consequently which is your Paramount Vice. More particularly, when God visits you with some dangerous Malady and Disease, when you lie on the Bed of Sickness, this Juncture may be improved to the present Purpose. For at such a time generally Mens Eyes are more opened than before : The Apprehension of Death approaching causes them to think of *another World*, and consequently to look back into what they have done in *this*. It will therefore be useful for you at such Seasons to observe what particular Guilt is most upon your Consciences, and what unlawful Practice you most dread the Remembrance of : And this will lead you to that Sin which you have most favoured, and taken Pleasure in.

7. That Sin which you are *loth to confess* before God or Men, that is the Sin which is your Delight and your Minion. For though it is true as to *all Sins*, those that commit them are not forward to own them, but would rather silently pass them by ; yet this is more especially and remarkably true if we speak of those Sins which Men delight in : And indeed it is no Wonder that they are so backward to confess these ; for Confession is in order to the forsaking of Sin, and therefore it cannot be expected but that they should be averse from acknowledging these Misdemeanours and Practices which they have no Desire to forsake. Observe then in your private and Closet-Devotions what particular Sin or Sins, above others, you are loth to lay open and expose ; that is the Sin we are discoursing of.

8. That Sin which though you are as 'twere constrained to confess, yet you are wont to *extenuate*, and make as little and inconsiderable as you can by your Shiftings and Evasions, that is a Sin without doubt in great Favour : For your lessening and excusing of it are a Demonstration of it. Thus for Example, when Men are guilty of the gross Violation of Sobriety and Temperance, and yet invent Excuses for it, and have the Face to represent it in fair and plausible Colours, it is a certain Sign that that Vice is very dear to them. So when Men who swear in common Discourse, undertake to defend that vicious Practice as a genteel thing, and used by Men of Honour ; or when they plead for it as a Custom and Habit, and therefore cannot be laid aside ; this is a clear Argument that this prophane Usage is one of their most Rampant Vices. And the same may be said of Wantonness and Lasciviousness, which is so much *vindicated* and *pleaded* for in this loose Age ; which shews that those who do so, have adopted it as one of their most beloved Sins.

Lastly, See what Vice that is which is the *greatest Impediment* to the Devotion and Exercises of Religion ; and conclude that to be the Sin that bears the greatest Sway in you. It will not be denied, I suppose, by any that have a true Idea of Religion, and have attained to right Apprehensions concerning the Nature of *Divine Worship*, that they ought to be performed and celebrated with great Intenseness of Mind and Vigor of Spirit. But this cannot possibly be done where the Mind is prepossessed, and when the Thoughts are taken up with a prevailing Lust. This will hinder you in your Prayers, in your Reading the Scriptures, in your hearing the Word preached, in your Meditations, and in your conferring with others. You can do nothing to purpose in these Acts of Worship and Religion ; because your Hearts are filled already with something of another

ther Nature. And that which so fills them is the pernicious Evil that I have been speaking of.

Thus I have briefly given you the Signs and Characters of a *Predominant Sin*; that having this full discovery of the Nature of it, you may the better guard your selves against it, yea that you may utterly subdue it. As the King of *Syria* gave order to his Captains to *fight against none but the King of Israel*, that is, to make it their greatest care to destroy him, so let me leave this Charge with you, that your main Business be to encounter and overcome your Reigning, your Ruling Sin. Fight neither with small nor great in comparison of this; for if you vanquish this great Foe, you defeat all the rest; as *David* is called the *Ten Thousand Slayer*, because he slew *Goliath*, for in slaying him he might be said to destroy Ten Thousand *Philistines*. Let us betake our selves then to our Arms, to our Spiritual Weapons, and quit our selves like Men: Let us exert our greatest Strength and Valour in grappling with that Sin, and rectifying those Disorders which we are most incident to. If *Socrates* could boast that he had by *Philosophy* corrected the Obliquities of his Nature, let us not despair of doing as much by vertue of *Christianity*, through the Divine Grace and Aid, whereby we shall be enabled to get the Conquest over that which we have often been conquered by; and this will make the Victory over the other sinful Desires and Passions the more easy. Thus much for the *Temptations of the Flesh*. And some part of that which I have said under this Head, may be usefully applied to the *Temptations of the World* before treated of.

The Third Sort of *Temptations*, are those that are stiled *Diabolick*, i. e. which proceed from the *Devil*. This Great Enemy of Mankind hath a Particular Way of Tempting proper to himself, besides that he for the most part manages the Two other Kinds of Temptations before spoken of, namely those of the World and of our Own Flesh. This is that *Roaring Lion* whose Character is thus represented by *St. Peter*, *He walks about seeking whom he may devour*, 1 Ep. ch. 5. v. 8. The Chief of the Infernal Spirits (who is by way of Eminency called the *Devil* in the Sacred Writings) with all his Hellish Crew, are permitted to gad up and down in the World, and to thrust themselves into all Places and Companies. Though Satan be a Lyar, yet we may believe him when he saith *he goes to and fro in the Earth, and walks up and down in it*, Job 1. 7. and again ch. 2. v. 2. When on a certain day the *Sons of God* presented themselves before the Lord, this busy Rambler came also among them, Job 1. 6. By the *Sons of God* some understand *Job's Children*, and the Day spoken of is (they think) the Day on which they feasted, v. 13, 18. I grant indeed that these Evil Spirits are present at Feasts and all other Meetings: yea, these Guests are too often Invited by the Sinful Mirth and Extravagancies which frequently accompany such Assemblies. But I am perswaded that this Passage refers not to *Job's Children*; for why should they be called *Sons of God*, when we know that they were *Daughters* as well as *Sons*, and are so mentioned together in v. 13, 18. Nor doth it refer to their Feasting; for who can think that this is meant by their presenting themselves before the Lord? Wherefore I conclude, that by the *Sons of God* are meant the Blessed Angels, who are so stiled even in this Book, ch. 38. v. 7. and by their presenting themselves before the Lord, both here, and afterwards, as we read in chap. 2. v. 1. we are to understand their Solemn Meeting together at certain times to receive their Orders and Commands from God. Even at such times the *Evil Angels* mix themselves with them: for 'tis their Business to frequent all Assemblies, to repair to all Places where they think they may learn any thing that will be serviceable to their Design, i. e. to do mischief in the World. They are not so tied up and confined in * *Chains of Darkness* and Hell, but they have leave to go up and down in the World, to make their Tour, to walk their Rounds, in order to effect their pernicious Contrivances.

It is true, they belong to the *Bottomless Pit* as their proper Place to which they were designed; and therefore thither they return, and shall be tormented in that *Lake of Fire*, Rev. 20. 10. and before that time they shall be bound a Thousand Years. But in the mean time they go their Circuit, they visit all Countries, they repair to all Places, they ransack all Corners, they look out for Prey, for Booty; for so *St. Peter* acquaints us, they seek whom they may devour, whom they may destroy and ruin for ever. Whence the Chief of them is called a *Dragon*, a *Serpent*, Rev. 20. 2. and in another Place, (ch. 9. v. 11.) *Abaddon*, and *Apollyon*, i. e. a De-

* 2 Pet.
2. 4.

a Destroyer. Which is also the true meaning of † *Asmodeus*, the Name of a Devil in one of the *Apocryphal* Writers. As Good Angels consult the *Welfare* of Men, so these do their *Ruin* and *Destruction*. Though they cannot do all the Mischief they please, yet they strive to do all they can. They are never idle, they are always very active and busy, even when they can do but little hurt, as the Devils turned out of the *Man* went into the *Swine*. They are ever bent on some Mischief, but Mankind is the principal Object they aim at, and his Soul (the most precious Part of him) is chiefly sought after. They lay Siege to this with indefatigable Industry: nothing will content them but the Damnation of this, to which Purpose they are continually tempting and assaulting him. Here then I will distinctly treat of the Evil Spirit as he is a *Tempter*, which is the Epithet given him in *Matt. 4. 3.* *1 Thess. 3. 5.* God's Temptations (as I have shewed) are by way of Probation, but those of this *Tempter* are designed for Seduction and Perdition. The *Divine Trials* are that Men may not sin, but the *Diabolical Ones* are on purpose to allure and intice them to it. There is this vast Difference between them.

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Here then I will shew, 1. That the Devil tempts Men to Sin. 2. How he doth it. 3. What are the Particular Wiles and Devices of the Devil. 4. What Means must be used that we may not be led into Temptations, or how we may be delivered from the Evil of them? First, I will prove the Matter of Fact, i.e. I will make it appear from several Instances recorded in the Holy Scriptures, that this Infernal Spirit doth actually tempt Men. This Work he began in Paradise. As soon as Two were come together, the Serpent made a Third. His first Attempt was upon our Mother *Eve*, and when she was alone and unprepared. Then it was that this Coward set upon her, and beguiled her through his subtilty, as 'tis expressly said, *2 Cor. 11. 3.* After he had been thus successful in the procuring the Fall of our First Parents, he boldly afterwards made his Assaults on all Ranks of Persons, and solicited them to all kind of Wickedness. He maliciously and furiously fell upon *Job*, and used him most unmercifully and barbarously, to bring him to the utmost Impatience and Despair, and to make him abandon his Integrity and God himself. He provoked *David* to number the People, *1 Chron. 21. 1.* *Joshua* the High Priest stood before the Angel of God, and Satan stood at his right Hand to resist him, *Zach. 3. 1.* he laboured to oppose him in doing his Office. In the Parable of the Sower (which represents a Reality to us, but in a mystical Way) as soon as the Word was sown, i.e. preached and heard, Satan came immediately and took away the Word that was sown in their Hearts, *Mark 4. 15.* Our Saviour tells *Peter*, that Satan had desired to have him, that he might sift him as Wheat, *Luke 22. 31.* a proper and emphatick Expression to set forth the Nature of Tempting, which tosses and shakes those that fall under it. When Christ told the *Jews*, who attempted to take away his Life, that they were of their Father the Devil (*John 8. 44.*) and that the Lusts of their Father they would do, he lets us know who it was that stirred them up to Malice and Envy, to Cruelty and Murder. He was a Murderer from the beginning, as our Saviour adds, and abode not in Truth, he naturally delights in Mischief and Falshood. He is a Liar, and the Father of a Lye, he is an Enemy to all Truth and Goodness, and the Author and Promoter of the contrary. It is expressly recorded that the Devil put it into the Heart of *Judas* to betray Christ, *John 13. 2.* which is afterwards in the same Chapter expressed by Satan's entering into him. This powerful Way of Temptation is called filling the Heart, *Acts 5. 3.* Why hath Satan filled thy Heart to lye to the Holy Ghost? The Apostle *St. Paul* sets it out in another Stile, *2 Cor. 4. 4.* The God of this World hath blinded the Eyes of them that believe not, lest the Light of the glorious Gospel should shine unto them. The Devil is called the Spirit that worketh in the Children of Disobedience, *Eph. 2. 2.* And this Holy Man *St. Paul* himself was not free from Satan's Temptations, for he acquaints us that he was buffeted by a Messenger of Satan, *2 Cor. 12. 7.* He tells his *Thessalonians*, that he would have come unto them once and again, but Satan hindered him, *Epist. 1. Chap. 2. Ver. 18.* This Cursed Spirit prevailed with some Persons to obstruct and frustrate it. Though the Church of *Pergamus* had many faithful Christians in it who held fast the Name of Christ, and denied not his Faith, yet Satan's Seat was among them, *Rev. 2. 13.* and 'tis certain that where that Seat or Throne is, there he reigns, and he reigns when he tempts with Success, and is obeyed. From these and many plain Passages in Scripture it is evident,

that the Devil and his Angels tempt and solicit Men to Sin, and too often prosper in their Assaults. Our first Parent *Eve's* Confession, *The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat*, Gen. 3. 12. will fit us all: The Old Serpent the Devil entices us, deceives us, and we by his Instigation break the Divine Commands. And this must be the Acknowledgment of all *Eve's* Posterity to the World's End: For the Devil, who began at first with Tempting, and hath continued ever since in that Employment, will not give it over till the *New Heavens* and a *New Earth* put a Period to it.

The Second Thing I undertook was to shew you the *Manner of the Devil's Tempting*. For some Persons of late, who scarcely have the Belief of a God, do more openly profess (as their Discourses and Writings acquaint us) the Disbelief of Diabolick Spirits; partly upon this Account, that they cannot apprehend (as they say) how such Spirits act upon Men, how they are able to excite Men to the Commission of Sin, or draw them off from the Discharge of their Duty. Hence they think they have Reason to look upon the Notion of *Devils* as a Chimera, an arrant Fiction and Imposture. Now, notwithstanding it is certain that these Men, although they had not this to say, would not believe the Being of these Infernal Agents (for they are wont to deny the Existence of *Spirits* in general;) yet however, to obviate their Infidelity, and to suggest something that may establish the Faith of others, I shall briefly offer a plain and rational Account of the particular *Manner* of Satan's tempting Men. This he doth these Three Ways.

1. By working upon those bodily Organs, whereby Notices are conveyed to the *Brain*, and thereby working upon the *Imagination*, which hath its Seat there. All confess that our *Souls* from within act upon our Bodies; and 'tis as rational to believe that those *active Spirits* from without can operate upon them, especially upon those Parts which are furnished with the most spirituous Matter. It is not to be doubted that they can so move the Instruments of Sense and Perception in the Brain (which is continually stocked and recruited with Animal Spirits) that they can stir up the Fancy when they please. This vitiated Faculty being the Source of so great a Number of Sins in Men's Lives, they by acting upon this make a great Progress in their tempting Work: Especially when by outward Objects (of which I shall speak afterwards) they can present Matter to the Imagination, and thereby create such Shapes of Things as they have a Mind to produce. The Summ is, the *Fancy* having such an Influence on the *Affections*, and they on the *Will* and *External Actions*, it is easily conceived how evil Spirits work upon us, exciting us to that which is evil and vicious: And consequently it is easily conceived how the Devils Tempt us.

2. They do it by stirring up the *Passions* in the sensitive and irascible Appetites. As before they wrought upon the *Spirits* of the Body, so now they work upon the *Humours* principally (if a Man may be permitted in this wonderfully Philosophical Age to mention *Humours*, *Temper*s, and *Complexions*, which are such despised Notions of late.) It is not difficult to apprehend the Possibility, yea the Probability of this; for if the Ambient Air, the Soil, and the Weather alter these fluid Parts of the Body (as no Man of Sense denies) then we have no Reason to deny this Power to those active and busy Beings. They can with Ease raise the bodily Humours, and so trouble and disturb them, that thereby they shall be able to stir up all Sorts of *Affections* in the Persons that are thus moved. By shaking and rousing the *melancholy Facies* they cause sinful Fears and Suspicions, distrust of God and of his Providence, and (which is the consequent of that) confiding in the Arm of Flesh. Thus Satan stirred up *David* to number the People, by raising in his Mind an unlawful Dread and Distrust. He runs others into Despondency, and even an utter Despair of the Divine Mercy by a more vehement Commotion of this black Humour. Where this is predominant and affects the *Hypocondria* and the Brain, he hath a great Advantage, for he can easily promote in such Persons dark and affrighting Thoughts, dismal Surmises and Jealousies, groundless Scruples of Conscience, and make them serviceable to the greatest Disorders in their Lives. He hurries others into as vicious Extravagancies by inflaming their *Choler*, which he perceives to be most prevalent in them: And hence they are wrathful and furious, they are Enemies to all Peace and Compliance, they delight in Quarrels, Divisions, and Contentions. Thus

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it is probable Satan hindred St. Paul's coming to the *Thessalonians*, by raising Feuds and Animosities among them, by stirring up some fierce *Judaizers* to oppose his Coming to them, as may be partly gathered from *Acts* 15. 1. Sometimes by the Help of this *Bilose* Matter he fills the Imaginations with Thoughts of Revenge, and then with Resolves of executing it, which ends in Bloodshed and Murder. He makes the *Sanguine* and *Mercurial* Temper in others to be a great Friend and Advancer of his Temptations: For this naturally inclining Men to Levity and Gaiety, he doth what he can to exalt and heighten this Humour in the Body, and thereby brings Men to an Excess of Mirth and Pleasure, and betrays them to Lewdness and Lasciviousness, to Intemperance and Drunkenness. And then he deals with them as *Abolom* with *Ammon*, when he sees * *their Hearts are merry* with Wine, he commands to smite them: He makes their excessive Mirth and Debau-
* 2 Sam. 13. 28.
cheries instrumental to their Ruin. Lastly, he finds others to be of a quite contrary Disposition; he observes that they are *Flegmatick*, Cold, Dull, and Heavy: Wherefore by the Assistance of this particular Sort of Complexion he betrays them to Effeminacy, to Idleness and Sloth, to Timorousness and Cowardise, to a faint and careless Performance of their Duty, to Indifferency, to Formality, and at last to Apostacy. There is an innate Tendency to all this in those Persons whose Bodies are loaded with Phlegm, and who naturally abound with it. Therefore, when the Devil takes Advantage of this Temper, and comes to take up his Residence, and inhabit in this frozen Zone, he doth very strange and wonderful Things.

And so it might be shewed, that by other undue Commotions and Disturbances in the natural Crasis and Temper of the Body, he begets any other vicious Passions, as he thinks fit, and as he sees will be most serviceable to his Cause and Purpose. By this working on the Body he can distract the Thoughts and Imaginations, so that they shall not be able to attend with Seriousness and Concernedness to the Things of Religion, and by the same Means he can make them Disaffected to it. So this *Wicked One comes, and catcheth away the Word which is sown in Men's hearts*, Matt. 13. 19. he Diverts their Minds and Thoughts from what they heard, he hinders them from Considering of it, and so suffers them not to be Affected with what they heard. Thus the Devil obstructs the Conversion of Souls, he labours to harden Men's Hearts, so that the Preaching of the Gospel shall not make any Impression upon them. And as he can distract the Thoughts, so he can instill Evil Ones into the Mind, he can stir up Vicious Inclinations in the Heart: which he doth either by the forementioned Means, viz. by disturbing the Blood, Spirits, and Humours of the Body, which soon influence upon the Mind, or by awakening and reviving that Inbred Principle of Temptation which I have before spoken of, i. e. our Natural Corruption, which prompts us to all Evil. And thus it is evident how Evil Thoughts and Desires are promoted not only by our Own Conceiving, but by Satan's Suggestions: and consequently it is manifest how this Evil Spirit tempts Men, that is, draws them to Sin and Wickedness.

3. He effects this by the *Outward proposing of Objects*. Though he cannot directly and immediately reach the Soul of Man, and work upon it, yet he can do it obliquely, not only by the Ways before-mentioned, but by Outward Impressions which he makes by those things which he sets before us. By these he darts Evil Suggestions into our Minds, and calls forth our Disordered Inclinations and Propensions into Act and Execution. This is one of the most common Ways whereby he seduces Men, and entices them to all manner of Sin. He knows that they are naturally apt to be moved by whatever affects their Outward Senses, and accordingly he presents Objects unto these, or else makes use of those which he sees are already placed before them. Hereby he infuses Evil Thoughts into them, and stirs them up to Lust, Anger, Avarice, and all other inordinate Passions and Inclinations. Thus he tempted *Eve* by occasion of the *Fruit*, and thence suggested Arguments to her to eat of it. He tempted *David* to Adultery by the sight of *Bathsheba*. He tempted *Judas* with the Offer of the Thirty Pieces of Silver, and thence 'tis said *Satan put it into his Heart to betray Christ*. He put it into his Heart by furnishing him with a fit Occasion, by stirring up the High-Priests to tell him out a Summ of Money, not amounting to Four Pounds Sterling in our Coin; for a small Summ would suffice where the Person's Avarice was so great. So *Ananias* was tempted to keep back part of the Price of the Land which he had pretended

tended to Dedicate to the Use of the Church: Hence 'tis said, *Satan filled his Heart to lie to the Holy Ghost*. He filled his Heart by propounding to him this Occasion of Profit, of securing some Money to himself. Thus it is an undeniable Truth, and confirmed by the Sacred Scripture in Variety of Instances, that Satan tempts and seduces by those *External Objects* and *Occasions* which he knows will operate on the Vicious Nature of Men. He allures and entices by Pleasures, Riches and Honours, and so strikes in with the *World* (of whose Temptations I spoke before) and makes use of that in Tempting. Whence he is called the *Prince of this World*, John 12. 31. and the *Ruler of the Darknes of this World*, Eph. 6. 12. yea, the *God of this World*, 2 Cor. 4. 4. And we find him making his Assaults according to that Division of *Worldly Temptations* which St. John mentions, of which I spake before.

Of this there are Two notable Instances: the former of which was the first *Diabolical Temptation* in the World, viz. that whereby the Woman in Paradise was seduced, Gen. 3. 5, 6. Unto the *World* belongs the *lust of the flesh*, whatever is delightful to the Sensual Appetite; and therefore the Devil impressed this forcibly on her Thoughts, that the *Tree was good for food*; it was grateful and pleasant to the Palate. The next *Mundane Temptation* is the *lust of the eyes*, and accordingly this was urged by the Tempter, that the *Fruit of the Tree was pleasant to the eye*. Another *Worldly Invellement* is the *Pride of life*; and because Mankind is apt to be proud of nothing more than great Knowledge and Skill, therefore Satan suggested this, that the *Tree was to be desired to make one wise*, nay, that it should procure them a *Divine Kind* of Knowledge, they should be *as Gods, knowing good and evil*. And by this *Threefold Cord* he drew this unwary Woman to Sin. But in the other Instance which I shall offer he was not successful; however, he used the like Method. He tempted our Blessed Saviour with that which St. John calls the *lust of the flesh*, i. e. with desire of Food, which is to sustain the *Fleshy Part* of Man. After Forty Days Fasting Christ was exceeding hungry, and then the Tempter set upon him, and provoked him to turn Stones into Bread, to break his Fast, and satisfy his Hunger: *Command these Stones, saith he, to be made Bread*, Matt. 4. 3. He made use of that other *Worldly Allurement*, stiled by the same Apostle the *lust of the eyes*, viz. the Riches and Glory of the Earth. *All these things* (saith he) *i. e. the Kingdoms of the World, and the Grandeur and Pomp of them, will I give thee*, v. 9. Another Temptation wherewith he assaulted Christ, was the *pride of life*, which consists in Ostentation and Vain-Glory, for he solicited our Saviour to *cast himself down from the Pinnacle of the Temple*, v. 5, 6. that he might gain Admiration and Applause by such a wonderful Attempt as that, viz. falling down from the Top of the Temple to the Ground without hurting himself. Thus the Devil makes use of the *World* in his Tempting.

To proceed, the Devil also tempts by the *Evils* and *Crosses of the World*; for these are to be numbred among the *Outward Objects* and *Occasions of Temptation*. This we see in the Example of Job, whom this Evil Spirit exercised with Bodily Pain, Diseases, Poverty, and Loss of his Children, thereby to make him forsake God and abandon all Religion. He tempted the Apostles by stirring up Persons to molest and persecute them, which perhaps may be part of the meaning of our Saviour's Words to Peter and the rest of his Brethren, *Satan hath desired to sift you* (all of you, for 'tis spoken to them all,) i. e. to trouble and disturb you with Persecutions, and thereby to distract and discompose your Minds, and (if it be possible) cause you to relinquish the Christian Faith and Profession. So St. Paul had given unto him a *Thorn in the flesh*, the Messenger of Satan to buffet him, 2 Cor. 12. 7. The meaning of which is thought by some Expositors to be this, That Satan by some Poinant Grief, by some Sharp Malady inflicted on St. Paul's Body, endeavoured to hurt and mischief his Soul, and bring him to the committing of some great Sin. This was his design, though in the mean time God, who suffered this Infliction to be laid upon the Apostle, or rather sent it, making use of Satan as the Instrument, designed otherwise; i. e. he intended it should be for his Benefit and Advantage, lest he should be exalted above measure. Accordingly it is said to be *given to him*, as some Favour and Kindness: Wherefore I conclude it was from God, but by the Interposition of the Prince of Darknes, who is properly the Tempter, and takes all Occasions to seduce Men into Sin. He wants not Matter for this: he every-where finds *Objects* that are fit to make use of. By these he hath a way of injecting Evil Thoughts

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into Mens Hearts, of infusing False and Pernicious Persuasions into their Minds ; and so there comes to be an Inward Instigation to Sin. Though Satan's Power be great, yet he cannot force the Will ; wherefore, because he is not able to use plain Violence, and to compel this Faculty, he makes it his Business to bring it to a Compliance, by exhibiting Objects and Occasions which will work upon the Bodily Senses, and by mediation of them influence on the Will it self, and incline it to what is Vicious. This is the Manner (and I think it very intelligible) of the Devil's acting upon us, i. e. of his exciting us to Sin.

But we are told by * One, that Satan cannot imprint wicked Thoughts on Mens Minds, and accordingly he resolves all blaspheming and despairing Thoughts in the Minds of Men into the Wickedness and Infidelity of their Hearts, or into the Darknes and Melancholy of their Tempers ; but as for the Devil he wholly excuses him in this Matter ; he doth not (he saith) cast in wicked Thoughts into Mens Hearts, nor can he. Which is clearly opposite to the Discoveries made in the Holy Scriptures, where we read that the Devil put it into the Heart of Judas to betray Christ, and Satan filled the Heart of Ananias to lie unto the Holy Ghost : And several other Passages to the like purpose I have before-mentioned. Well, but what is the meaning of these Places of Scripture, if they do not signify that the Devil can inject Evil Imaginations and Thoughts ? He tells us that the only meaning of these Texts is, that [the Devil hath a greater Hand in some Sins than others, and that a Heart wickedly inclined gives him a great Advantage to tempt Men more powerfully, by presenting the Occasions of such wicked Thoughts and Actions to them ; for it is usual in Scripture Phrase, as to ascribe all good Motions to God's Spirit, so all Evil Thoughts and Actions to the Devil ; not that he is the immediate Cause of them, but because he is always ready to tempt Men to them, and one way or other to promote them.] Thus he.

But any Man may see that this is a very sorry and lame Account of these Texts of Scripture ; for we do not deny that the Hearts of Judas and Ananias were wickedly inclined, and thereby gave a great Advantage to Satan to tempt them, and perhaps by presenting the Occasions of wicked Thoughts to them ; but these are not the Things which these Texts take notice of, but they acquaint us in plain Terms that Satan put, or † cast it into the Heart of Judas to betray Christ, and filled the Heart of Ananias to lie to the Holy Ghost : whence we cannot but infer that the Devil hath Power to suggest Evil Thoughts and Imaginations, and to cast them into Mens Hearts, and even to fill their Hearts with them. And yet this Author denies this, though it is the only Thing that the Texts positively assert. And what he adds further is yet more strange, namely, that when the Scripture ascribes all Evil Thoughts to the Devil, the meaning is this only, that the Devil is ready to tempt Men to Evil Thoughts, and to promote them, not that he is the Cause or Author of them ; so when the Holy Scripture ascribes all good Motions to God's Spirit, it is not to be understood that the Spirit is at any times the immediate Cause or Author of them, but only that he some way or other promotes them. The Holy Ghost according to him can no more cast in good Thoughts into the Hearts of Men, than the Devil can cast in Evil ones. This is the strange Doctrine of this Writer ; and I believe the Reader, upon reflecting on what the Sacred Writ hath said of the Holy Spirit, will be of Opinion that the bare mentioning of it is a sufficient Conviction of its Falshood. It is not to be questioned, that as God's Spirit can and doth operate upon our Minds and Thoughts, so the Evil Spirits have a Power of the like Nature, though limited and confined. They can work and influence on our Spirits and Humours, and thereby come at our Minds themselves ; and by other ways which I have before specified, they have a Way of making Impression on our Minds, and raising in us ill Ideas and Representations of Things, Undue Thoughts, and disordered Passions.

In the Third Place I am to let you see what are the particular Wiles and Stratagems that the Devil uses. We, saith the Apostle, (meaning not only himself, but those that were Proficients in Christianity among the Corinthians) we are not ignorant of his Devices, 2 Cor. 2. 11. Nor should any of us be ignorant of them : Yea, we should endeavour to acquaint our selves fully with these νοήματα, Devices, Ferches, Contrivances, Machinations of the Tempter. It is certain that the Devils are Knowing and Sagacious Creatures, and thence the Ring-leader of them is stiled the Old Serpent, Rev. 20. 2. viz. because of his Subtilty

* Dr. Til-
lotson's
Serm. on 1
Sam. 2. 3.
Vol. 6.

† Βεβλήθη-
ται is the
Word used
in John
13. 2.

* Colloq.
Mens.

tilty and Craft, which are Eminent in the Serpentine Kind. He may be said to be the True *Amphisbæna* (if there be any such thing) the Serpent with a Double Head, extraordinarily appointed with Wisdom and Cunning. And he is emphatically called the *Old Serpent*, because his Subtilty is increased by his Age and long Experience. It was one of *Luther's* blunt Sayings which hath a great deal of Truth in it, * *Although the Devil be not a commenced Doctor, yet he is deeply Learned, for he hath been at his Art almost Six Thousand Years.* And since, by continual Observation he grows more Subtle and Knowing; after so many Years Experience he cannot but have a wonderful Insight into Men and Manners, and be exceeding Skilful to Deceive, to Delude, to Devour. As the good Angels or *Dæmons* have their Name from their Divine and Heavenly Knowledge, so the Evil Ones have the same Title from their great Skill in their Hellish Art: For though Profane Authors use the Word *δαιμόνες* indifferently for Good and Evil Angels, yet both this and *δαιμόνια* are applied in the New Testament to the Impure Spirits only. And there is good reason for it, because they have such a deep Knowledge of Persons and Things, because they are so Wily and Crafty, and full of their Devices, Intrigues, and Policies.

These are signally called by the Apostle *μεθοδεῖαι*, *Wiles* of the Devil, *Eph. 6. 11.* A very fit Word to express the Evil Arts and Contrivances of this our Ghostly Adversary; for *μεθοδεῖν* is to go about, to fetch a Compass with some Design, as he that hunts for Prey. This is the Devil's Work, as you have heard, *he goes about, he walks his Rounds, he besets us on every side; so that μεθ' ἡμᾶς ὥρῃ, exactly answers to μεθοδεῖν, and to the Latin circumvenire to circumvent, which is no other than to deceive with all the Artifice and Advantage imaginable. This is our Spiritual Enemies practice, he uses the best and most Artificial Methods to cheat and delude us, and thereby to ruin and destroy us. These fraudulent Circumventions are also called the Snare of the Devil, 1 Tim. 3. 7. 2 Tim. 2. 26. and it is laid with all the Cunning that he is Master of, to catch and entrap Men's Souls. These likewise are stiled the Depths of Satan, Rev. 2. 24. because they are secret Arts of Mischief, which are oftentimes hidden from us, and by which many Men perish before they are sufficiently aware of them.*

Of these *Depths, Snares, Wiles, Devices*, these Diabolick Contrivances, Stratagems, Artifices, I am now particularly and distinctly to treat; and I will reduce them all to these Two General Heads, *viz. Satan's Subtilty, 1. In drawing Men into Sin. 2. In doing what he can to hinder their Recovery after they have sinned.*

But before I proceed, I must insert this, that in the several Particulars which I shall name, I do not exclude the Deceits of our own Hearts, for so it is that the Devil's Wiles and our own Self-Deceit go together. Not but that sometimes, yea in some Cases very frequently, the Devil tempts alone, without the concurrence of the Flesh or the World. This is not to be denied, but yet for the most part our Domestic and Bosom Enemy is in League with the Foreign Foe, and then it is no wonder that we are betrayed and vanquished. Satan tempts and inveigles us by working on our Fleshly and Animal Part. There is scarcely any simple Temptation at any time. Sometimes the World, but most generally our Flesh conspires with the Evil Spirit, and so the Temptation is of a mixed Nature. As Satan promotes our Inbred Lust, so these set forward the Diabolical Assaults. The Deceits of Sinners and of the Hellish Adversary meet together. The Fleshly Tempter takes part with the Infernal one; where the Devil is the Father of Sin, there Lust or Concupiscence is the Mother of it, as I have proved already. The Heart of Man is deceitful, and cunning to cheat it self; and Satan by his Subtle Arts renders it much more so. This therefore I desire may be remembered, that in all or most of the *Devices and Wiles* which I shall mention, there is a concurrence of the Devil's Deceptions and of our own: And though I shall frequently mention the Evil Spirit alone; yet I always suppose, that both these joyn together, which makes the Artifice stronger and more prevalent. Having premised this, I hasten to insist upon the forementioned Particulars. And

First, I say, Satan shews his cursed Craft and Subtilty in drawing Men into Sin. And this he studies to effect by such Arts and Devices as these:

1. In order to it he keeps Men from all Good as much as he can. He endeavours by all means to divert them from prosecuting what hath intrinsic Virtue and

and Worth in it. He labours to hold them employed about those things which are of no Concern to their Immortal Souls, and are no ways conducive to the Practice of Religion and Holiness; yea, which are a great Impediment to these. Accordingly the Devil sets Men a disputing: He puts them wholly upon useless Controversies, vain and sapless Speculations, unprofitable Questions. This Devilish Artifice was used betimes in the Christian Church, on purpose to hinder Men from the solid and substantial things of Christianity. From the Apostle's Charge given to *Timothy*, 2 Tim. 2. 14. we may gather that there were some of these Idle Disputants in those Days, who *strove about Words, to no Profit, but to the subverting of the Hearers*. And from 1 Tim. 6. 4. it is plain that they doted about Questions and Strifes of Words, whereof cometh Envy, Strife, Railings, Evil Surmisings, Perverse Disputings of Men of corrupt Minds. This alienated them from one another, and from the true Sense of Piety and Goodness, which always are promoted and nourished by a Meek, Peaceable and Quiet Spirit. This is one of the Devil's Devices in our Days, he exercises the Minds of Men about mere Indifferent Things, and puts them upon contentious Talking and Writing for them, and troubling their Heads with them so long till Religion is banished out of their Hearts; for this Wrangling makes them in a great Measure forgetful of their Indispensible Duty and the necessary Concerns of their Salvation.

To baffle this first Device of Satan and of our own corrupt Hearts (for both these are in Conjunction here) let us seriously consider this one thing, to wit, how pernicious these Quarrels and Disputes are, and how fatal they will prove to Religion if we do not timely suppress them. They will certainly engross our greatest time, so that we shall find little Leisure for other things; they will destroy our mutual Love and Charity, they will make us peevish and waspish Creatures; yea, if they continue and grow high, they will change us into Tygers, into Savage and Wild Beasts, and we shall consume and devour one another. Therefore let us follow the Advice of the Apostle, *Foolish and unlearned Questions avoid, knowing that they do gender Strifes*, 2 Tim. 2. 23. And these Strifes beget Wrath and Malice, Rancour and Revenge, and so the peaceable and loving Temper of Christianity will at length be rooted out of the World. Be persuaded then not to strive and contend, unless it be for the Faith of the Gospel, the unquestionable Truths of Christianity, which St. Jude bids us contend for earnestly. But otherwise lay aside all Contention about Undeterminable Points, lest by keeping of these up you wholly enervate all Practical Religion, and destroy the Life of Godliness.

2. The Devil shews his Craft in persuading Men to entertain themselves wholly with the lesser and remote things of Religion, and to satisfy themselves with these, that so he may take them off from prosecuting those that are Greater and of the very Essence of Christianity. He most willingly suffers them to be busie, and that with some Exactness, about the mere Circumstances and Outward Part of Religion. Here they may be as zealous as they will, and the more hot and fiery, the better, if in the mean time they neglect the Substantial and Weighty Things of the Divine Law. He permits them to give their Bodies to God in his Worship, if they will keep back their Souls, and not engage them in his Service. He is content that they should discharge, and that with Frequency, the outward Duties and Offices of Religion, and he persuades them that this is sufficient. Or he lets them serve God in those things which bring Profit to them, and conduce to their Secular Interest: But where there is no Prospect of these, he beats them off from all Religious Attempts. The Reason of all which is this, he can patiently and contentedly suffer Men to seem to be Holy, but he cannot endure they should be really so.

But let us by all means vigorously oppose and defeat this Devilish Project and Delusion: Let us resolve that we will not be put off thus by the Subtle Tempter. Let us not satisfy our selves with the bare External of Religion, but resolve to make the sincere Practice of it the great Business and Employment of our Lives. Let us be very careful that Religion takes hold of our Hearts and Spirits, that so we may persevere in it; for what is Superficial is not Lasting. Let us not content our selves with the mere Outside of Piety and Devotion, but chiefly endeavour to have our Minds affected, and our Inward Man reformed: otherwise we cheat both our selves and others.

3. The Crafty Tempter having thus more remotely, and at a distance kept Men off from attending to their Great Concern, he now more directly and closely assaults them, pushing them on first of all to the Commission of *Lesser Sins*, that these may be an Introduction to greater ones. To this End he tells them, that such and such Sins are Petty and Inconsiderable, and therefore they may safely give way to them. He suggests that *Thoughts* are free, and no Man shall give an Account for them. If their outward Behaviour be fair and plausible, they need not be solicitous to regulate these. He persuades them that no Care is to be taken of our *Words*; or at least to fail here is a very small Fault. Then as for *Actions*, if they be not Notorious and Scandalous, we are not to be much concerned for them. By Crimes of a mean Nature no great Harm is done, especially if we sin in private, and let not the World know of it. Thus he doth not directly lead them at his first Onsets to open and gross Sins; For oftentimes the Natural Consciences of Men recoil at great and heinous Vices, and they cannot be at ease till they abandon them. But now the Devil, to accomplish his Ends by Degrees, persuades Men that they may safely indulge themselves in light and small Sins; yea, in a great many of this sort. This is the first direct, but wary Step which he makes: He begins with little Declensions to make way for those of a higher Nature.

This Artifice of Satan is to be obviated and prevented by considering that this Distinction of *Lesser* and *Greater Sins* is very dangerous: For though 'tis true some Offences, considering their Circumstances, and the Issue and Effect of them, are not so heinous as others, yet all are on this Account alike, that they are a *Transgression of the Law*; which is the very Nature and Essence of *Sin*; and they are all of them directly opposite to the Holy and Pure Nature of God, and are an Affront to the Divine Majesty. Wherefore let us not *distinguish* between Sins any more. Again, we are to remember that it hath been the constant Practice of the Evil Spirit to proceed *gradually* in his Temptations. There are several Instances of this in the Sacred Records, which might be produced. Yea, we may observe this concerning the Three Assaults which Satan made on our Blessed Saviour; they rose higher and higher by Degrees. The 1st Diabolical Motion was to turn Stones into Bread to satisfy his Hunger: The 2d was to cast himself down from the Battlements of the Temple, which was a more extravagant Suggestion: But the 3d was yet more wicked and impious, *viz.* to fall down and worship him. Thus the Temptations of Satan climb higher and higher: And this is the thing that we are to take notice of, and to know that here lies his Art, this is a main Piece of Sophistry: Therefore let us beware of it. The Deceitfulness of the Devil is seen in this, that he brings Men on by little and little. This is the *Creeping* of the *Serpent*: He slyly insinuates himself, and steals upon us in this manner.

But now it is time for him to go on further, to be bolder and more daring. He having brought Men thus far, he having led them to the Commission of those Sins which he stiles *Little*, he in the next Place puts them upon the perpetration of *any Sin*, of what Kind or Magnitude soever. In order to this, and to carry on his Designs yet further,

4. He labours to hide from the Eyes of Men, the *Danger* and *Mischief*, the *Evil* and *Punishment* that are the usual Attendants of Sin. This Deceit he used at first, when he tempted our Mother *Eve*; he carefully removed the Evil which she might fear, *You shall not surely die*, said he to her. When he shewed our Saviour *all the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them*, he shewed him not the Calamities, Tumults, Disorders, Vexations, Torments that are in all the Kingdoms of the World. He gilds over the bitter Pill, and even whilst he is designing our Ruin, he holds us in hand that he is our Friend, and a Lover of our Welfare. Because (as *Solomon* saith) *in vain is the Net spread in Sight of any Bird*; therefore this cunning Fowler labours to conceal his Net, though he lays out his *Bait* to open View. He allures unwary Sinners by the latter, and he destroys them by the former. In all Sin there is a *Bait*, and there is a *Snare*; a Bait that is exposed and seen, and a Snare that is concealed. The Bait is some Profit or Pleasure that attends the Sin: The Snare is the Punishment, the Judgment, the Curse that follows it. Thus in Lust and Lewd Embraces there is a Bait, *The Lips of a strange Woman drop as a Honey-Comb*, Prov. 5. 2. The Snare

Snare, is mentioned in the next Verse, *Her End is bitter as Wormwood, sharp as a two-edged Sword.* In Drunkenness there is the false and pretended Pleasure of Drinking, there is the colour and sparkling of the Wine in the Cup, and the brisk Taste of it on the Palate. Here is the Bait, the Snare follows, *It biteth like a Serpent, and stings like an Adder,* Prov. 23. 32. So in Defrauding and Cheating, there is the Bait of Profit, *The Bread of deceit is sweet to a Man,* Prov. 20. 17. But in the next Words we have the Snare, *Afterwards his Mouth shall be filled with gravel,* i. e. his unlawful Purchase will prove very Uneasy and Painful to him. And so in other Sins and Enormities there is the Bait and the Snare. Now, it is Satan's great Policy to hide the latter of these from the Sight and Observation of those whom he tempts, he conceals from them whatever is dangerous and hurtful in the Commission of Sin. He deals with them as he did with the *Israelites* when they were passing through the Wilderness into *Canaan*: he struck their Thoughts with the *Flesh-pots of Egypt*, and made them hanker after them, but he made them forget the intolerable *Bondage* and *Slavery* they were in there. Nay, this Subtile Fiend goes yet further, he labours to represent Religion and Holiness, and all the Actions of a Vertuous Life as Difficult and Slavish, as unworthy of a Free Man. He suggests that Christianity is an insuperable Task, and beyond our strength: that it is vain to set about it, for we shall never be able to conquer the Hardships that perpetually attend it; we shall be baffled in the Enterprize, and therefore 'tis best to lay it aside betimes. In short, he labours to discourage all Holy Pilgrims in their Journey to the *New Jerusalem*, by laying Stumbling-blocks in their way, and then perswading them that it is Hard and Rugged of it self. He cheats the greatest Numbers of Men by this Wile: or (which is the plainer Truth) the Devil and they agree to cheat themselves by it.

The best Way to check ourselves, and to evade our Spiritual Adversary, when he uses this Stratagem, is to remember this, and urge it often on our Minds; that though he hides the Snare, yet it is a Snare still: and we shall know it by a too dear-bought Experience, if we do not consider this, that there is a Necessity of flying from the Net, from the Snare, if we would not be ruined. Wherefore when we are tempted to partake of any unlawful Pleasures (such Pleasures as Sin can afford) let us reply as one of the Ancients in the like Case, *We will not buy Repentance at so dear a rate.* Let us give a Repulse to the Temptation, by considering what Sin will cost us. We shall know and see that it is an evil thing, and bitter to forsake the Lord, Jer. 2. 19. to abandon our Duty, and to give up our selves to our Lusts. The Sweet will be swallowed up of the Bitter, so that the Relish of the former will be lost. Wherefore let us not be deluded by the fair Promises and Offers of the Tempter. Let us remember that there is a Net spread, there is a Snare hid, though there be a Bait: let us think of this, that if we hasten to the one, we shall fall into the other. Whensoever then the Pleasant Bait allures us, let the Dangerous Snare affright us; and let us be so considerate, so wise as not to come near it.

5. To carry on his Designs yet further, the Devil makes use of another Wile, he fits himself to all the several Circumstances of the Persons he deals with. 1. He suits his Temptations to their particular Conditions. If they be in Health, and have an uninterrupted Enjoyment of it, he knows what Applications are fit to be made to them: or if they labour under Sicknes and Bodily Infirmities, he accordingly Addresses himself to them. He is sensible that Youth and Old Age make a vast Difference between Persons, and therefore he hath Temptations that are peculiarly calculated for either of these States. The Youthful must be treated in one manner, and the Aged in another. So as to Prosperity and Adversity, Satan's Assaults are different, yea contrary. In the former his usual Course is to draw Men to Presumption, in the latter to drive them to Despair. In the one he endeavours to destroy them with Pride and Security, in the other with Murmuring and Envyng. 2. He suits his Temptations to the particular Studies, Callings and Employments of Men. There is one way of applying himself to those of a Contemplative Life, and another to those who follow a Life of Business and Traffick. And if I should descend to every individual Employment and Profession of Men in the World, it might be evidenced that they have their proper and distinct Snares. There are Sins appropriated as 'twere to the particular Callings of Men, of which I spoke before. 3. The Devil adapts his Sug-

gestions to the various *Temper*s and *Dispositions* of Persons. This Inquisitive Agent (as Intelligent as he is) doth not, cannot directly know the Hearts of Men (this is the sole Privilege of the Divine Omniscient Creator, who is therefore exclusively stiled the *Searcher of Hearts*;) but yet in an indirect, secondary and remote Way he knows what is in the Hearts and Thoughts of Men, viz. by their * External and Bodily Motions, and chiefly by what he observes and takes notice of in their *Natural Temperament*, and therefore he studies this with great Diligence and Curiosity: So that he arrives at last to a perfect Insight into the particular Constitution of Men's Bodies. Having attained to this Knowledge he makes it serviceable to his Ends; i. e. he orders and manages his Temptation according to the bodily Complexions of Men. When I explained the Manner of Satan's tempting us, I had Occasion to give a distinct Account of this by instancing in the particular *Humours* of the Body, which are so great Ingredients in the Constitution of it: But now I only mention it in general, to give you a Proof of the *Subtily* and *mischievous Sagacity* of our Spiritual Adversary. He consults the *Temper of the Body*, and thence learns the inward Propensions of Men's Minds, and acts accordingly. He sees that all Men are not alike disposed and inclined, but some in one Way, and some in another: Wherefore according to Men's different Inclinations to different Vices he makes his Applications.

* Ἀπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διεκδύει βεβαιότητα.
Ibid. Pelus. 1. 3. Epist.

Of this I will give some General Instances, that the Evil Arts and Contrivances of the Tempter may be the more apparent. By diving into the Natural Make and Inclination of some Persons, he finds them to be addicted to *Covetousness*; and knowing that Silver and Gold are fit Baits for such, he fails not to tempt them with these. The *Ambitious* and *Haughty* must be tempted after another manner, i. e. with Honour and Applause, which are most agreeable to their particular Inclination: The Devil therefore takes care to foster their Pride and Self-conceit, and greedy Thirst after Fame and Repute in the World. The *Voluptuous* Person must be assaulted in another Way; for he cares for nothing but Soft Pleasures and Dalliances, therefore the Tempter lets him not want these, till he hath effectually won him over to be his. This Hellish Politician from studying the Temper and Disposition of Men, knows that such and such Persons relish and affect such particular Vices, and that 'tis in vain to prompt and solicit them to others. He finds that those who exceedingly love their Pleasures, are not to be tempted by any thing which looks not that way: nor are those that dote upon High Titles and Honours to be solicited and wrought upon by any thing so powerfully as that which feeds their Ambition. In like manner those that Deify *Mammon*, and are swallowed up of Avarice, must not be tempted to Sins that are Costly and Expensive, as Gluttony, Drunkenness, Riot and Luxury. These Chargeable Vices will not go down with them: therefore he tempts them to Cheap Sins, as Lying, Swearing, Malice, Uncharitableness, besides their Darling Covetousness. These, because they come not at a dear Rate, are easily yielded to by them; but chiefly Gainful Sins are listned to and embraced, as Cheating, Circumventing, Oppression. Here therefore the Devil shews his Art, he takes especial Care to nourish these Vices in them. Herein the Evil Spirit discovers how *Subtile* and *Crafty* he is. Which is well taken notice of by a Pious Father, * *Why doth not this Tempter, saith he, hurry all to the same Lusts and vile Affections? Because one Man is inclined to chuse and prefer this, another that; that which is pleasing to one, is not so to another.* And again saith he, † *This subtle Tempter doth not simply set upon us, but first he searches into the Propensions, Inclinations and Sallies of our Souls, and then undertakes us, and contrives his Snares for us.*

† Διὰ τὴν μὴ πᾶσι αἰς τὰ αὐτὰ πᾶσι οἰθεῖ; ἐπειδὴν ὁ μὲν τῶτο, ὁ δὲ θείνῳ μάλλον προσήκει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶτο, τὸ δὲ θείνῳ ἀρέσκει. Ibid. Pelus. Epist. Lib. 3.

† Οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐπιστοίαι ὁ θείνός περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον διακρίνει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης ἐκείνης καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης ἀντιλαμβάνεται. Ibid.

Nay, under this Head I might observe likewise, that Satan hath not only several particular Baits and Allurements for different Persons, but he uses several and different Baits for the same Persons; which he knows how to substitute and change according to the Circumstances they are in. And in doing this he always makes choice of the fittest Instruments, of the most Convenient Places and Times, the fairest and most inviting Opportunities. And lastly, nothing is more obvious than that this Cunning Tempter takes all Advantages of our Frailty and Impotency. He at first assaulted

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assaulted *Eve*, whose Weakness perhaps made her the more obnoxious to his Attempts; and ever since he takes occasion to improve the Weakness and Simplicity of Persons to their Damage. We have heard what Satan's Posture is, he walks about: As a Commander that besieges a City goes round it to observe in what Part it is the least fortified, that he may Attack it there: Such is the Practice of this Politick Enemy, he takes notice where we are most defective and feeble, he plants his Artillery against the weakest Place, and assaults us where we are the most unable to resist him.

Now for the *Antidote* against this Evil, we must study our selves, and be thoroughly acquainted with our own *Natural Inclinations*, our *particular Tempers* and *Constitutions*, that thereby we may be able to obviate the Tempter who makes so great Advantage of them. We must be watchful and vigilant in every *State* and *Condition* of Life, lest these Administer to Temptation. We must take care that our *particular Callings* and *Employments* be not made use of by our Great Enemy for our Hurt. We ought to take notice what Vices we are most liable to, and to guard our selves from them with a more than ordinary Care and Diligence. Where we are most Weak and Feeble, there we must be mindful to Fortify our selves in a more especial manner. In brief, we must walk circumspectly, and be as observing as our Enemy is.

6. It is another of Satan's Wiles to teach Men to *Translate* and *change* their Sins. This Stratagem of his is observable in these Particulars;

First, When Men have not an Opportunity to *commit* some Sins, the Devil permits them to delight in the *Contemplation* of them; or when they cannot act some Vices *themselves* (and so their Sins have left them rather than they their Sins) he tells them, that they may love to see *Others* commit these Vices: yea, they are tolerated to commend and approve of those Enormities in others, though they are not in a capacity to act them in their own Persons. Actual Sin is turned into that which is Mental; and Personal Vices are changed into a Love of Sin in others, or an encouraging of them to Sin. This is frequent in the Sins of *Drunkenness* and *Uncleanliness*; and thereby the Delight in them is kept up, even when the Persons are not capable of acting them.

Secondly, The Sophistry and Fraud of the Devil appears in this, that he allows Men to indulge some *Profitable* and *Gainful Sin*, though they seem to discard all the rest. Thus a Man may leave off and even *abhor Idols*, but take up the Sin of *Sacrilege*, because this latter is advantageous. It may be it was thus with *Judas*, perhaps he exchanged all his other Sins for *Covetousness*.

Thirdly, Satan takes another Course with other Men: He lets them renounce all their *Lesser Sins*, but bids them make choice of one *Great One* in the Place of them. A *Beloved Vice*, a *Darling*, a *Dalilah*, an *Herodias* may be retained. And so it is oftentimes, that this one Master Sin conquers all the rest. This *Belzebub*, this Prince of Devils, casts out all other Evil Spirits. As when the *Pestilence* raged at *Athens*, * the Historian tells us, that the other usual Sickneses and Diseases never troubled any Man: So when some Capital Vice rages in a Man, there is scarce any other to be seen, he hath as it were abandoned them all. The reason is this, (I mean so far as the Devil is concerned in it) he can hold a Man fast by One great Sin as well as by Twenty lesser ones; therefore he allows of the exchanging of these for that.

* *Thucyd.*
lib. 2.

Fourthly, There is this Device also, the Devil puts some upon bartering *Grosser Sins* for *Finer Ones*, and then persuades them that they have done very well. Thus some have laid aside Drunkenness, Swearing, Whoredom, and all manner of scandalous Enormities; but they have taken up Self-conceit, Pride, Censoriousness, Envy, desire of Contention, and these they are unwilling to part with. There are several that rise sober and go sober to Bed, who yet are grievously Drunk with Passion, Intoxicated with Wrath, Revenge and Malice. Some run out of a Dissolute way of Living into Fiery Zeal and Schism. In *Luther's Days* several that left *Popery* turned Seditious *Anabaptists* in *Germany* and *Holland*, as the History of those Times testifies. And so at home we have heretofore seen, that many have pretended to fly from *Rome* and *Antichristianism*; and then we heard afterwards that they were possessed with *Enthusiasm*, and they talked of nothing but Visions and Revelations, and immediate Illapses of the Holy Ghost.

And truly this is common with the Spirit of Darkness, to cause Men to run out of one Excess into another. They change *Prophaneness* for *Formality* and *Hypocrisy*: That they may not be taken any longer for *Publicans* and *Sinners*, they turn *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. And then on the other hand, there have been those that have run from *Preciseness* and *Demureness*, to all *Prophaneness* and *Debauchery*, and on a sudden have separated from all Religious Meetings, sold their Bibles and turned *Ranters*. The Devil may be said to have gone out of such Persons as these, but then he took with him *Seven other Devils worse than the former*, and returned again; and the End of these Men is worse than their Beginning. This may justly be reckoned among the *Wiles* and *Artifices* of *Satan*: When he sees that one Extreme will not take, he tries the other upon Men. He prevails with them to make a Change of one Sin for another, and to believe that when they do so, all is well. And in this, as in all the other Particulars, they joyn with the Devil, they tamely concur with him to ruin themselves.

The only Cure and Remedy here is to possess our Minds with this grand Truth, that *All Sin*, of what Nature and Kind soever, is to be avoided and hated. When any *Vicious Inclination* or *Habit* is entertained, we hazard the Damnation of our Souls. It is not the *commuting* of Sins that will prevent this, for one Sin is as destructive as another, if it be Nourished and Fostered. Wherefore let us resolutely strive against every *Vice*, notwithstanding all the fair Pretences and Arguments which are made use of for it.

7. The Devil is never more Cunning and Artificial than in his *misrepresenting* of *Vice* and *Vertue*. As for the former, his Business is to excuse and extenuate it, to palliate and disguise it, and if possible, to make it no Sin. To this Purpose he enables Men to invent Distinctions and nice Evasions, to use all Shifts, Tricks and Pretences to make Things appear otherwise than they are. But the most Frequent and Successful Cheat is this, he Gilds over the Foulest Sins with the Fairest Names, and on the contrary, he blackens the brightest Vertues with the most disgraceful Titles. This I will chiefly insist upon. Satan, I say, doth craftily affix False Names to Vices and Vertues, and thereby inveigles Men to the former, and discourages them from the latter. As to the First, that of the Apostle is true, *Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of Light*, 2 Cor. 11. 14. When he solicits to that which is Vicious, that he may prevail, he gives it some plausible Appellation, he calls a *Work of Darkness* a *Work of Light*. The *miscalling* of Things may be taken notice of in many Instances. That was a gross one, when one of the *Ptolemies* who was guilty of his Father's Death, was called *Philopator*; and another of them who implacably hated his Mother, had the Title of *Philometor*. Plutarch observes of the Old Athenians, that * *Harlots* and *Prostitutes* were called by them † *Companions*, as at this Day they are stiled *Mistresses*. And now in the Schools of the *Turks* their *Libidinous Flames* pass for *Platonick Love*: Their burning in Lust one towards another is named a *Vertuous Passion*, flowing from the Love and Admiration of God's Image and Beauty stamped on the Creature. Thus the Evil Spirit reaches them to mollify the worst of Vices by soft Names.

And even among *Christians* this is done every Day. He tempts to *Covetousness* under the Names of *Frugality*, *Parimony*, good Husbandry, Care and Industry: And on the other side he tempts to *Prodigality* and *Profuseness*, under the goodly Titles of *Generosity* and *Liberality*. He tempts Men to *Arrogance* and *Haughtiness* of Spirit, under the Colour of *Magnanimity*: He allures to *Vanity* and *Pride* in Apparel, under the Notion of *Neatness*: He solicits to *Wrath* and *Revenge*, under the pretext of *Valour* and *Manhood*; to *Drunkenness* and *Debauchery*, under the Disguise of *Friendship* and *Good Fellowship*; to Lust and Lewd Desires, under the Veil of *Love* and *Natural Affection*; to *Neutrality* and *Indifference* in Religion, under the Name of a *Quiet* and *Peaceable Spirit*, and sometimes under the pretence of *Discretion* and *Prudence*. In other Instances I will shew you how the Names of several Vices and Wicked Practices are changed; thus *Sinful* and *Lavish Expence* of Time is called *Recreation* and *Diversion*: *Peevishness* and *Frowardness*, yea *Hatred* and *Brawling* pass for *Just Anger*; *Discontent* and *Sownerness* are stiled *Seriousness*: *Presumption* is taken for *Faith*: *Fond Imaginations* for *Divine Inspiration*. *Atheism* is fostered under the specious Title of *Deism*. Venting of all Falshood,

* περὶ αἰ.
† ἐλαίαι.
In Solone.

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Error and Heresy is called Liberty of Prophesying. *Pelagianism* and *Arminianism* for sound Reasoning. A Restless and Turbulent Spirit goes for Zeal : Lying bears the Name of Witty Inventing : Excess of Severity is reported to be Justice. So by a most unwarrantable Euphony, a Fox-like Subtilty and Skill in Circumventing, are mis-named Wisdom and Sagacity : a Vain and Light Spirit and indulging of immoderate Mirth and Jollity, are called Chearfulness : Obscenity is pretended to be Urbanity : Excessive Use of the Creatures Christian Liberty : Fornication a Youthful Trick : Swearing a Piece of Gentility : and in many other Examples it might be shewed, that specious Titles are fastened on the worst Vices.

All which is copying out the Devil's Original; for when he tempted our first Parents, he did not enjoin them to revolt from God, and bid Defiance to Heaven, and rebel against the divine Laws (though that was his Design, yea the very Thing he put them upon) but he tells them a fine Story of *being like unto God in knowing Good and Evil, in being made Wiser* than they were; and by this Misrepresenting of Things he accomplished his hellish Intention. So ever since we have learnt from him to christen Vices with the Name of Virtue: And this is found to be requisite in order to conciliating a Credit to them. This was the Observation of *Seneca* of Old *, *Vitia nobis sub Virtutum nomine obrepunt*. Vice in its own natural Shape being too ugly to win Acceptance, therefore it borrows the Name of Virtue, and counterfeits its Garb and Mein. This is that impious *Euphemism* which is so much used in the Devil's *Rhetorick*: He bestows Graceful Terms on the vilest Things.

And as he covers Vices under the Cloak of *Virtue*; so on the other Hand he Disgraces several Vertues with the Names of *Vice*: Thus godly Zeal is called Indiscretion and Rashness: Charity and relieving the Neecessitous are aspersed as Works of Ostentation and Hypocrisy: Christian Meekness is derided as Sheepishness: Speaking the Truth is reputed a dangerous Folly: Seriousness and Composedness of Mind are voted to be Melancholy: Exactness of Life is blasted with the Names of Singularity, Affectation, over-fond Preciseness. Again, the Humble are cried down as Pusillanimous, the Modest are laughed at as Simple: Reprovers of Vice are deemed Busy-bodies: The Sober are scoffed at as Demure and Strait-laced: And the Pious are condemned as Hypocrites. Thus neither Persons nor Things are called by their right Names: For the politick Enemy of Man's Welfare knows that this *false Representation* of them is very useful to breed Confusion, insomuch that it will not be easy to distinguish the one from the other; and by this Means Vice will pass current in a Disguise.

But we must take Care that we be not imposed upon by false Representations: And here I will suggest first that we ought to *distinguish* Things, tho' they have the same Name. As in Geography there are several Places that are called alike, but it is our Business carefully to make a Difference among them; so it is in Things of a higher Nature, they have the very same Denomination, but they are really distinguished, and it is our Work to take Notice of this. The King of *Babylon* is called *Lucifer*, *Isai.* 14. 12. and so are the *Angels*, *Job* 38. 7. and Christ himself hath the Name of *Phosphorus* or *Lucifer* *2 Pet.* 1. 19. *Rev.* 2. 28. He bids his *Disciples* be as *Serpents*, and yet he calls the *Pharisees* by that Name in an opprobrious Manner, *Mat.* 23. 33. The Gospel is called *leaven*, *Mat.* 13. 33. and so is the perverse *Doctrine of the Pharisees*, *Mat.* 16. 6. Yea, there is the *leaven of Malice and Wickedness*, *1 Cor.* 5. 8. The Word *God* is attributed even to the Devil, when he is stiled by the Apostle *the God of this World*. Thus Things and Persons of different and contrary Qualities may have the same Name; and therefore we must be cautious here, and learn to distinguish of Things, even where there is no Distinction in the Name.

Again, I further suggest this, that some of the Things above mentioned, some of the Vertues and Vices seem to approach so near to each other, that they may easily be taken for the same, and it is no wonder that they are. As we see that some Places which are really different and situated in distinct Countries, are reckoned by some Geographers the same, by Reason of their Proximity; so it is here, * some Vices (as a Learned Father of the Church long since observed) seem to be near Neighbours to Virtue. There is a Kind of Resemblance between

* Παρεπιτήρασι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς οἱ κακίαι, καὶ ἐστὶ πῶς ἀσχηδονοῖ. Greg. Naz. Orat. 20.

them;

† Τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰς
τὰς ἐφεδρευούσας κακίας ἐκπίπτειν.
Isid. Pelus. Ep. l. 5.

|| Παρὰ τὴν εὐερίαν ἀν' ὁμοίας
ἀγαθῶν κακῶν, πολλὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀνα-
κεχερμένον. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 10.

them; so that unobserving Men cannot see the Difference. Hence it is that † many fancy they are Possessors of Vertue, whilst they fall into one of the Vices which are the Extremes of it, and which seem to be nigh it. This was remarked by that excellenr Platonist, who tells us that || *Evil adjoyns to Good; and because of its Likeness to it, is mingled with it.* This the Prince of Darkness improves to his own Advantage, and from this Vicinity and Resemblance which is between some Sins and some laudable Actions, takes Occasion to deceive and delude us. Wherefore we are obliged to be very exact in our Enquiry into the particular Nature of both, that we may clearly discern the one from the other, and thereby frustrate the Designs of our common Adversary.

Moreover, as to his *imposing of false Names*, the way to disappoint and evade this Fallacy, is to fix this on our Minds, that though the Names of Things and Persons are changed by him, yet the Things and Persons themselves remain the same. There is no real Alteration made of their Nature, only he presents us with a false and counterfeit Shew. Which is mere Design and Plot, for this Pyrate hangs out false Colours, thereby to catch Prizes. It is his Policy not to suffer Sin to appear in any deformed shape, lest it should be disliked. He paints this *Jezebel*, that Men may fall in love with her. It is his Custom to set a Gloss and Varnish on the greatest Deformities, and then he calls them Beauties. But let us with a bold and resolute Hand wash off this *Fucus*, slip off these Vizors, throw away these Disguises, and see Things as they are. When the Devil and our own deluded Fancies go about to draw us to the Commission of Sin by misrepresenting it, let our Judgments correct our Imaginations, and let us propound it to our selves, under the most odious Terms that it deserves; and let us remember what is denounced by the Prophet, *Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil; that put Darkness for Light, and Light for Darkness; that put Bitter for Sweet, and Sweet for Bitter, Isa. 5. 20.*

8. It is an usual Wile and Stratagem of this Enemy of Mankind to seem to make a Truce with them, and then to fall on them unawares, and with the greater Vigour. He comes to a Cessation of Arms, that he may thereby make us careless and idle, and take us off from our Guard; and then he assaults us afresh, when we are unprepared. If we will but yield to him, he will make us believe that we are Conquerors, he will let us have a shew of Victory, as at a Surrender they are suffered to march out with Colours flying and Drums beating, and other seeming Marks of Honour. This subtle Enemy will seem sometimes to dismantle all his Garisons, to demolish all his Fortifications, to disband his Armies, and to withdraw all his Ammunition and warlike Provision, and to be perfectly at Peace; but then all on a sudden he breaks out into open Arms. He seems to put an End to the Campaign, that he may begin it again. This Lion, when he leaves off Roaring, and seems not to go about seeking, he hath the greatest Design against us. When one Head of this Serpent, this Hydra is cut off or disabled, others rise in its Place. When we think this Foe lies vanquished, he is meditating our overthrow. Of him it may be said as of that Roman General †, *He conquered by not fighting.* Sometimes he seems to fly from us, but this is a mere Stratagem. They tell us that William the Conqueror got the Victory by counterfeiting a Flight. Yea, it is reported of the Ancient Parthians that they used to fight Flying, and that by their Retreat they got the better of their Enemies. Such is the crafty Practice of our spiritual Adversary, he gives us Battel, even when he goes from us, he spoils us in his very Flight.

The best Preventive therefore against this, is always to suspect him, but especially when he gives over assaulting. We must mistrust his seeming Friendship, and pray according to the Italian Proverb to be *delivered from a reconciled Friend.* We shall not miscarry if we have this ever upon our Minds, that Satan is always the same. His Nature is such that he cannot cease from doing or designing Mischief. He is truly *Belzebub*, the *Fly Demon*: Though he be beaten back, yet like that busy Sort of Insects he returns: When you drive him away, he comes again. Thence the Egyptians in their Hieroglyphicks paint a Fly to express Impudence, for it is a Creature which though often repulled, yet as often returns. This is the right Character of the Evil Spirit, he is restless and unwearied in his

† Cujus
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Assaults.

Assaults. Even when he retires from us and leaves us, it is with Design, for he comes upon us afterwards with the greater Advantage, for he hath laid hidden Ambushes for us, and will surprise us. Wherefore let us be continually sensible of this, and be careful to disappoint his Treachery. Hitherto I have spoken of the *diabolical Wiles* whereby Men are drawn to the Commission of Sin, which was the first Thing propounded to be spoken of, for laying open the Devices of Satan.

Secondly, After the Devil hath thus far prevailed, he doth what he can to hinder the Recovery of Sinners, he endeavours to keep them from Repenting and turning unto God. This he doth,

1. By teaching them to lessen the Sins committed. As he took care to excuse and palliate them before they were acted, that thereby he might allure them to the acting of them, so now he uses the same Art to keep them in the Love of those Sins, and that they may not think of Repenting of them. Now not only those Topicks before-mentioned are produced, but all others. Though the Offence was never so great, yet he finds out some way to diminish it. He makes them pretend *Unavoidable Infirmity*, he suggests to them that every one hath his Failings and Slips in one kind or other, and so have they; and there is no helping of it. He teaches them to excuse their Miscarriages by alleging their Age or their Condition, by laying the Fault on the Time or Place, or some other Circumstances. They were surprized, or they were ignorant, or they were forgetful. They sinned out of Compliance and Courtesy, and for their Friends sake, and so it was not properly their Sin. They transfer their Crimes to others, as Adam did: Yea, the Devil will suffer them to lay them on him, as Eve did. Sometimes they plead Custom and Fashion for their Delinquencies: Wantonness, Pride and Whoredom are Modish Vices. Yea, some are accounted Honourable and Noble, as fighting of Duels and downright Murther: He is a silly baffled Wretch and no Gentleman, that dares not kill the Man that gives him the Lye. There is Prescription for some or most of the Sins that are in Credit: They have been always practised and generally approved of. Or, they argue from the Success and Prosperity of their Actions that they are Lawful: They entertain good Thoughts of themselves, and their Enormities, because they thrive. At other times the Devil puts it into their Heads to believe that they make Amends for their Sins by some Laudable Actions which they do, or by some good thing that is in them. Thus some take Liberty to be extravagant, because they are Men of Parts and Learning, because they are serviceable to the World by their Gifts and Endowments. Others rely on their Duties and Religious Performances: If they frequent the Church, and joyn with the Publick Prayers, and at the solemn Times receive the Sacrament, they think they may take leave to be Profane and Debauched at other times, for one compounds for the other. Thus Satan helps Men to evade, to shift off their Guilt by all manner of Pretences. This is his Legerdemain, this is his cursed Sophistry and Delusion.

But he goes further yet: For he teaches Men not only to excuse and extenuate their Vices, but even to justify and maintain them, to vouch them to be good and lawful. He taught Jonas this Lesson, *Jon. 4. 9. I do well to be angry, and that even to Death*: And so others are taught to say, I do well to be lustful and wanton; and others are prompted to say the like, when they are Uncharitable and Unmerciful, or when they indulge themselves in any other Crime. And you shall hear them make use of their Reason, (for so they will call it) to plead for these Sins; they will wrangle hard, they will dispute warmly, they will form Arguments for all that they do. And (which is a horrid Impiety) they will pretend Religion and Conscience when they have been guilty of the most heinous Practices: They will plead their good Ends, the Welfare of the Church or State. Here are the Windings and Foldings of the Serpent: Thus he circumvents and trepanns deluded Mortals. But there needs no other thing to be alleged than this, against the excusing and justifying of unlawful and sinful Actions, that the Son of God came down from Heaven, and suffered on the Cross in order to the expiating the Guilt of Sin; and therefore no Sin can be thought to be of a light Nature. If we call to mind Christ's Sweating, and Bleeding, and Dying for us, we cannot possibly think meanly of our Demerits, we cannot have slight Thoughts of any Sin we commit at any time.

2. The Devil holds Men in their Sins (after he hath overcome them with his Temptations) by over-largely *magnifying the Mercy of God*. He abuses the Doctrine of the Divine Goodness and Forbearance, and makes Men falsely conceive of them. He persuades them that God is all Kindness and Clemency, and hath nothing of Anger and Hatred in him, and that he will freely pardon all Sinners whether they repent or no. However, he bids them defer their Repentance, and tells them they shall have Time and Leisure for it hereafter. It is time enough to begin to serve God when they can serve Sin no longer. Or, if they must needs repent now, he persuades them to huddle it over, for a Superficial Remorse for their Sins will be sufficient. And when this is dispatched, he prompts them immediately to return to the same Sins. But when Satan thus *pleads the Mercy of God*, we may give him a Repulse by letting him know that God is *Just* as well as *Merciful*; and especially when his Mercy hath been abused by delaying Repentance, he gives Sinners a Proof of his Justice and Vengeance.

3. If the Devil finds it any ways possible, he endeavours to go a nearer Way to work, that is, to stifle the Clamour of the Sinner's Conscience after he hath yielded to his Temptations. He scatters his Poppy abroad, he labours to stupify Mens Minds: He would have them wholly forget what they have done, and be unconcerned for it. To which purpose he seeks out *Diversions* for them: By Business or Pleasure, by Multiplicity of Affairs or by continual Delights and Entertainments which he furnishes them with, he silences that Voice which otherwise would be very loud and troublesome. In brief, he suggests to them that their Condition is safe, or he gives them not time to think whether it be otherwise, and so he brings them to presume that all is well. And indeed this, namely, *Presumption*, is that which he designed to work in them, and then he knows they are his. But

4. If this Contrivance, this Device proves not effectual, he betakes himself to another Course. If he cannot make the Sinner *Presume*, he will drive him to *Despair*, and so get the better of him. If he cannot beget in him an utter Oblivion of his Sins, he will strive to make him remember them too much. As before he persuaded him that his Offences were Little and Venial, so now he causes him to imagine that they are too Great and Unpardonable: Before his Business was to bring him to a vain Security and Confidence, now it is to make him Despond. That he may effect this he raises Doubts and Scruples, he propounds all Difficulties he can, but conceals whatever is easy and comfortable: He fills the guilty Mind with nothing but Horror upon its Reflection on its former Misdoings, yea and pushes the Person on to make the Wound deeper and the Breach wider, *i. e.* to aggravate his former Guilt by more heinous Acts of Vice. He thrusts him upon all manner of Wickedness, that there may be no Hopes of Reconciliation with the offended Majesty of Heaven: As it was *Achitophel's* Advice to *Absalom* to add Incest to his Rebellion, that being the Way to confirm *David's* Hatred against him, and to make him Irreconcilable, so that then the Quarrel must be decided by Victory. Satan is not only *the Accuser of the Brethren*, but of all Sinners, he lays open their former Misdeeds, and suggests the Remembrance of them to them, and with this affrights and molests them. When he first had to do with them, he used them gently, and was very kind to them, but afterwards he throws off his Disguise, and appears in his own frightful Shape. As before he shewed himself an *Insinuating Serpent*, so now a *Furious Lion*! Especially he roars, and renders the Man's Life uneasy when he is under some Worldly Distress, or Bodily Pain and Sicknes. Then he doth all he can to make the Affliction sharp, he unmercifully haunts, vexes, racks and torments the poor Criminal, and even perswades him that God is Implacable, and that these Temporal Punishments are Forerunners of his Eternal Rejection and Damnation. This is according to that Saying of the *Jewish Doctors*, *Satan accuses when Danger is urgent*, he is most Cruel when a Man is in the greatest Distresses. Then he objects his Sins to him with the utmost Malice, then he presents them to his Sight in their most Terrible and Dismal Shape, then he perverts his Mind and Judgment, and distracts his Thoughts, and fills his Soul with tormenting Apprehensions concerning his past Sins, and the dismal Issues of a sinful State.

This is that which Solomon stiles a *Wounded Spirit*, Prov. 18. 14. which is one of the *Greatest Tryals* and *Temptations* that we are incident to; and therefore my *Discourse* on *Temptations* will be very imperfect, unless I fully treat on this Head. We must know then, that the *Spirit* or *Mind* of Man, which the *Wise Man* speaks of, doth not only contain in it the *Notions* and *Principles* of *Truth*, but makes *Use* of them, and *Judges* accordingly. This is properly that which we call the *Conscience*, which is nothing else but the *Judgment* of a *Man* concerning himself and his *Actions*. He either absolves and approves of himself, or else he condemns and disallows of himself and his *Doings*. The *Conscience* then is to be considered under a *Double Notion*. 1. As it is free from *Guilt* and *Defilement*, and then it exerts its *Office* of *Absolving* and *Acquitting*, and consequently is *Calm* and *Quiet*, it feels *Joy* and *Comfort*, and is full of *Peace* and *Tranquillity*. 2. As it is *Defiled* and *Polluted*, and lies under the *Sense* of *Sin* and *Guilt*, and the dreadful *Consequences* of these. This was *David's Case*, my *Sin is ever before me*, my *Adultery* and *Murder* are ever in my *Thoughts*, the *Injured Uriah* is never out of my *Mind*. Night and Day these horrid *Enormities* represent themselves to me in the most terrible *Shapes*, and are a perpetual *Torment* to my *Conscience*. I cannot look any where but this *Affrighting Spectacle* is in my *Sight*. Now the *Sinner* is self-condemned, and sentenced by his own *Judgment*. He is continually apprehensive of *Guilt*, and of an *Obligation* to *Punishment*. He groans under the *Wrath* of *God*, and the just *Curse* which he hath merited. And by *Satan's* malicious interposing, his *Pain* and *Anguish* are increased: by the roaring of this *Lion* the *Horror* of his *Mind* is augmented. Then the whole *Soul* is out of order, and the *Imagination* especially sets it self on work to do *Mischief*; it hath a strange *Power* to realize *Things* that are not, and to frame *Troubles* and *Perplexities* for which there is no ground.

But if these *Mental Sorrows* be accompanied with *Outward* and *Bodily Afflictions*, then the *Person* who is thus visited hath arrived to the highest *Pitch* of *Calamity* imaginable. There is no rest in his *Bones* because of his *Sin*, as the sorrowful *Psalmist* complains. His *Case* is deplorable above all *Expression*, and he is overwhelmed with *Vexation* of *Spirit*, and the *Fury* of a despairing *Mind*. This is *Solomon's Wounded Spirit*, which he saith is intolerable, for that is the meaning of *Who can bear it?* This *Interrogation* or *Question* carries with it a strong *Negation*, *None can*; no *Man* of himself, and by his own *Strength*, can bear it. *Mine Iniquities are gone over mine Head: As an heavy Burden they are too heavy for me*, Psal. 38. 4. without extraordinary *Helps* and *Assistance* it is impossible to bear up under it. The *Spirit* of a *Man*, if it be sound and hale, and furnished with good *Principles*, will sustain his *Infirmity*, will help him to bear his *Afflictions* patiently: The common *Fortitude* of a *Man's Mind* will be a sufficient *Bulwark* against ordinary *Calamities*: His inward *Strength* and *Magnanimity* will prove some *Alleviation* and *Mitigation* of *Trouble* from without. But when the *Spirit* it self, which should support us under the *Bodily Grievances* and *Crosses*, is maimed and wounded, and become weak and faint, then the *Misery* is *Unsupportable*. A *Conscience* oppressed with the dreadful *Apprehensions* of *God's Wrath* due for *Sin*, is of all *Burdens* the heaviest and the most intolerable.

Would you know the *Reasons* of it? They are such as these: As First, because *God* is our *Enemy* here, the *Soul* immediately conflicts with him: And then it is no wonder that the *Combat* is so sharp. We may invert the *Words* of the *Apostle* and say, *If God be against us, who can be for us?* Who can help and comfort us? It is a fearful thing to fall into the *Hands* of the *Living God*.

Again, Because we punish our selves here in this *Case*. When the *Cross* was *Worldly* and *Bodily*, when the *Calamity* was *Outward* and *Sensual* only, then the *Mind* of *Man* could *Help* and *Support* it self, its *Natural Courage* could grapple with the *Evil*. But now the *Mind* being the *Scene* of *Sorrow*, it is its own *Tormentor*, and lays on the *Lashes* with its own *Hand*. Our *Bodily Eyes* that see all other *Things*, cannot see themselves; but the *Soul* of *Man* hath a power of reflecting and looking into it self; and thence it is that the *Misery* arises, and it is even overwhelmed and distracted. The *Cold* of *Winter*, and the *Heat* of *Summer*, are not half so grievous and troublesome as the *cold Fit* of a *Tertian*, or the *Burnings* of a *Fever*; the *Reason* is, because one comes from without us, but the

the other is bred within us. And this is the very ground of the unsufferable pain of a *Wounded Conscience*, it is an Internal and Home-bred Grief, and we Gnaw and Prey upon our selves.

Further, Because those very Things which used to help and chear us, those Objects which were comfortable, and gave some Relief to us before, now fail of their former Vertue; yea, they augment our Sorrow, enhance our Pain, increase our Troubles. We may observe, that *Cain* was the first that ever *built a City*, Gen. 4. 17. an Employment perhaps which he undertook on purpose to environ himself with *Walls and Fortifications*, vainly thinking that he could thereby shut out the Curse of God which he had deserved: Or it may be he fondly imagined, that he could by the noise of Hammers and other Tools divert, if not drown the Clamors of his Conscience; just as those bloody *Israelites* who Sacrificed their Children to *Moloch*, beat upon Drums and Tabrets, that the Cry of their Children might not be heard. Men of a disturbed Conscience may think to find Ease in a Crowd, in Company, in Business, but they only find that they are mistaken. Others, like *Saul*, call for a Harp to drive away their Melancholy: But this is not a Disease, like that caused by the *Tarantula*, which is cured with *Musick and Dancing*. All Pleasures and Pastimes, which usually still and stifle other Grievances, are useless here. These are rather like Oyl cast on the Fire, which makes it burn the hotter, and rage more furiously. Thus we see upon what Accounts a *Wounded Spirit* is unsufferable. A wounded Body, a wounded Name, a maimed Estate, may be born, but a *wounded Spirit who can bear?* The Horrors and Agonies of it are so dreadful, so direful, that no Man is able to stand under them.

It highly concerns us therefore to seek out for a Cure for this Wound, a Remedy for this Disease. And this is the main Thing I designed, and shall now apply my self to; and here I shall propound, 1st. *Universal Medicines*. 2^{dly}, *Specifics*, that have a particular Vertue.

1st. If we would have the Wound of Conscience effectually cured, we must search it narrowly, we must suffer the Probe to be made use of. Many have perished because they would not permit this Operation; they close up the Wound before it be thoroughly healed; they call for Lenitives and milder Applications, but will not endure what is severe and harsh, and touches them to the Quick. But they must be advised to take another Course, to rife their Souls, to pry into all its Retirements and secret Apartments, and to search to the Bottom of their Disquietness and Uneasiness. My Meaning is, they must examine their Hearts, and see if there be any known and allowed Wickedness there. As long as they foster and nourish any Vice, yea any Kindness for it, they will never be at Peace. Be sure therefore, that you deal impartially and faithfully with your own Souls. Cast off the love of every Sin, and then I assure you that you need not fear your being cast off by God, and your lying under the Sense of his Wrath. It is the Sting of Sin unrepented of that is so painful and tormenting to the Soul. It is this that raises those Storms and Tempests in your Breasts. Wherefore, by sincere and unfeigned Repentance carry off this Distemper, and restore Peace and Calmness to your Minds. The Works of the Law are Outdated and Antiquated, and all Pretences of Merits are Vain and Ridiculous; but Christ Jesus hath constituted Repentance, and is pleased to accept of our Sincere, though Imperfect Endeavours instead of Perfect and Compleat Righteousness.

But 2^{dly}, It is the Righteousness of another, and not your own, that you must depend upon in order to the removing your Grief and Anguish, and enjoying a lasting Peace and Comfort. You have nothing to commend you to the Divine Favour but the Merits of Jesus; for though Repentance be required of you, as an Evangelical Qualification, yet it is of no Advantage to you if you trust in it; for it is not for your Repentance, but for the sake of Christ that you are accepted of God. Wherefore look up unto Jesus, through whom alone the Father is merciful and propitious, and offers unto us the Pardon and Remission of our Sins. *The Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and by his Stripes we are healed.* Wherefore, when we consider the heinousness of our Sins, and the Severity and Strictness of God's Law, and the Curse which attends Transgressors, and hereupon are perplexed and troubled, let us likewise at the same time consider the Infinite Mercy and Clemency of our Lord Jesus Christ, who (as he as-

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sure, as himself) came not to call the Righteous but Sinners to Repentance, Mat. 9. 13. Yea, the Greatest of Sinners. Though any of you had been as Idolatrous as *Manasses*, as guilty of Adultery and Murther as *David*, and had denied Christ as *Peter*, and had been a Persecutor as *Paul*, and were possessed with unclean Devils as *Mary Magdalen*, yet you may hope for Mercy, yea you may claim it for the sake of Christ Jesus, who came on purpose to call Sinners to Repentance, and to save those that are lost. Say not then, O disconsolate Soul, there is no Hope of Mercy for thee, there is no Help for such a Sinner as thou hast been. Know this, that God delights in pardoning the most Notorious Sinners, these being the fittest Objects of Divine Mercy. Say not thy Sins are Great and Many, and therefore there is Ground of Despair, but remember this, that where Sin abounds, there Grace aboundeth much more, Rom. 5. 20. Think of this, and pacify thy Terrified Conscience.

Thirdly, More especially apply thy self to the Promises of the Gospel. Having first been very careful about observing the Conditions of them, lay fast hold on the Promises themselves, cast thy self upon them, and assure thy self that they belong to thee. And here let me tell thee, that we may with good Ground apply those Promises to our selves that were made to others: For what is promised to one Believer, is promised to all. Thus we find the Apostle extending the Promise which was made to *Joshua*, even unto all the Faithful, Heb. 13. 5. Wherefore when thou readest the Gracious Promises in Scripture, it is as much as if thy Name were mentioned in them, and they were particularly addressed to thee. For God's Goodness to his own People is the same; and therefore we may observe that 'tis repeated Six and Twenty times in one Psalm, that his Mercy endureth for ever. Know then, that Christ's Truth and Faithfulness are engaged in thy Behalf. He not only invites all that are weary and heavy laden, to come unto him, but he assures them, that he will give them Rest, Matt. 11. 28. and he adds further, to confirm their Belief, that they shall find Rest unto their Souls, Ver. 29. They shall really experience the Truth of what he saith, the Promise shall be exactly performed: Wherefore rely, and stay thy Soul upon it.

Fourthly, Amidst the Perplexities and Agonies of thy Mind, forget not to be very frequent in pouring out thy Prayer before God, Psal. 38. 9, &c. Lord, all my Desire is before thee, and my Groaning is not hid from thee. Thou wilt hear, O Lord my God. This was *David's* Practice, and he commends it to others, in Psal. 32. 6. For this shall every one that is godly, pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found: Surely in the Floods of great Waters they shall not come nigh unto him. Forsake me not, O Lord; O my God, be not far from me. Make haste to help me, O Lord of my Salvation. And we have a greater Example, even that of our Saviour, who being in an Agony, prayed more earnestly, Luke 22. 44. Prayer capacitates the Soul for the Reception of Good, Prayer opens a Way for Mercy and Favour. Wherefore though thou hast heretofore slighted Prayer and Calling upon God, yet Pray now and give not over. Your Importunity and continual Wrestling will at last prevail, and God will hear you when he seems to neglect you. Leave not off your asking, your seeking, your knocking; for sincere and fervent Prayer will be crowned with Success: For you have a powerful Intercessor begging in your Behalf, and presenting your Petitions and your Wants at the Throne of Grace.

Fifthly, In order to this great Cure, the pacifying your troubled Consciences, reflect on your former Condition, and call to mind the past Mercy of Heaven towards you. This may be very useful to you in your present Distress and Anguish, and it is the Expedient that *David* made use of in the like Case, I have, saith he, considered the Days of old, the Years of ancient times, Psal. 77. 5. I will remember the Years of the Right Hand of the most High. I will remember the Works of the Lord, surely I will remember thy Wonders of old, Ver. 10, 11. And by this means he appeased his troubled Mind, and drove away his desponding Thoughts. So at another time, My Soul is cast down within me, therefore I will remember thee from the Land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, and from the Hill Mizar, Psal. 42. 6. that is, I will call to mind the former Acts of thy Providence, and Care of thy People, and thence comfort and relieve my distressed Mind. The Apostle acquaints us, that Experience worketh Hope, Rom. 5. 4. Hope of Divine Assistance for the future, Hope of a happy Issue of

our present Sufferings. On this that Exhortation of the same Apostle is grounded, *Heb. 10. 32. Call to Remembrance the former Days in which ye endured a great fight of Afflictions*, that is, support your selves under your present Evils by remembering how signally you were delivered from your former ones; and then it follows, *Ver. 35. Cast not away therefore your Confidence, Rely still upon God, and trust in his Goodness.*

Sixthly, Discover your Case to some Discreet Person, to some Learned and Pious Divine, to him who hath the Proper Care of your Soul, and ask his Advice. Likewise chuse out a Friend or Neighbour, who is well affected towards you, and renders the Welfare of your Soul. If you should open your Wounds to Persons that are not of this Character, you may find them more ready to make them wider than to close and heal them. Wherefore make choice of one whose Friendship and Fidelity you are well assured of, and into whose Bosom you may empty your Soul. Let him be a *Compassionate Samaritan*, who will gently supple your Wounds, and not treat you with Rigour and Harshness. But let him be one that will deal faithfully and freely with you, and not flatter you or your Disease. I advise you to chuse one who hath been troubled in Mind himself, one that hath been acquainted with Spiritual Conflicts and Combats, one that knows the Wiles and Stratagems of Satan, and the Policies of that Enemy of Souls. We trust our Bodies with those Physicians that are best experienced; certainly we may most safely trust our Souls with those Spiritual Physicians who are able (as the Apostle saith) *to comfort those that are in Trouble, by the Comfort wherewith they themselves are comforted of God, 2 Cor. 1. 4.* In short, chuse such a Guide of Souls, to whom God hath given the Tongue of the Learned, that he should know how to speak a Word in Season to him that is weary; and when you have made Choice of such a one, be not reserved, but open your Wound freely to him, and lay your whole Distemper before him: As you would not have him flatter you, so do not flatter and deceive your selves; and then you will have Ground to hope, that you shall find that Succour and Relief which you want, and that this skillful Friend will help you to cure and close your Wound.

* Colloq.
Mensal.

Seventhly, Towards the advancing of this, I counsel you to avoid Melancholy and Solitariness. It is evident that oftentimes the Imagination of Persons is so depraved by the Steams of Melancholy, that they take an *Indisposition of Body* for a *Sin*, and a *Corporal Malady* is mistaken for a *Vice*, and that which puts Men out of the Favour of God. Wherefore those of disturbed Minds must not by Retiredness feed this Evil, but by lawful and innocent Diversions correct it, and as it were by Revulsion draw and drive the Humour another Way. When I am in heavy Tribulations, saith Luther, I rather go to my Swine-herd and Swine, than chuse to be alone. And he sets forth the Mischief of Pensive and Solitary Thoughts in a familiar and plain Way thus: * The Heart is like a Millstone; when Corn is put upon it, it turns about and grinds it to Meal: But if there be no Corn, the Stone nevertheless running about, rubbeth and grindeth it self: So doth the Mind, saith he, hurt and consume it self by too much Thoughtfulness. Wherefore he advises, that in every Temptation we take diligent Heed that we give no place to *Musing Cogitations*. And he tells us upon his own Experience, that he had found that he never fell into more Sin, than when he was alone. Wherefore there is Reason to shun Solitariness, which proves Dangerous to some Persons, because they are then apt to muse and think too much. The Devil assaulted our Saviour when he was in the *Wilderness*, when he was retired and alone. And though this Attempt was unsuccessful, because there was nothing to fasten upon in our Blessed Lord, in whom there was no Fuel for Temptation, yet at other times the Evil Spirit makes use of Immoderate Retirement to hazard some Mens Souls. He, as he is crafty in all his Temptations, takes Advantage of the Melancholy Dispositions of some Persons, and by that means renders his Assaults prosperous. Wherefore the Persons I am speaking to ought to divert themselves by Chearful Society and Innocent Conversing with good Men. No Person hath so much Reason and Ground of Rejoycing as he that is Godly. If you sincerely give up your selves to God, you are such notwithstanding your Temptations and Troubles.

And to what I have said I will add this, That you must take care to banish all Idleness, and to employ your selves in the honest Works of your Lawful Vocation,

tion, and in that Station which Providence hath placed you in; for then you may expect the Divine Blessing.

And *Lastly*, If Melancholy grows upon you, and there is like to be a settled Distemper of the Body, I advise you to prevent and correct it by such *Medicaments* and *Applications* as are proper to purge the Veins and cheer the Heart. For so it is, that sometimes the depraved Constitution of the Body vitiates the Mind, and represents things to it in a different Colour than really they are. Wherefore by suitable *Food* and *Diet*, and, if there be Occasion, by *Physick*, we ought to regulate the Disorders of the Body, and to make a prudent Alteration in our Tempers.

Having done with the *General Remedies*, I come now to the more *Particular* and *Specifick* ones, which are contained in the *Answers* that I shall return to the *Objections* and *Scruples* which are wont to be made by Tempted Persons, and such as are wounded in Spirit. I am sensible that some of the Scruples in some Persons that raise them, are Groundless and Needless, yet they are made by good Men, who are weak and are apt to nourish Discontents, being much broken and disturbed in their Thoughts, and cast down through Sadness of Spirit. I will therefore freely Examine them, and Answer them as if they were Real in all Points, and in all those that make use of them, as it is certain they are in some degree in some Persons.

First, It is usual with afflicted and tempted Souls to complain that God *hides his Face from them*, that he hath *forsaken them*, and put away his *Servants in Displeasure*. And the Case being thus, they conclude that they are Graceless Persons, or else God would not deal so severely with them. Yea, they can be no less than Reprobates and Castaways whom God deserteth. This is oftentimes the Dialect of the Servants of God under their pressing Calamities. To which I answer:

1. They sometimes *think they are forsaken, when they are not*. As it was with Hagar in the Desert, she knew not of the *Angel and Fountain*, though they were near her. *Mary Magdalen* complained and wept (to the Gardener as she thought) that *they had taken away the Lord*, and she knew not where they had laid him, whereas he was by her, and was the Person to whom she made her Complaint. We read that *the Disciples Eyes were holden that they should not know Christ*, even when he was in their Company. So it is often with these Persons, they have no Sense of the happy State they are in, and they are perswaded that God hath cast them off, when they are actually in his Favour. For it is one thing to be so, and another to know it.

2. Grant the Soul to be forsaken of God, grant that the Light of his Countenance is withdrawn, this is *for good Purposes*, and may be made use of to such: Namely, that we may examine and search narrowly into the Reasons and Causes of this Desertion, and thereby be acquainted with our selves, and thoroughly reform what is amiss. Thus when the *Psalmist* was in this State of Darkness and Dereliction, he communed with his own Heart, and his Spirit made diligent Search, *Psal. 77. 6.* he enquired into the Grounds of this forlorn and dismal Condition that he was brought into, and made Discoveries thence of great Importance to him. This Case of his was likewise serviceable for the Tryal of his Faith, and for the Exercise of that and all other Graces. It made him fearful, jealous, and watchful over himself for the future; it made him highly esteem and prize God's Favour, and caused him to be more careful of keeping it ever after.

3. Let this comfort you, that you fare as the *Best Men* have done. *The Arrows of the Almighty are within me, the Poyson whereof drinketh up my Spirit: The Terrors of God set themselves in Array against me, Job 6. 4.* And the like we read in *Ch. 13. ver. 24. and ver. 26. Wherefore hidest thou thy Face, and holdest me for thy Enemy? Thou writest bitter things against me, &c.* And again in *Ch. 16. 11, 12, &c. David* is an Example of this, *Psal. 22. 1, 2. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring? O my God, I cry in the day-time, and thou hearest not; and in the night-season, and am not silent. Psal. 38. 2, &c. Thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore. There is no soundness in my flesh because of thine anger. I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long. I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart, Psal. 77. 7. Will the Lord cast off for ever? and will he be favourable no more? Is his*
mercy

Mercy clean gone for ever? doth his Promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious, hath he in Anger shut up his tender Mercies? Psal. 88. 14, &c. Lord, why castest thou off my Soul? why hidest thou thy Face from me? While I suffer thy Terrors, I am distracted. Thy fierce Wrath goeth over me, thy Terrors have cut me off. Thus for a time he despairs of the Mercy and Favour of God, and looks upon himself as a Cast-away.

Christ himself, the beloved Son of God, was wrapt up in a thick Cloud, felt the Wrath of his Father, and was filled with Terrors, when he cried out on the Cross, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? You will acknowledge, because you read it in the Gospel, that there happened at Christ's Passion a wonderful and even miraculous Eclipse of the Sun: For Astronomy teaches us that an Eclipse of the Sun is caused by the Moon's interposing between the Sun and the Earth; now this is only in the New Moon, but when Christ suffered it was Full Moon, viz. The 14th Day of the Month Nisan, which was the Time of the Passover: So that it was absolutely against the Order and Course of Nature, and the usual Aspects of the Heavenly Bodies, that there was an Eclipse at that Time. But let me tell you, there was a greater and more wonderful Eclipse than this at the very same Time, even that which I have named, God's over-shadowing of his Son by the seeming withdrawing of his Favour from him, and forsaking him. But this Eclipse of the Sun of Righteousness may enlighten and comfort the darkest Souls in their Desertions. It cannot but be a Relief to them when they consider, that the blessed Son of God was overcast in the same dismal Manner with themselves; that is, he was under the Sense of God's Wrath for a Time. To one that was going out of the World, and complained he could find no Comfort, it was suggested by a pious Friend, that when Christ was leaving the World, he found no Comfort, but cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And this gave Relief to the expiring Man. This certainly should Administer Solace to us; we should be content to feel the bitter Sorrows that Christ underwent; we should not refuse to taste of that Cup which our Saviour himself drank of. Besides, the Consideration of his lying under the Displeasure of his Father, and having the Influence of his Favour withdrawn, yields us Comfort on another Account; namely, as thereby we are assured that Christ will sympathize with us in our Spiritual Desertions. He experimentally knows what it is to be forsaken of God, and therefore he will be sensible of our Condition, and with great Pity and Compassion redress our Grievance. This is the very Argument and Deduction of the Apostle, and therefore it must be acknowledged to be solid and weighty, In that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted, Heb. 2. 18.

4thly, I might add, that generally this Desertion is not of long Continuance: And accordingly you may observe that in those fore-cited Places in the Book of Job, and in the Psalms of David, those Servants of God were not always under a Cloud, but had their light and comfortable Intervals, and at last the Darkness was dispers'd, and the Light of God's Countenance shone forth. This is according to what is reveal'd in the Sacred Writings, Ps. 103. 9. He will not always chide, neither will he keep his Anger for ever. Isai. 57. 16. He will not contend for ever, neither will he be always wroth, for the Spirit should fail before him, and the Souls that he had made. Lam. 3. 31. The Lord will not cast off for ever; but tho' he cause Grief, yet will he have Compassion according to the Multitude of his Mercies. Mic. 7. 16. He retaineth not his Anger for ever, because he delighteth in Mercy. Isai. 54. 8. In a little Wrath I hid my Face from thee for a Moment, but with everlasting Kindness will I have Mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. The short is, that the Covenant with the Elect cannot be infringed, and therefore tho' God may deny them the Sense of his Favour for a Time, yet it is impossible that he should wholly deprive them of it. A thick Cloud may hide the Sun from your Eyes, but it cannot blot it out of its Orb, or extinguish its Light. Heaviness may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning.

The Second Complaint of tempted Souls is, That God doth not only withdraw the Light of his Countenance, but his Grace and Assistance. I lie under a double Desertion, the Loss of God's Favour, and the Want of his Spirit. I have not the Graces and Spiritual Endowments that other Christians have. Alas how different is my Life from that of the Holy Men in Scripture, Enoch, Noah, Abraham,

Abraham, Moses, David, Elias, the Apostles? I am weak in my Faith, cold in my Love, and faint in the Exercise of every Grace that I have attained to. I am nothing but Imperfection, Weakness, Failings, Offences: And *in me dwells no good Thing*. And particularly as to the Performance of Holy Duties I am extremely defective: I neither pray, nor hear, nor receive the Sacrament with any Life and Vigour; in a word, No Religious Exercise that I am concerned in can be acceptable to God. Therefore I conclude that I am not in the State of Grace, that I have no Part at all in Christ Jesus. I will answer particularly to all these Complaints. And,

First, Whereas thou sayest, *thou hast not those spiritual Endowments and Graces that other Christians have*, I desire thee to consider these following Things.

1. Thou seest the *Excellencies and Graces* of others, but dost not see their *Infirmities*, their Failings, their Temptations. 2. Thy Brother perhaps excels in one Grace, thou mayst in another; he excels thee in Zeal, thou mayst out-do him in Humility; he surpasses thee in Knowledge, thou mayst outstrip him in Charity. 3. God will have in his Church Christians of different Graces, *Babes and strong Men, Lambs and Sheep*. As in the Natural Body some Parts are more excellent than others; so 'tis in the Mystical Body of Christ, some Members are more Remarkable and more Excellent than the rest. One Star differs from another Star in Glory and Brightness; and so do *Christians* differ from one another in a resembling Manner: One shines brighter, and with a far stronger Ray than others. As in Heaven there shall be different Degrees of Glory, so on Earth there are different Degrees of Grace. 4. Be content; for thou hast Gifts and Graces fit for thy Place. As thou hast not *Abraham's* Faith, so remember thou hast not *Abraham's* Trials. Thou hast Strength enough for thy Burden. Thou hast not *Paul's* Endowments, but consider that thou hast not his extraordinary Work and Employment. Compare not thy self with others, but be thankful that thou art provided with Strength and Ability suitable to thy Circumstances. 5. Remember that he that improved his two Talents and made them Four, is called a *good and faithful Servant*, as well as he that improved Five to Ten. If thou faithfully improvest a little, thou shalt be as favourably looked upon by God as thy Brother, who had more to manage and to give an Account of. Consider this, and what hath been said before, and then silence thy Complaints.

Secondly, Whereas thou complaineest, that thou art made up altogether of *Imperfections and Failings*, I request thee to weigh in thy deliberate Thoughts such Truths as these; First, This Life was not intended for Perfection. There shall be a Difference between the Militant Church and the Triumphant. Wherefore do not confound these Two, but have a right Apprehension concerning the Discrimination which God hath appointed between this and the future State of the Elect. In the former there is a Mixture of Sin with all that we do; in the latter there is no Imperfection nor Sin. In this Life good Men and the best Believers are compounded of Flesh and Spirit; and the former doth too powerfully influence on the latter, and obstruct its Operations. Hence it is that the State of Grace is not inconsistent with the Imperfections and Corruptions which flow from the Conjunction and Affinity of Body and Soul. Grace doth not wholly expel the evil Inclinations and Propensions which result from both, wherefore dream not of a State of Perfection.

Again, Remember that the *Best Men* have complained, as thou dost, of their Infirmities and Deficiencies. Those who have been the True Servants of God, and even his Friends and Favourites, have spoken the same Language. There are remarkable Instances of this in *Job*, in *David*, in *Jeremiah*; but I will single out *St. Paul* as the most Eminent Example. Rom. 7. 18. *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the Good that I would, I do not; but the Evil which I would not, that I do. I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me.* All which and much more in that Chapter cannot be spoken by *Paul*, as he was an Unbeliever and Unconverted (as *Socinus* and others would persuade us) but as he was a Believer, and Converted, and Regenerate; for none but such a one could truly say, *It is not I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me: And I delight in the*

* Colloq.
Mensal.

Law of God after the inward Man : None but such a one would earnestly desire to be delivered from the Body of Death, and would thank God through Jesus Christ for it. We are not to wonder that Paul bemoans his sinful Inclinations, after he was Regenerate ; for this is a certain Truth, that such a one is as much, yea more troubled and concerned at his Sinfulness after his Conversion, than ever he was before it. It is not because a Man hath more Sin, but because he hath greater Light ; he is thoroughly convinced of the Vileness of every Sin, and he takes Notice of the least Declension from God and his Duty. In the Sun-shine every Mote appears. When the Rays of Divine Light are darted into the Mind, there is a Discovery of the smallest Offences, and a Hatred proportionable to them. "Upright Faithful Christians, saith * Luther, do always think that they are not faithful, like as good and skilful Artificers do always see that something, yea much, is failing in their Workmanship." Let not the tempted Soul then be discouraged and dejected : For its Complaint proceeds from a laudable Cause, namely, a quicker Sight and Knowledge than others have arrived to.

Let this be considered likewise, that our compassionate God and Father will bear with our Infirmities, and accept of our sincere Intentions and Endeavours, tho' mixed with great Failings and Imperfections. *Jeroboam's Child* was spared, because in him was found some good Thing towards the Lord, 1 Kings 14. 13. Job's Patience in his Afflictions is mentioned Jam. 5. 11. though he shewed a great deal of Impatience and Discontent. How did our Saviour bear with his Disciples ? how wonderfully did he cherish the first Beginnings and the least Essays of Divine Knowledge and Grace in them ? Which was according to the Prophecy concerning him, *A bruised Reed shall he not break, and smoking Flax shall he not quench*, Isai. 42. 1. Matt. 12. 20. Wherefore be of good Courage, and let not the Thoughts of your Imperfections and Weaknesses dishearten you, if you are heartily grieved for your Failings, and strive for greater Proficiency. The feebler you are, the more earnestly ought you to implore the Divine Help, and to follow the Apostle's Advice, *Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his Might*, Eph. 6. 10.

* Coll.
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Thirdly, Whereas the Complaint of troubled Souls is, that they cannot Pray, and Hear, and Read and Meditate, and discharge other Duties of Religion with that pleasure and delight, with that warmth and liveliness that others do ; but they find themselves cold and flat, and even benumbed : I ask you first, Is it not Pride that makes this Complaint ? Is it not because you would excel others, and be always in Heights ? Let me tell you, your Condition will not bear this, and therefore 'tis vain to expect and desire any such thing. No Man on Earth ever prayed, or heard, or was employed in any other Religious Exercises with the same Vigour and Life, with the same Zeal and Fervor. Or, on the other hand, Is it not from too depressed an Humility, and too mean Thoughts of your selves, that you thus find fault with all that you do ? It is sometimes easier to please God than our selves. He is more Kind and Favourable to our Performances than we are. So it is, the Best Men, that is, the Humblest fall out with themselves. But then we are to remember, what * Luther saith, who understood this Point as well as any Man, that *we never do better than when we do least, or worst*. This is the usual Case of humble and dejected Christians.

And as to that particular Member of the Complaint made by some, that they cannot pray as others do, this ought not to trouble them. Though they cannot frame an exact Form of Words, yet let them know, that the Lisplings and Scammerings of devout Penitents, the broken and distracted Periods of their Petitions shall be accepted, if they proceed from an upright Heart. The Desires of the Soul are Prayers, yea loud Prayers. We do not read that Moses utter'd one word, when he stood on the Shore of the Red Sea : yet God said to him, *Wherefore criest thou unto me ?* Exod. 14. 15. Sighs and Groans are Prayers, and Prayers dictated by the Spirit, as we learn from the Apostle, Rom. 8. 26. *We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit it self maketh Intercession for us with groanings, which cannot be uttered*. Be not concerned then for Readiness, or Fluency, or Memory in your Prayers : for none of these are Essential to your Private Devotion ; it is the Heart that makes the Prayer before God.

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But now they rise higher in their Complaints, and in the next Place their mournful Language is, that they are *haunted with atheistical and blasphemous Thoughts*. But it is easy to give them Satisfaction as to this; because *they complain* of these Thoughts and Suggestions, and are *vexed and grieved at them*, and are so far from approving them, that they are *hated and abhorred by them*. Whence they may certainly infer, that they are not *their Sins*, but *Satan's*: For they are injected into their Minds by him, and he must answer for them. They may know that they arise not from *themselves*, but from him, because they are generally against the Light of Nature, and the ordinary Dictates of Man's Reason and Conscience. Besides, these Suggestions are for the most Part fierce and violent, and withstand all Arguing and Disputing: Which shews that they are the Product of that impetuous and furious Tempter. And the same may be gathered from the Frequency of them: For they press in upon the Tempted in great Throngs for a long time, wherever they are, or whatever they are doing, which shews what violent Spring they come from, and that the grieved Persons we are speaking of, are not the Authors of them. Now such Temptations as these are great Crosses but no Sins, and therefore shall never be laid to their Charge; only so far as they have been negligent in *resisting* that evil Spirit, which hath *emboldened* him to press so fiercely upon them. For the future it must be their Care to be more Watchful, and to oppose the Diabolical Spirit with greater Earnestness, and continually to call in the Aid and Assistance of the Divine Spirit: And they must be careful to renew their Acts of Faith and Repentance.

But it is replied, *I can neither believe nor repent*. I return; It is probable thou art mistaken as to both. As to the former, it is to be remembered, that Faith and Unbelief are sometimes mixed, as in *Mark 9. 24. I believe, help thou my Unbelief*. Our Faith may be so weak and infirm, that it may seem rather to be Unbelief: But this ought to comfort us, that *weak Faith is true Faith*, and that Doubts and Fears are not inconsistent with sincere Believing. The best and holiest Persons being of tender Consciences, have Scruples and Jealousies more than others, and are apt to suspect that they harbour Infidelity in their Hearts. But it is their Duty not to cherish and foster this suspicious Temper, but to rid themselves of it as soon as they can, and to proceed upon solid Grounds, and examine whether they have the Effects of true Faith in their Lives: And thence they may happily discern that which will allay their Fears, and dispel their Doubts.

Then as to the latter, *viz. Repentance*, the Objection is, I cannot find in my self that Sorrow and Remorse which is found in Persons that are received to Mercy: I cannot mourn sufficiently for my Sins. To which I answer, This is the very Case to which the Apostles refers in *2 Cor. 2. 7, 11.* for having in the former Verses mentioned the incestuous Person who had been Excommunicated, he now exhorts them to forgive him; *i. e.* to take off the Publick Censure which had been imposed upon him, and to restore him to the Church, *lest he should be swallowed up with over much Sorrow*, and *lest Satan should get an Advantage of them*, lest the Church should be endamaged by his driving this poor Penitent into despair. For Satan labours to inject this Persuasion into Men, that they are not sorrowful enough, and therefore they must be more Severe to themselves; for he knows that the Excess of Severity will lead them to Despondency. Let us then be sensible of this *Device* of our great Adversary, and prepare our selves against it. Again, let me remind thee of this, If thou thinkest thou art to satisfy Divine Justice by thy abundant Sorrow, thou art in a gross Error. Between thy *Sin* and *Sorrow* there can be no Proportion. If thou couldest weep out thy Eyes, thou canst not make Satisfaction for what thou hast done or omitted. Think not that it is for thy Mourning and Repentance that God will pardon thee: It is wholly for the Merits of Christ Jesus that he forgives the Offences of Sinners. And on that sole Consideration thou mayest expect the Forgiveness of thy Sins. Only this thou art to know, that Pardon of Sin is never separated from Repentance; and thou canst not be assured of the former, unless thou hast some Proof of the latter. And this thou mayest best know by the Change of thy Life, and by thy hearty Purposes and Desires to please God. Wherefore be fully persuaded of the good Will of God to thee, and assure thy self that tho' thy Sins are great, yet the free Grace of God will be more abundantly manifested in pardoning them.

There is another *Objection* yet behind, and that is this, *If I were in the State of Grace, I should know it, and be assured of it: But I have no such Knowledge and Assurance.* The plain Answer is, that *Assurance* is not of the *Essence* of Faith: 'Tis an Effect and Fruit of it, but not *always* neither.

The last Complaint is, *I have no Joy and Comfort.* To which I briefly answer, It is not necessary you should: Nay, your Graces and Virtues may be strongest, when your Comforts are weakest. But think it to be infinite Mercy, if after long Trials and Conflicts you can at length obtain to a Sense of the Favour of God, and feel the Joys that attend it. And doubt not in the least of this happy Hour: After all the Darkness you shall be enlighten'd, after all the Woundings you shall be healed, for *the Sun of Righteousness shall arise upon you with healing in his Wings.* Thus I have endeavoured to satisfy the *Scruples* of the *Tempted*, and to put them into the right Method whereby their *wounded Spirits* may be cured.

To conclude, The *General* and *Universal Antidote* against all the foresaid Suggestions of the Evil Spirit is this, to remember that he is a *Liar*, and was so from the beginning, and therefore there is no Credit to be given to him. He is an Impostor, and therefore whatever he insinuates ought not to be listened to. His grand Business is to cheat and delude us, and that with singular Art and Cunning: And tho' sometimes we cannot clearly discover where the Imposture lies, yet this we are sure of, that there is one. I cannot compare it better than to the Tricks of Jugglers, whereby Men doubt not but they are cheated, tho' they cannot tell by what Sleights they are imposed upon.

I have now set before you the *chiefest Wiles* and *Devices* of our Spiritual Adversary the Devil, and you cannot but perceive that they are very Many, although I have not enumerated all of them. This *Serpent* hath many *Folds* and *Twists*, wherein he wraps Men up and strangles them. At his first setting out, before he had arrived to the Perfection of his Art, he shewed that he could practise several Cousenages: He beset the Innocent and unwary Woman on every Side, he inveigled her by suggesting, that the Fruit of the forbidden Tree was an excellent and choice Sort of Food, and agreeable to the Taste: And moreover, he urged how fair and beautiful it was, how grateful to the Sight. Not would this suffice, he attacked her Intellectual as well as Sensitive Part, telling her that the eating of the Fruit would make her wise. As he began, so he proceeds, he hath Variety of Sleights and Frauds to delude Mankind with. He is full of Plots, Stratagems, and Intrigues. When this Enemy makes a Sign of assaulting us in the Van, he falls on in the Rear. All his Motions are deceitful, and he is wont to vary his Temptations as he sees Occasion. Which way soever we turn our Thoughts or Affections, he hath somewhat ready to tempt us; he hath laid Snares and Traps for us wherever we go. Consider therefore, I beseech you, how subtle an Adversary you have to deal with, how unwearied he is in his Pursuits, how resolute to work our Ruin, how many Ways and Methods he uses to effect it. He tempts with *all Temptations*, and prosecutes these with all Industry and Diligence.

I proceed to the 4th and last Enquiry, *What Means must we use, what Course must be taken that we may not be lead into these Temptations, or how we may be delivered from the Evil of them?* For though I have all along as I went, offered and prescribed *Antidotes* which more especially respected the particular Temptations which I mentioned, yet now my Design is to offer some more general Rules and Directions, which may be made use of against *all the Kinds of Temptations to Sin*, which I have before enumerated.

And here 1. I will direct you to prevent them, that they come not. 2. If they come, to endeavour to defeat them. 3. If they prevail, to do what befits you in that Condition also.

First, That you may endeavour to prevent all sorts of Temptations, these following Rules are to be observed:

1. Have a deep Sense of this your present State, namely, that you are *subject*, and that continually, to *divers Temptations* (as St. James speaks, Chap. 1. ver. 2.) manifold and various Assaults. The Men of the World, and all the good and evil things of it, are perpetually tempting you: Your own depraved Natures seduce you, and Satan is never weary of solliciting you. These are the several Kinds of Temptation that you are liable to, and perhaps your Circumstances may

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may sometimes be such that you may be set upon by them all together. We read that *Job* was universally tempted: Miseries and Calamities came in upon this wretched *Arabian* in whole Caravans and Troops. He was deprived of his Estate, his Riches, his Possessions: His Children were violently snatched from him, his Wife remained to augment his Anguish, his Body was smitten with Sores and Boils, he was tormented with Pain, his very Friends contributed to his Distresses by their misapplied Discourses: And all this time Satan took occasion to suggest to him impious, yea even Atheistical Thoughts and Persuasions. Though *Job's* Case indeed as to some Circumstances of it was peculiar, yet, if we look upon it in the General, there are Parallel Instances in the World every Day: That is, Persons are exercised at the same time with Variety of Temptations, so that they have occasion to take up *David's* Lamentation, *Deep calls unto Deep at the Noise of thy Water-spouts*, Psal. 42. 7. One Misery doth as it were invite and solicit another. However, those who have not actually felt this Torrent and Multiplicity of Temptations at once, are obnoxious to them; and 'tis certain that most Persons are daily assaulted by some of them strongly. Few can plead any Exemption, any Freedom from them for a considerable time. And this is the thing which I offer in the first place to be thought of, namely, that here we are in our *State of Probation*, and therefore are liable to *Temptations* and *Tryals*. This is not pondered as it ought to be; which without doubt is one great Cause of Mens Ruin. For by not being sufficiently apprehensive of this, by not being duly sensible of the great Peril they are in, they take no care of themselves, they heedlessly run into Temptations, and perish by them. Wherefore think your selves concerned to sit down, and consider this, that you walk among Snares. Open your Eyes, behold and observe your Danger. This is the first Step towards the preventing it.

2. Always be well employed. Be careful to be Industrious in that Lawful Calling or Station where Providence hath placed you. By this means you will not be at leisure to hearken to the Sollicitations either of the *World* or of the *Flesh*: You will not have time to attend to the outward Allurements and Charms of the former, or to the inward Suggestions and Dictates of the latter. The frequent Ground and Occasion of Mens being Tempted by these is their Idleness. Worldly Enticements and the Evil Inclinations of their own Hearts prevail upon them, because they are not otherwise employed. They are led to do Evil because they are doing nothing: Especially the *Temptations of Satan* are most successful when Persons are unemployed, when they give themselves up to Sloth. The *Unclean Spirit* upon his Return to his House, found it empty, *χολαζοντα*, idle, free from Business, and then he and seven other Spirits more wicked than himself enter in and dwell there, Matt. 12. 44, 45. Idleness doth even tempt the Devil to come into the Soul; for then it is swept and garnished (as it is said in that place) it is fitted and prepared for the entertaining of such a Guest, it is furnished for that Purpose. Wherefore it is necessary to attend to St. *Jerom's* Advice, which he gave to one he writ to, viz. That he should be always doing something, that the Devil might not find him Idle. Let us remember that we have always some laudable thing to exercise our selves about, and that this calls for our Care and Industry: And by these we shall frustrate all the bold Onsets of this Enemy of our Souls. Let him see that we have no time to entertain his Suggestions, let him know that we are pre-engaged in other Business already. In a word, let us not give way to Idleness; for this is a fit Stock to graft any Temptation, or any Sin upon.

3. Cast off all Confidence and Presumption, all Self-conceit and Arrogance, and maintain in your Breasts a Holy Fear and Reverence. Stand in Awe of God, and be afraid of Sin. There is nothing makes Satan incroach upon us more than *This*, that we are Fearless and Hardy, we Rush into all sorts of Evil, and are Bold and Venturous. Men Tremble not at the Judgments of God, they observe not the Great Danger that accompanies a Wicked Life. So they can gratify their Lusts and Desires, they care not what becomes of them. They slight the Threatnings of the Almighty, and despise his Menaces, and put the Evil Day far from them, and promise themselves Ease and Security. This is the Great Cause of their Miscarriages. Wherefore forget not to cherish Modesty and Fear. You see how you are encompassed with Dangers, the World allures and inveigles, the

Evil Spirit makes his Assaults, and (which is worst of all) you are apt to betray your selves, and plot your own Overthrow. *Adam* fell in Paradise; *Noah* had no sooner escaped the Flood but was drowned in Wine; *Lot*, who was delivered from the Flames of *Sodom*, kept himself not free from those of Incestuous Lust. *David* exalted by God to the Royal Dignity, debased himself by Murder and Adultery. *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, and who first drew his Sword in his Master's Quarrel, was the first that denied him. And from many other Instances it appears that the best Men are not safe: In the Spiritual Warfare some of the most Valiant Leaders and Champions fall back, and give way to Carnal Security and Presumption. Therefore be not high-minded, but fear, be suspicious of your selves and your own Infirmities: Be sensible how weak and frail Creatures you are; and this Suspicion and Fearfulness will guard you from Temptations. They will be so far from weakning and disturbing you, that they will confirm and strengthen you, because your Diffidence in your own Strength will put you upon relying wholly on God, and repairing to him for continual Succour. Thus Fear proves the Mother of Safety. Wherefore banish Rashness, Self-Confidence, Pride and Security, and be very humble and modest. *Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.*

4. It is necessary that we *Pray*, and that *without ceasing*, that we constantly make our Addresses to Heaven with great Importunity and Fervency. This was our Blessed Saviour's Advice, *Pray, lest ye enter into Temptation*, Luke 22. 46. And he teaches us in this Prayer which is before us, to put up this Petition, *Lead us not into Temptation*. Thousands have failed because they have been negligent in this: They have vowed and promised, and have made great and solemn Resolutions against their Sins, but they have not repaired to the Almighty for Strength. Men are apt to value themselves much, and greatly to depend upon their present Resolves, and take it ill that any should suspect their future Carriage. *What! Is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this thing?* 2 Kings 8. 13. But the Heart of Man is deceitful, and desperately wicked: Who can know it? None, no not a Man's own self. Let us then add to all our Resolves and Purposes most fervent Prayers and Supplications: Let us daily and hourly implore the Aid and Assistance of the Holy Spirit, that that may prevent us and help us. The Royal Philosopher speaking of the Labours and Difficulties of a Religious Life, and the Allurements and Temptations that call a Man off from pursuing it, gives this Advice, * Remember God, and beg him to be your Helper and Assister. It is Advice worthy of a Christian.

5. Sobriety and Moderation are excellent Preservatives against Temptations, whether they be those that are occasioned by the World, or by our own Hearts, or by the Assaults of the Diabolick Spirit. For Temperance and Mortification substract the Fuel of that Lust which is either originally from our selves, or stirred up from without. I need not insist on the true Reason of this, because I have already shewed the Influence which the Bodily Temper and Disposition have upon the Soul, and which all External Objects also have upon it: So that the temperate Use of Meat and Drink, and the moderate Enjoyment of the other good things of the World do naturally conduce to the avoiding of Temptations. And that these more particularly give a Check to Satan's Assaults is clear from 1 Pet. 5. 8. where the Apostle bids us *be sober, because our Adversary the Devil is so forward to devour us*. This will be a proper Means to keep him at a Distance from us. St. Paul advises those that are in a Conjugal State to give themselves to Fasting, as well as to praying, to set some special Seasons apart for it, and then to come together again, that Satan tempt them not for (or by reason of) their Incontinency, that their too frequent and immoderate indulging of Carnal Pleasure may not be made use of by the Tempter to their Disadvantage, 1 Cor. 7. 5. Fasting and Praying are good Weapons against Satan: And generally, where these are piously made use of, he seldom comes near.

6. To Sobriety, add Watchfulness. This Rule we learn from St. Peter, who bids us not only be sober, but *vigilant, because our Adversary the Devil, as a roaring Lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour*, 1 Pet. 5. 8. He is Watchful, therefore you must be so too. And our Saviour himself commanded his Disciples to watch (as well as to pray) that they might not enter into temptation, Matt. 26. 41. This is that which is required of us, we must keep our selves Awake, we must be always

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ways upon our Guard, and expecting the Enemy, and fortifying our selves against him. We must walk Circumspectly, we must stand prepared with the *Whole Armour of God* upon us; of which I shall further speak under the next Particular. Thus * *Preparing our Souls for temptation*, as the Son of *Sirach* speaks, we may prevent it. So much for the First General Direction, which supposes that we are not yet actually assaulted. * Ecclef. 2. 2.

The Second is this; When Temptations come, do all you can to defeat them. Seeing you cannot escape the Assault it self, endeavour to avoid the Hurt of it. Strive to be delivered from the Evil of it. Now therefore more sedulously and designedly *put on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil*, Eph. 6. 11. Where is suggested to us the

First Particular Direction under this General Head, viz. that we are to stand. If we would defeat this Adversary, we must not think of flying, but we must manfully encounter with him. This St. *James* directs us to, ch. 4. v. 7. *Resist the Devil*. And St. *Peter* advises the same, 1 Ep. ch. 5. v. 9. And it is thus expressed by St. *Paul*, *Give not place to the Devil*, Eph. 4. 27. Do not by persisting in your Sinful Anger (for of that he speaks) suffer the Evil Spirit to take place in your Hearts, and prevail against you, and provoke you to those Sinful Actions which are the usual Effects of Unlawful Passion. Take care that you do not give him place, a Lodging, a Residence by yielding to him. But as soon as you perceive his Assaults, make Resistance, give him a Repulse; and then he will be so far from vanquishing you, that he will fly from you, as St. *James* assures you in the fore-mentioned Place.

And here it will be very proper to urge this upon your Minds, that there is a certain Fascination and Witchery in our giving Way to Sin. I call it so, because it is expressed in the same manner by St. *Paul* in his sharp Increpation of the *Galatians*, *Who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the Truth?* Gal. 3. 1. As if the Apostle had said, You could never have done as you do, you could not act so strangely and wildly, if there were not a kind of Incantment upon you. There is some Hellish Charm that thus works upon you. It is impossible you should be guilty of what you are, unless you were under the Power of the Devil's Fascination. Some strong Philtrum it is that thus makes you in Love with Error and Vice, and causeth you to hug them in your closest Embraces. And I appeal to the Experience of all Men that ever gave Way to the Beginnings of Vice, whether they did not find themselves strangely Commanded and Over-ruled, whether their Spirits were not at some times very oddly and unaccountably changed, and set into Motion against their Wills, and yet with their Consent and Suffrage in the close. Are not some on a sudden taken with the Pleasure of Sin, and transported into Vice with unheard-of Joys? and yet do they not at the same time foresee the bitter Event of such Pleasure and Joy? Are they not sensible that these will cost them their Lives? Yet having tasted of Sin, the Relish remains on their Palats, and this makes them eager after more. They cannot, they will not abstain though you tell them, nay though you shew them that there is Poison wrapt up in the Fruit they eat. This is a Proof of the Witchery that is in Sin: it drags and hurries Men along, whether they will or no, and they can give no Account of what they do. They find the Truth of what I observed before, that 'tis hard for a Man to stop himself in his hot Pursuit and full Career of Sin. He will not be Non-pluss'd here, he cannot endure to leave off. Having entred on the Stage, he must needs be Acting, though it prove never so Tragical a Part. Having listned to the first Beginnings of Sin, it is a Thousand to one but he is seduced into farther Compliance with it. He that ventures too near the Whirlpool, may be sucked in by the Force of its Attractive Circle. He that will be walking in the Counsel, may e're long be standing in the way of Sinners. Wherefore listen not to the Sollicitations of the Evil Spirit, though you do not propose to yield to them and comply with them: but if you listen, you are in danger of complying. Therefore, I say, go not so far; for if you once hearken to his insolent Demands, and begin to treat and capitulate with him, you'll soon be perswaded to a Surrender of your Fort. Wherefore dispute not, dally not with him, but vigorously oppose and withstand him. Rally all your Forces, muster up all your Aids, and manfully engage this professed Enemy of your Souls. He cannot force any Temptation upon you; therefore if you hold

him to it with a firm Resolution, he will give over his Pursuit, and leave you. And so as to all *other Temptations*, whether Mundane or Fleshly, you must speedily oppose the early Motions of them, you must repell them at the very first Onset. This is that which the Apostle calls *Standing* in the forementioned Place in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *Standing against the Wiles of the Devil*, and so likewise against the other Kinds of Temptations. But this bare *Resistance* will not suffice: Therefore,

2dly, *Prayer* is a Weapon prescribed us by the Apostle to be made use of when we are tempted. As before we were to *pray* in order to the *preventing* of Temptation, so now we must betake our selves to this Religious Exercise that we may not be *Overcome*. St. Paul acquaints us that he used this Excellent Expedient when he was under a very Grievous and *Thorny* Temptation; *for this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me*, 2 Cor. 12. 8. And he hath left us a Rule on this Occasion in *Eph. 6. 10.* where when he exhorts us to *put on the whole Armour of God, that we may stand against the Wiles of the Devil*; he also bids us *be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his Might*: That is, we must not only go forth against the Tempter, as *David* against *Goliath*, in the Name of the Lord; we must not only depend upon God for Strength and Power, but we must earnestly *beg* these of him. When we are assaulted by our Inbred Foe, it is our Duty, and it is our Interest to repair to the Throne of Grace, and crave Assistance against Our selves. When the World urges its Baits upon us, we ought forthwith to have recourse to the same Remedy. When the busy Dæmon besets us, we cannot be safe till we fly to the Almighty *Jehovah*, and Implore his Divine Help and Succour: by which alone we shall be enabled to extricate our selves out of the Snares of the Devil. And when this bold Aggressor presses hard upon us, as we must be Petitioners our selves, so we must desire Others to pray for us, that the * *Lord would effectually rebuke Satan*, and † *bruise him under our feet*.

* Zech. 3.
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† Rom. 16.
20.

3. *The Word of God* is another necessary Piece of Armour which we are bid to take, and make use of in the Day of Temptation. This *Sword of the Spirit* (as 'tis called in *Eph. 6. 17.*) is to be wielded, especially when Satan makes his Insults upon us: for we learn from our Saviour's Practice, that his Temptations are best answered with *It is written*, Matt. 4. 9, 10. As our Holy Master repulsed him, so must we; we must oppose the Written Word and Will of God to all the Diabolick Suggestions. And truly there is great Reason for it, for the infallible Truth which is contained in the Scriptures, is certainly to be preferred before the false and groundless Dictates of that notorious Liar and Impostor. So it is fit likewise, that those Thoughts and Perswasions which our deceitful Hearts suggest to us, should be countermanded by the Spirit of Truth speaking in Holy Writ. And as for External and Worldly Enticements occasioned by those Objects that are before us, we ought to confront them with this Divine Word; which commands us to keep our selves unspotted from the World, and which discovers to us the Vanity and Uncertainty of all, and the Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of most of the Entertainments which are in fashion. If therefore we would successfully grapple with our Spiritual Enemies, we must encounter them with the *Bible*, we must baffle all their Suggestions by alledging and urging this Sacred Canon of all Divine Truth and Holiness.

4. *Faith* is reckoned by the Apostle as another Part of that Panoply which is to be used on this Occasion. *Take the Shield of Faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked*, i. e. of the Devil, *Eph. 6. 16.* His Temptations are elegantly stiled *fiery Darts*, because they proceed from his inflamed Malice: these you must *quench*, you must extinguish, disappoint and null by a Vigorous *Faith*, i. e. by a firm Perswasion of the Truth of the Gospel which you profess, by consenting to the Goodness and Excellency of it, by putting your whole Trust and Confidence in God, and relying on his Power and Might, and more especially by relying on the blessed Undertakings of Christ Jesus, who *came to destroy the Works of the Devil*. Thus you must get the Conquest over the hellish Tempter; as also St. Peter informs and instructs us, 1 *Epist. 5. 9.* *Whom resist, stedfast in the Faith*. You must not only exert this Grace with great Courage, but you must be *stedfast*, firm and immoveable in the acting of it; you must adhere to Christ with an incessant Affiance in him. If the impure Spirit persists in

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in his Assaults, you must also persevere in that Faith, and even weary him out by the constant Exercise of this Christian and Noble Virtue. And by help of this you may successfully vanquish your own inward fleshly Inclinations, and all the Allurements that are without you. *This is the Victory that overcometh the World, even your Faith.* Thus we are to behave our selves when we are tempted: And by this and the other Means before prescribed we shall be safe amidst all Assaults. Yea, tho' we be wounded in the Combat, we shall obtain a Conquest, as *Jacob* got the Victory, tho' he halted ever after. But this we should always take care of, to use our Victory well, to watch and guard our selves that we be not worsted by it. We must remember to follow our Success, and to improve it; and not to be proud and puffed up with it, lest our Conquest prove fatal to us.

But if Temptations should prevail, then in the *third* Place I am to shew you what is proper to be done by you in those Circumstances. If you be overcome, and yield to Satan's Suggestions and your own Heart's Lusts, that which I am to advise you to is, first to reflect on the Miscarriage, and observe what it was that wrought upon you; observe what were the leading Motions whereby you were called off from your Duty. Then, having done thus, acknowledge your Frailty, your Weakness, the want of spiritual Skill to manage the Weapons belonging to the Christian Armory, and humble your selves before God. After this, repair unto the Blood of Jesus to heal those Wounds which you have received in the Conflict: Supplicate the Divine Mercy, and beg Pardon for the Sake of Christ the Redeemer. Next, be careful to prevent a Relapse, by your being more Vigilant and Circumspect for the Future, by looking up to Heaven for Aid and Assistance, by fortifying your selves against Temptations, by diligently using all Means to prevent them, by exerting your Graces to the utmost. Thus you may make Advantage of your former Temptations, and of your being overcome by them. They may be of singular Benefit to you in the remaining Part of your Lives. And thus, tho' you have been *led into Temptation*, you shall in a great Measure be *delivered from the Evil* of it.

So much for the *absolute* Consideration of the Words; now it remains that I speak of them in a *Relative* Sense, as they are part of a *Prayer*. Christ enjoined his Disciples and us to *pray* to our heavenly Father that he would *not lead us into Temptation*; i. e. that he would not permit us to fall into or under Temptation. Here then it is supposed that the Devil is not able so much as to tempt us, much less to overcome us, unless God suffers it. Nor can any other Temptations befall us without the Divine Permission. The Almighty Disposer and Governor can restrain the *World* and our *own Hearts* from Temptations. And when we are tempted, it is he alone that can help and succour us. And therefore upon this is grounded the Necessity of our *praying* for God's Grace and Assistance. Hereupon we conclude that it is our Duty to make it our daily Request and Petition that *we may not be led into Temptation*.

But seeing there are so many Kinds of Temptations, and seeing this World is the Place of Trial, and no Persons were ever wholly exempted from it, why must we make it the Matter of our *Prayer* that *we may not be led into Temptation*? In answer to this, and to direct us aright in our praying to God, you must know that when we are commanded to pray this Petition in the Lord's Prayer,

1. We must not do it *absolutely* and *unconditionally*, but with this Reserve, *If God please*; for it may not seem good to God to exempt us wholly from this or that Temptation, because he knows it will in the Issue be advantageous to us; and for this Reason he suffered his Son Christ Jesus, and before and after that, the best and most beloved of his Servants to be tempted. Besides, as the Nature of Things is at present, and as God's Providence hath ordered Affairs in the World, there is an Impossibility of an utter Exemption; for so long as Satan retains his Malice, he will not leave off tempting; and so long as we bear in our Breasts a depraved Principle, we shall be liable to Temptation. Therefore when we beg a Freedom as to this, we are to do it with Submission to the Divine Providence and Disposal. Our Saviour hath set us an Example of this in *Mat. 26. 39. Father, if thou wilt, let this Cup pass from me: Nevertheless not my Will, but thy Will be done.* We must not simply and unreservedly beg that we may never be assaulted and set upon, for God may see it convenient to deal otherwise with us, and to exercise us with Temptations. But because they are generally harmful to us,
and

and we fall under the Power of them, therefore we are obliged to pray, that if it be pleasing in God's Sight, he would vouchsafe to remove the Occasions of Sin and the Enticements to it, that, if it seem good to him, he would shield us from Satan's fiery Darts.

2. As we must not absolutely pray, with Respect to God, that we may be wholly free from Temptations, so with Regard to our selves, and as for our Part, we must pray that we may effectually use all the Means against Temptations which are prescribed us, as Fear, Prayer, the Word of God, Watchfulness, actual resisting of Satan, &c. But I have spoken of these already; and therefore I only desire you to call to mind the Particulars, whence you will learn how Persons beset with so many Temptations ought to deport themselves.

3. We are to pray that we may receive *no Hurt* by them. It ought to be the Subject of our earnest Requests, that none of the Occasions of Sin that are so rife in the World, may infect us; that Satan's fallacious Logick may not delude us; that we may not be so led into Temptation as to give way to it, to yield to it in our Practice, to be overcome by it in our Lives: That we may be forcibly rescued out of the Snare of the Devil, that (as the Apostle speaks) we may not be suffered to be tempted above that we are able, but that with the Temptation we may have a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it, 1 Cor. 10. 13. In fine, it is hard, it is impossible to live in the World without Temptations: Wherefore we must not desire to be wholly delivered from them, but that we may be delivered from the Sin and Evil of them, from all the sinful and dangerous Attendants and Consequences of them. Nay, as we are to pray to be delivered from the Evil of Temptations, so,

4thly, We must beg that they may conduce to our Good: For even these (as the Apostle saith in the like Case) shall turn to our Salvation through our Prayers, Phil. 1. 19. There is real Good and Advantage in Temptations, otherwise we can give no Account why the choicest of Men fall into them, and sometimes are overcome by them. Otherwise St. James would not have said, Count it all Joy when ye fall into diverse Temptations, Jam. 1. 2. And again, v. 12. Blessed is the Man that endureth Temptation: For under this Word here is comprehended not only outward Affliction, but in the Latitude and Extent of it, all Trials whatsoever. These oftentimes are conducive to our real Benefit, and accordingly we are to pray that we may reap the happy Fruits of them. This we ought to request, that whenever we fall, we may not only rise again, but stand faster, that we may be more confirmed in our Faith, and all other Graces; that we may be more cautious and watchful for the time to come; that we may walk more humbly before God; that we may be sensible of the hidden Strength of our Corruptions, and of the Deceitfulness of our Hearts, that we may not miscarry for the Future through our being ignorant of the Devices and Wiles which Satan useth, that we may have a clearer Insight into the Word of God, where these diabolical Contrivances are fully discovered. (For as Luther said well, No Man without Temptations can attain to a true Understanding of the Scriptures); that we may by the lively acting of our Graces be more able to withstand those Enticements which we yielded to before, and that we may experience greater Comforts of the Spirit for the future. Thus it is evident that we should pray against our own Good and Welfare, if we desired to be wholly freed from Trials and Temptations; and therefore that cannot be the meaning of this Petition in the Lord's Prayer. But when we are bid to pray that we may not be led into Temptation, the main Thing we are to desire is, that we may not be tempted by our selves, or by others, whether the Devil or the World, so as to be worsted by them. We must pray that we may be delivered from the Evil and Mischief that attend any of those Temptations; that we may be delivered from the Evil and Hurt which accompany our own Inbred Corruption, the Body of Death which St. Paul desired to be delivered from, Rom. 7. 25. Likewise, that we may be freed from the Hurtful Assaults of the Malicious Spirit, who is called the Evil one; and lastly, that we may be defended from the Evil that is in the World, according to our Saviour's Address to his Father, I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the World,

World, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil, John 17. 15. And for these Purposes we must continually pray to be assisted with Supernatural and Divine Power from above, to be strengthened and upheld with an Almighty Arm, that in all our Spiritual Combats and Conflicts we may not only conquer, but (as the Apostle expresses it) be more than Conquerors.

Lastly, We come to the Conclusion of the Lord's-Prayer, which is this, *For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory for ever. Amen.* There hath been some Controversy about this Doxology, which is added in the close of this Prayer; that is, it hath been disputed whether it belongs to it, or no. And the Ground of it is this, because the *Vulgar Latin Translation* hath it not either in *St. Matthew* or *St. Luke*. The *Latin Fathers*, as *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, *Jerom* and *Augustine*, mention it not; and the Reason is, because it was not in the *Version* afore-named. We do not find it in any of the *Roman Liturgies*. Nor do any of the *Ancient Christian Poets* in their Paraphrases on this Prayer, say any thing of this Part of it. All this I grant, and yet this will not authorize us to expunge it out of this Evangelical Form of Devotion: For, 1. In all the *Greek Copies* (and these we are to make our Rule and Standard in this Case, for the *Gospels* were written first in *Greek*; or if one of them, viz. this of *St. Matthew* was first written in *Hebrew*, it was soon rendred into *Greek* by the same Inspired Person,) I say in all the *Greek Copies* this Doxology is found in *St. Matthew*. 2. Not only the Original *Greek*, but the *Syriack*, *Ethiopick*, *Coptick*, *Persick*, *Arabian Translations* have this Part of the Prayer. 3. The *Clementine Constitutions* (which with some Persons perhaps may be thought to be Authentick) mention it. 4. The *Greek Fathers* generally read this Part of the Lord's-Prayer. 5. The *Greek Church* used this Doxology at the End of all their Prayers. 6. It may be proved that in the *Publick Service* of old they did alternately use this Doxology, i. e. the Minister pronounced the Body of this Prayer, and the People the Doxology, and vice versa. 7. Though our *Reformers* did not insert these last Words of the Prayer into our Liturgy in *King Edward's* time, yea, though it was omitted afterwards in *Queen Elizabeth*, *King James* and *King Charles the First's* Reigns, yet our Church thought fit at the last Revising and Correcting of the Publick Form of Prayers to add this Doxology in some Parts of the Service, and I suppose they would have done so wherever this Prayer is used in any Office, if this Part had not been left out in one of the *Gospels*. It is likely they did it in compliance with *St. Luke*, who omits these Words. But from thence we cannot gather that they are not a part of the Lord's-Prayer: For though they do not occur in *St. Luke*, yet we find them here in *St. Matthew*; and therefore all that can be inferred, is, that *St. Luke* did leave out something which *St. Matthew* hath set down. And the same may be said of all the Evangelists; one hath that which another hath not, and one passes by that which another hath recorded. I could produce a Hundred Examples of this, and therefore this cannot be made use of as an Argument to prove that these Words are not a part of the Lord's-Prayer. It is enough that *St. Matthew* expressly delivers them: This makes them Canonical and Authentick, this proves them to be a real Portion of Holy Scripture.

Therefore that which I am next to do, is, to give you a brief Account of them. They contain, 1. A *Thanksgiving*. 2. A *Confirmation of the former Requests*. First, For the Thanksgiving or Doxology, it seems to be taken from 1 *Chron.* 29. 11. *Thine, O Lord, is the Greatness, and the Power, and the Glory,—thine is the Kingdom.* The like you read in 1 *Tim.* 1. 17. *Unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory, for ever and ever.* So in *Jude* v. 25. *To the only wise God our Saviour be Glory and Majesty, Dominion and Power, both now and ever.* Such another Doxology is that in *Rev.* 5. 13. *Blessing and Honour, and Glory and Power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.* And thus here we close all with Thanksgiving, and ascribing all that is Excellent to God. With grateful Acknowledgments we own that to Him alone belong the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory. 1. *Thine is the Kingdom*: Thou art the only Supreme King, the Absolute and Uncontrollable Sovereign of the World. But of this I had occasion to speak before, when I insisted on that Petition [*Thy Kingdom come,*]

come,] and therefore I will not add any thing further here. 2. *Thine is the Power*: Thou only art Omnipotent, and canst do what thou pleasest both in Heaven and Earth. Though we are weak and frail Creatures, yet Thou art of Infinite Strength; Many things are to us difficult and insuperable, but nothing is so to Thee, yea nothing is Impossible. But I have largely treated of God's Omnipotence under his Attributes. 3dly, *Thine is the Glory*. This Word *Glory* is of a greater Latitude than the former Terms, and therefore I must enlarge upon it. It hath these several Denotations in Scripture,

1. By it is signified the Glorious Presence and Manifestation of God upon Earth, as in the Tabernacle, and the Ark, and the Temple of old. The *Shechinah* is called by the 70 Interpreters *שְׁכִינָה*, *Glory*, and so it is by the Apostle; To the Jews, saith he, pertaineth the *Glory*, Rom. 9. 4. i. e. they in a particular and peculiar manner had the Presence of God among them, which rendred their Church so Glorious. Here then we acknowledge the *Glory* of the Divine Majesty in his unparallell'd manifesting himself to his Church of old.

2. The particular Manifestation of God's *Glory* in Heaven is in the New Testament called, by way of Emphasis, *Glory*; whence we read of a *Crown of Glory*, 1 Pet. 5. 4. And the Happiness of the other World is stiled *Glorifying*, Rom. 8. 17. So that here we express our Belief of the Future *Glory* of Blessed Souls in Heaven, and also of God's being the Author and Donor of it.

3. *Glory* is the inward and real Excellency of any Person or Thing for which they are to be Admired and Prized. Nothing is truly Glorious but what hath an Intrinsic Worth and Eminency to commend it. Thus God is Transcendently and Superlatively Glorious; and therefore in this Part of the Doxology we own and celebrate the infinite Excellencies, Attributes and Perfections of God.

4. *Glory* is that Fame, Honour and Repute which arise from and attend that which in it self is Excellent and Worthy. And *Glorifying* is the testifying, displaying and setting forth of the Worth and Eminency of a Person. It is declaring and making known his Excellency. Thus when we say, *Thine is the Glory*, it is as much as to say, Thou, O God, art to be praised and extolled, thy *Glory* and Majesty and Transcendent Excellency are to be celebrated: therefore *Glory be to thee in the Highest*, Luke 2. 14. Hence the Psalmist saith, *Who so offereth Praise, glorifieth God*, Psal. 50. 23. And accordingly he calls his Tongue his *Glory*. This then we are obliged to do by virtue of these Words which our Saviour hath taught us, viz. to give all Honour and Praise to our Great Lord and Benefactor, from whom we receive so many and so great Blessings.

5. We bring *Glory* to God, when by a Holy Life and Religious Example we give Men occasion to praise and extol God. Whereas the Apostle tells us on the contrary, that *the Name of God is blasphemed* by the ungodly and scandalous Lives of those that profess Christianity, Rom. 2. 23. What saith our Blessed Saviour in his Excellent Sermon on the Mount? *Let your Light so shine before Men, that they may see your Good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven*, Matt. 5. 16. And again he saith, *Herein is my Father glorified, that you bring forth much fruit*. Wherefore when we say *Thine is the Glory*, we hereby profess to Live and Act to God's *Glory*. *The Lord hath made all things for himself*, saith the Wiseman, Prov. 16. 4. But more eminently Man was created for this great End, Man who is stiled by the Apostle *the Glory of God*, 1 Cor. 11. 7.

Wherefore We more especially are bound to attend to this Principal End in every thing we undertake. We must glorify God in our Bodies and in our Spirits, as the same Apostle speaks in 1 Cor. 6. 20. *Whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do* (as he saith in another place) *we must do all to the Glory of God*, 1 Cor. 10. 31. And on due Occasions we must express this with our Lips, as was the Ancient Practice of the Christians. More particularly 'tis observable, that St. Chrysostom concludes his Homilies and Expositions of the Psalms, and most of his Sermons with a Doxology. Theodoret ends his Annotations on the Epistles so; and Basil, Gregory Nyssen and Gregory Nazianzen, Macarius, Cyril of Alexandria, &c. close their Homilies, Orations, and Divine Discourses in the same manner. And on all such Solemn Accounts it was usual with the Pious to ascribe *Glory* to the Supreme Being. We are to remember, that as *Hallowed be thy Name* is the Entrance, so *Thine is the Glory* is the Close of this Prayer which Christ hath taught us. We must begin and end with this: this must influence on all our Actions first and last.

And

And Lastly, All these Excellencies and Perfections which we acknowledge to belong to God, and to him alone, are here illustrated from that adjunct of Duration, *for ever*. They are Inseparable from him, and are, as he is, Eternal. This we confess when we say, *Thine is the Kingdom, &c. unto Ages* (as 'tis in the Greek) *i. e.* to endless and eternal Ages. And herein God is distinguished from all Kings and Potentates; their Kingdom and their Power are not durable: There is a Period to all Earthly Glory. But he that is King of Kings *is from Everlasting to Everlasting*, as *David*, who was himself a King, makes known to the World in *Psal. 90. 2.* His Rule and Power are of the same Duration with his Essence; they had no Beginning, and shall have no End. This was the Acknowledgment of one of the greatest Kings and Monarchs even among the Pagans, who caused it to be proclaimed *unto all People, Nations and Languages that dwell in all the Earth, his Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and his Dominion is from Generation to Generation, Dan. 4. 3.*

Thus far I have considered these Words *Absolutely*. In the next place, as they have a *Relative* Meaning, *i. e.* as they have Preference to the *foregoing* Prayer, they may be looked upon as an *Argument* or *Motive* to us to offer up the foregoing Petitions: And also they may be reckoned as an *Argument* or *Reason* to move God to hear our Prayers. For 1. Here is that Right and Authority of God by which he governs the World, and disperseth all things as he pleaseth. This is here called the *Kingdom of God*, *i. e.* his absolute Sovereignty and Dominion whereby he disposeth every thing in the World. This is here added in the Close of the Prayer to strengthen our Faith, to encourage us to make the preceding Petitions with Confidence. 2. Here is God's *Power*, by which he can exercise whatever he wills. He being Omnipotent can bring to pass and accomplish all that we pray for: Which is a singular Invitation to us to call upon him. Yea, when we say, *Thine is the Power*, we acknowledge that there is no Power without him, and consequently we cannot perform any of those things we desire unless we be enabled from above. We cannot hallow or sanctify God's Name, we cannot do his Will, we cannot resist the Temptations of the Evil one without the Divine Power and Assistance. 3. It is added, *Thine is the Glory*, *i. e.* by these Prayers of ours, and by thy Hearing of them there shall redound unto thee infinite Honour and Glory. This is a farther Encouragement to us to pray, and a farther Motive to God to grant what we pray for. This perhaps may refer more immediately to the last Petition, *Deliver us from Evil*. According to that of the Psalmist, *I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me, Psal. 50. 15.* Deliverance calls for Praise and Thanksgiving; and these are *glorifying* of God; God's Glory and Excellency are hereby advanced and extolled.

Lastly, Here is the Final Conclusion of all in the Word *Amen*. * *St. Augustin* thinks that this is one of those Words in Scripture which by reason of the Sacred Authority of them were not turned into another Language. This is certain, that this Word is retained in all Languages, as being such an Emphatick and Comprehensive Term that cannot well be translated.

* *De Doct. Christ. l. 2.*

1. This Word signifies *Truth*, as in *Isai. 65. 16.* God is twice stiled *Elohe Amen*, the God of Truth or *Amen*. Christ himself is called *Amen*, *Rev. 1. 7.* And again, *Chap. 3. Ver. 14. these things saith the Amen.* So the Apostle saith that *all the Promises are in him Yea and Amen*, *2 Cor. 1. 20. i. e.* they are infallibly true and certain. The pronouncing of this Word shews that the Thing spoken of, and to which it is applied, is *really so*.

2. It is a Word of Affirmation, as in *Matt. 18. 3. John 6. 26. Amen (i. e. verily) I say unto you.* Our Saviour confirms and ratifies the Truth of his Doctrine by this manner of Expression. Sometimes it is joyned with the Greek *vai*, as in *vai amen*, even so *Amen*. Nay,

3. It was used among the *Jews* in Vowing and Swearing. When they solemnly vowed to God, they were wont to insert || *Amen* as an Obligatory Word. And in the † *Talmud* we are told that the pronouncing of it was reckoned as an Oath: Whence Witnesses in Courts of Judicature used to say *Amen*.

|| *Maimonides.*
† *In Shebnoth.*

4. This Word denotes the ardent Wishes and Desires of the Persons that use it, as in *1 Kings 1. 36, 37.* in which latter Verse it is explained by, *God say so too.* So in *Rom. 16. 20. Grace be with you, Amen;* and in several other Places of the Apostolical *Epistles* it is added to denote the Persons Great Desire to have the thing prayed for, granted to them.

5. It

5. It is a Word of Approbation: Thus the *Jews* were enjoined to use this Word when the Curses against notorious Sinners were pronounced, *All the People shall say, Amen*, Deut. 27. 16, &c. *i.e.* they shall acknowledge the Justice and Equity of these Execrations. So in *Numb.* 5. 22. *Neb.* 5. 13. the answering of *Amen* shews that the Persons consented to the things there spoken of.

* In Sanhedrim.

6. (And which most concerns us at present) This Word was anciently used in Prayer. The Practice of the *Jewish* Church as to this may be seen in 1 *Chron.* 16. 36. *Neb.* 8. 6. *Psal.* 106. 48. and other Places. And that it was used afterwards in the Synagogues, is clear from the Writings of the *Hebrew* Doctors, especially the * *Talmudists*, who find fault with Three sorts of *Amen*, a *Faint* one, without Fervency: A *Lazy* one, when the Word was drawled out, as if they were sleepy: A *Hasty* one, when they said it before the Prayer was fully ended. It was of Use also in the Christian Church; for our Saviour was pleased to borrow this (as well as several other pious Usages) from the *Jews*. In Imitation of whom the Apostles likewise added this Word in the Close of their Prayers and Thanksgivings, *Rom.* 11. 36. — 15. 33. *Gal.* 1. 5. 2 *Tim.* 4. 18. and many more Places. And from that Passage in 1 *Cor.* 14. 16. *How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen?* It is evident that this was the general Practice of the Christians in their Assemblies. † And *Justin Martyr* and other Ancient Fathers acquaint us that the Primitive Church was no Stranger to this. || *We hear*, saith *St. Jerom*, the People in the Churches thundering out *Amen*, as if it were a Voice from Heaven. Which lets us know that they pronounced this Word in the Conclusion of their Prayers with a great Vehemency and Zeal, and with a loud Voice, to testify and proclaim their firm Belief and faithful Adhering to what they prayed for, for so * *Amen* imports.

† Apolog. 2.

|| In Ecclesiis urbis Romæ quasi tonitru cæleste audimus populum reboantem Amen. Præfat. in Epist. ad Galat.

* Ab aman credidit, fideliter fecit;

† In Epist. ad Galat.

Thus you see what is the true Import of *Amen*, and of what Antiquity and Authority it is both in the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church. Let us hence be directed and regulated in our Devotions. Let us inform our selves aright concerning the Principal Meaning of this Word, and let us use it accordingly: That is, 1. Let us hereby attest the Truth of what we have prayed for. *Amen* (as you have heard) is a Word of Affeuration and Confirmation. † *St. Jerom* calls it *Signaculum Veritatis*, a Sealing of the Truth, a Ratifying of what we have said: It is an Obligation of the Reality of those things which are contained in the several Petitions. 2. Let us hereby shew the Fervency of our Wishes and Desires as to the Matters prayed for: Let us express our Heavenly Breathing and Longing after those things which we have mentioned in our Prayers. *Amen* is a Word of Option and Expectation. 3. Let us satisfy our selves as to the Goodness, Reasonableness and Equity of these things. *Amen* (as you have been told) is a Note of Approbation. 4. Let us by this Word declare our firm Belief, that God will vouchsafe to do for us all that we have prayed for. *Amen* is a Note of Faith and Confidence. Wherefore when we use this Language, let it express our stedfast Trusting and Relying on God, our confiding in his Power, Wisdom and Goodness, our depending and resting on his Mercy and Favour through Christ Jesus. Let it shew that we are thoroughly persuaded that he can and will perform all these things which we desire of him, that he will give a gracious Answer not only to this, but to all our other Prayers through the Mediation of our Blessed Advocate, who sits at the Right Hand of his Father making Intercession for us, and will certainly hearken to those Petitions which are put up with Faith in his Name; those Petitions especially he will hear now in Heaven, which he himself taught us to pray when he was here on Earth.

TREATISES
AND
DISCOURSES

ON THE
Principal Heads of Religion ;
Which Compose a
BODY of CHRISTIAN DIVINITY.

The Third Part.
OF THE
Ten Commandments.

VOL. II.

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TREATISES
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The Third Part.

General Comments.

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A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING

The Moral Law or Moral Goodness,

By way of PREFACE or INTRODUCTION to
the TEN COMMANDMENTS.



BEFORE I proceed to treat of the particular Precepts of the Decalogue, I will speak of the *Moral Law* in general, which is the Standard of all *Natural Religion*, and the Rule of Moral Righteousness and Holiness. For I speak not now of that Goodness and Holiness which are founded on *Revelation*, and the *Positive Laws* of God, and supernatural Principles and Rules; but I confine my self in this Discourse to that Righteousness and Holiness, which have respect to Natural Religion, and which flow from the Law of Nature and Right Reason. The same that are contain'd in the *Ten Commandments* deliver'd to the People of *Israel*. This was the Royal Prophet's noble Subject throughout the whole Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm: for I list not to attend to what * some Enthusiastick Heads have suggested, that it is not any *Written Word* or *Law* which *David* speaks of there, but an immediate Word or Inspiration from God. But all sober and considerate Men may be satisfied, that the Law of God contain'd in the *Scriptures*, which they had at that time, is meant there: And these *Scriptures* without doubt were the *Pentateuch*, for these were the only Canonical and Inspired Writings that were extant in *David's* Time; unless you will add the Book of *Job*, which was written (as some think) by *Moses*, or some one of that Age. But any discerning Eye may see that the Book of *Job*, which consists chiefly of *Dialogues* between that Holy Man and his Friends, is not referr'd to here, but the *Five Books* of *Moses*, and especially the three last, which consist principally of the *Holy Institutions* and *Laws* given by God himself. And particularly the *Moral Law* written on *Tables of Stone*, and deliver'd to *Moses*, is meant by the *Testimonies*, *Commandments*, *Precepts*, *Statutes*, *Word*, *Law*, so often mention'd by the Psalmist.

* G. Keith of
immediate Re-
velation.

It is true, some of these Expressions are applied to another Kind of Laws in some other Places of Holy Writ, as in *Deut. 6. 1.* and † other parallel Texts, where by || *Commandments* are generally understood the Moral Precepts contain'd in the Ten Commandments, and those others which are scatter'd up and down in *Moses's* Writings; and by the * *Statutes* the Ceremonial Law proper to the *Jews* is meant, and by *Ordinances* and † *Judgments* the Civil or Judicial Law of that People is understood. But here it is otherwise: and indeed it is no unusual thing in S. Scripture to use Words in a strict Sense sometimes, and in a larger and more general one at other times. The Ten Commandments, and those other Precepts of Life and Manners, which are set down in the Book of *Deuteronomy* especially, are the chief Subject which the Inspired Penman insists upon in this Psalm. Or, if sometimes those several Words and Variety of Terms here used signify and take in the other Directions, viz. about Ceremonial and Judicial Matters, yet it is only so far as they have reference to moral Holiness and Righteousness, and serve to promote these, as most of those did, and were design'd for that purpose.

But it is evident from the Scope of the Psalmist, that he chiefly speaks of the Laws and Commandments of God which are moral. And it may be observ'd,

* From Pikkadon, depositum. Aben Ezra in loc.

that tho' this be the longest Psalm, and consists of so many Parts, yet it is but one Sentence in a manner all the way descanted upon: all he intends is, that *God's Law is exceeding good*. Here are those just and holy Rules, which are for the directing of Mens Lives, and which are imprinted on the Nature of Man by God, and therefore ought to be dear to all good Men, as they are here to this pious King. These Dictates of Moral Righteousness are stiled by him *Pikkudim* in *Psal.* 19. 8. the * *Depositum* of Nature (so the Word signifieth) committed by God to our Keeping, and therefore are to be preserv'd with great Care and Diligence. This was the Notion of a very understanding Rabbi on that forenamed Place, where he adds this Gloss upon the Word. *These are such Precepts* (saith he) *as are found in the Faculties of the Soul, i.e. they were inbred in the Soul of every Man, when it might be said, There was no Precept, no positive Precept to guide him. Then God planted, then he deposited these in the Hearts of Men.* The Psalmist again in *Psal.* 119. 142. (directing his Words to God) calls these, *his Righteousness* and *his Law*: and he adds that this Righteousness is an *everlasting Righteousness*, and this Law is *the Truth*. The former of these is evident, because no Might or Force whatever can demolish this *Righteousness*, no Devils or Men are able with all the Tyranny they can exert, or all the Persecution they can raise, to root it out of Mens Hearts and Lives: it shall continue and thrive, notwithstanding all their Attempts. Thus it may be said to be *everlasting*. And the latter part of the Words is evident from this, that these Good and Holy Laws, so far as they contain in them any thing which God by the Purity and Holiness of his Nature is engag'd to do for us, shall certainly be performed. He will shew himself True and Faithful, his Righteousness and Mercy shall not fail towards the Sons of Men: Thus his Law is *the Truth*.

But waving this Interpretation of the Words, which some Persons are contented with, I conceive that the most easy and obvious Meaning of the first Clause of the Words, *Thy Righteousness is an everlasting Righteousness*, is this, 1. That this Righteousness was from everlasting; which is the same with what the Psalmist saith in the 89th Verse of this Psalm, *For ever, O Lord, thy Word is settled in Heaven*; and in the 160th Verse, *Thy Word is true from the Beginning, i.e. from Everlasting*: for these two are of the same import, as appears from *Prov.* 8. 23. The Turks blasphemously say the *Alcoran* is Eternal: but this is undeniably true of this Law which I am now speaking of; it had its Existence from everlasting, it was always what it is now. Just and Right were determin'd, the Laws of it were fixed from Everlasting: there are Eternal Reasons of Good and Evil. 2. *They shall be Eternal*, and never fail. The Law of Righteousness given to Mankind shall never be antiquated or out-dated: It is of perpetual Obligation. To love God and our Neighbours, to act justly and uprightly, shall be unalterable Rules to us: the Laws of Justice, Equity and Honesty shall never cease. It is observable that the *Ten Commandments* were written on *Tables of Stone*, but the rest of the Law was not, which may be useful to signify, that the Moral Law is *lasting* and *permanent*, being of perpetual Concern; whereas the other Laws were temporary and changeable. Of these durable Laws the Psalmist speaks when he saith, *All his Commandments are sure; they stand fast for ever and ever*, *Psal.* 111. 7, 8. And again, *Thou hast founded them for ever*, *Psal.* 119. 152. The Moral Law, as it is a Rule of Life, is perpetual, is of eternal Obligation. Till Heaven and Earth pass away, not one jot or tittle of this Law shall pass. These Commandments are just and equal, and will ever be so. Natural Religion is immutable, and cannot be repealed: for what is good or evil in its own Nature, can at no time, or upon any account, be altered.

And so I pass to the Interpretation of the latter Clause of the Words, *Thy Law is the Truth*; i.e. these Moral Commandments are real, solid and true in themselves, there being an intrinsic Virtue and Goodness in them. They are such in their own Nature, and therefore may be said to be *truly so*, yea to be *the Truth*. Of this the Wise Man speaketh in *Prov.* 2. 7. *He layeth up sound Wisdom for the Righteous*. What we translate *sound Wisdom*, is but one Word in the Original, and is translated † *Salvation* both by the *Septuagint* and *Vulgar Latin*. But the || *Hebrew Word* signifies *Essence*, and is so translated by *Pagnin*: it denotes Subsistence, and a Reality and Certainty of Being, and that not only at present, but afterwards. Accordingly the Jews do ever by this Word understand the *Mosaical Law*, because (say they) whereas other Laws and Constitutions are calculated for some particular

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| quicquid re-
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| entia firma
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and proper Meridians, and are local and temporary, and soon expire; this their Law of *Moses* is to last for ever, and shall have an endless Duration. In this they are deceived; but we may with undoubted Reason apply it to the Law whereof in another Place, *viz.* Prov. 3. 21. *Teshijab* is rendred by the *Vulgar Latin, Lex*) and more especially to that Law which I am now treating of; and of that *Solomon* speaks in the Place above named. The Word is exactly fitted to the Essential Law of Goodness and Righteousness, and fully represents the Quality of it; for it hath Subsistence and Reality in it self, it hath an innate and intrinsic Rectitude in it. The GOD whom we worship is call'd *Jehovah* from his Being and Existence: *He that is*, is his Name. And the Law which we have from God, contains in it those things which have real Subsistence in them. It is this which makes the difference between a Natural and a Positive Law: the first is of those things that are Good or Evil in their own Nature, antecedently to all Laws; but the second is of those things that are not in themselves Good or Evil, but depend on the Will and Pleasure of the Law-giver. These Latter are indifferent in themselves, but the former are such as God could not but prescribe to Men: he could not but enjoin them to love him, and to love their Brethren; he could not but forbid us to hate Him and our Neighbours. In brief, all Men of good Sense and Reason acknowledge this Distinction, and aver that there is a natural Honesty and Equity in some things, but in others there is only an accidental and arbitrary one. There is a Law of Nature, on which some Actions are founded; as others are built only on positive Constitutions, on Custom, on occasional Emergencies, and the like.

Of the former of these I am to treat at present, namely Moral Goodness, which hath for its Foundation the Law of Nature. And here I will undertake these three things: 1. I will assign the necessary Distinctions which belong to it, which have not been exactly observ'd by the generality of those Writers that have handled this Subject. 2. I will shew what are particular and distinct Principles of this Law of Nature: a brief Enumeration of which is necessary to explain this Law. 3. I will let you see what is proper to be *inferred* from the Premises, and therein shew you the Influence and Efficacy of the Doctrine which I assert.

First, That I may the more distinctly acquaint you what the Law of Nature is, it is requisite to assign the several Kinds of Laws, that we may thereby see the true Difference between this and all others. And here Writers are much confounded. Some make this triple Division of Laws; there is (say they) the *Eternal Law*, *viz.* God's Mind or Nature: there is the *Natural Law*, *viz.* that which is in Man's Mind: and then there is the *Positive Law*, and that is either Divine (*viz.* the Law and the Gospel) or Human, which contains the Laws and Constitutions of Magistrates. Others go thus to work; all Law is *Internal* or *External*: the former is either in God or in Man: That which is in God is the Ideal Law; that which is in the Divine Mind only: That which is in Man is the Law of Nature. By the latter are meant the Positive Laws of God in the Old and New Testament, and the Laws and Constitutions made by Governors for the good of the Publick. Others use this Division (but explain the Members of it somewhat after another manner than hath been done before) as thus: Law is either *Divine*, *Natural*, or *Human*: The first is the Decrees of God; the second is that which is planted in all Creatures that want Reason; the third is seated in the Mind of Man, for the instructing him in the Nature of Good and Evil. The general Fault of these Divisions is, that the Branches of them run into one another, and partake of one anothers Qualities, and are not really and in all things distinct, which they ought to be. But the Distribution of Laws which I shall offer labours not (I conceive) with the foresaid Fault, but is in all Points compleat and satisfactory.

I reduce all Laws thus; they are either *Divine* or *Human*, *i.e.* either from God or Men. Divine Laws are either *Eternal* or *Temporal*: and Human Laws are either of Nations, of the Church, or of Civil Communities. This (as I apprehend) is the most exact Division of Laws; for you shall see that all the other Names and Divisions, with their Sub-divisions, fall in here, *viz.* the Law *Temporal*, *Eternal*, *Positive*, *Internal*, *External*.

First, as to the *Divine Laws*, the *Eternal Divine Law* is that which is in God from Eternity, and is no other than the Understanding and Will of God, or the very Nature of God. Or, as it *exerteth it self*, it is the *Eternal Dictate* of the Divine Wisdom

Wisdom for the governing of the World. It is the Platform of all Righteousness and Holiness in Men. Hence Goodness is said to be Eternal, because it was ever in being in the Divine Nature. As all things that are *True* are *so*, because they are congruous to the *First Truth*; so what ever is *Good* is *such*, because it is conformable to the *First Good*, which is God.

Temporal Divine Laws are those which are from God, but issue from him in *Time*: These relate either to *Angels*, or *Men*, or *Brutes*, or the *whole Frame of the Creation*. There are particular Laws for *Angels*, whether Good or Bad. It becomes us not to pry into them, seeing they are hid from us, but from what is deliver'd in the Holy Scriptures, and from what we may gather by Reason and Discourse, there is a certain *Oeconomy* among those Spirits, whether they be *Celestial* or *Infernal* ones. They have particular Laws and Limits prescrib'd them by their Creator, their Government is determin'd by the all-wise God, and without doubt is very excellent and wonderful. Then as to *Men*, the *Temporal Divine Law* is either *internal* or *external*, either inwardly implanted by God in Men, or outwardly deliver'd to them. The former is the Law or Dictate of Reason, or the Law of Nature as it respecteth Mens Manners. This is natural to Man (as Men) as the eternal Law is natural to God. This natural and rational Law of Man is properly *Divine*, because it was given him by God. Hence it is call'd *God's Righteousness*, and the *Law of God*, in the Place which I all'dg'd out of the 119th Psalm. And it might be observ'd that this *Moral Law* was written by God himself; but so were not any other Laws: This then I may justly reckon a *Divine Law*.

The latter, (*viz.* the *external Divine Law*) is the positive Law of God in the Old and New Testament. The one is more signally call'd the *Law*, and given chiefly to the *Jews*; the other is the *Gospel*, and concerns all Nations to whom it is preach'd. These positive Laws of God are founded on the meer Will of God, and accordingly are to be known by Revelation only; and not by the inward Light of Reason.

There are other Parts of the *Divine External Law*, and they belong to *Brutes* and *Irrational Creatures*, and the *whole Frame of the World*. There is an Instinct in *Brutes*, and a natural Inclination proper and peculiar to the several Ranks of Beings in the Universe. There is a Principle, and from thence a *Virtue*, *Force* and *Power*, which God hath put into all natural Bodies and Agents. Thus the Fire heats, the Water cools and moistens, the Earth impregnated with both, brings forth all manner of Fruits; and all other Things act according to their proper Nature and Virtue. This I call a *Divine Law*, because it is from God alone, and not from themselves.

Secondly, As to *Human Laws*, they are call'd so because they are from Man, as the others were from God. They are either, 1. *Jus Gentium*, i. e. such General Laws and Usages as are agreed upon by People of all Countrys. They are universally allow'd of for the upholding of a mutual Correspondence among distant Nations, and for the maintaining of a General Peace in the World. 2. There are the *Laws of the Church*. I mean not those which are written in the Book of God, especially in the New Testament, for those are properly *Divine Laws*, and were spoken of before. But I understand such Laws, Constitutions and Canons, as have been made at several Times in General Councils, or in National or Provincial Synods, for the discountenancing of Errors and Heresies, for the retrenching of Disorders, for the settling of Discipline, or for the regulating of the Manners of the Clergy or People. 3. There is likewise *Jus Civile*, the Laws of Civil Communities, the Secular and Political Constitutions of particular Kingdoms, Commonwealths, Cities and Towns, made by their respective Governors and Magistrates, for the Restraining and Punishing of Vice, for the Promoting of Peace, for the Increase of Trade, and for sundry other Things which are to be taken Care of in the Life of Man. Concerning these *Human Laws* we may assert that so far as they participate of *Right Reason*, they are derived from the *Eternal Law*, and also from the *Law of Nature*. For from the known Dictates and Common Principles of the Law of Nature Men proceed to draw more particular Conclusions and Maxims, and these pass into *Laws*. Thus Natural Reason saith, Hurt no Man: Hence Human Laws are fram'd against particular Hurting, as Maiming, Poisoning, and the like. So then these *Human Positive Laws* may have something of *Natural Law* in them. A Magistrate may command or forbid what Nature commands or forbids. And it is certain, that all *Human Laws*, the nearer they approach to, and the more they contain of the *Divine Laws*, (among which I reckon the *Law of Na-*

tural Reason) the more just and equal are they, the more worthy of all Men's Acceptation, and the more easy to be observ'd by them.

There are but these two Ranks of *Laws* in the Nature of Things, *Divine* and *Human*. Of the latter I have nothing to say at present: I am altogether engag'd in the former, viz. the *Divine Law*, Part of which is the *Law of Nature*. I do not deny that *Natural Law* may be stiled *Human*, because it is seated in Human Minds, and issues from the Reason of Man; but you see I take it in another Respect, viz. not as it is seated in Man, but as it proceeds from God, and I reckon the *Law of Nature* as Part of the *Divine*: And so indeed it is, for (as *Plato* often suggests) *God and Nature* are the same. And *Hierocles* saith well, * that to obey God and right Reason is one and the same thing. The *Natural Law* in Man is the Participation of the *Eternal Law* which is in God. Rational Creatures partake of the *Eternal Reason*. That the *Law of Nature* is *Divine* is signified by *St. Paul*, when he calls it † the *Righteousness of God*; (tho' we translate it the *Judgment of God*). And the *Gentiles* were not ignorant of this; for one calls these common *Laws of Reason*, the ‡ Invention and Gift of the Gods: Another calls them ** the secure or firm *Laws of the Gods*.

And here you see there is an Answer to that Objection which some might raise against my ranking the *Law of Nature* among the *Temporal Divine Laws*, whereas I now own it to be *Eternal*. Because the *Law of Nature* is exerted by Men in the World, on whom God bestows it in Time; therefore I reckon'd it as a *Temporal Divine Law*. But notwithstanding this, the *Law of our Reasonable Natures* may be said to be an *Eternal Law* in this respect, that it is founded on the *Divine Nature* from Eternity. For it is an unquestionable Truth, that all *Moral Goodness* depends on the *Eternal Goodness* which is in God, and that *Goodness of God* is the Rule of all *Moral Goodness* in use.

I know the *Law of Nature* is taken in a larger Sense in *Justinian's Institutions*, and irrational Creatures are taken into the † Definition of it, there being in them certain inbred Inclinations, which are as it were a *Law* to them, for they are bound to it, and are oblig'd by it, and seldom swerve from it. But this I spoke of before: Now I am speaking of *Jus Naturæ*, as it respects Mankind, as it regards Rational and Understanding Creatures. This *Law of Nature* is no other than the Judgment or Dictate of *Right Reason*, which teacheth the Differences of Good and Evil, and by which a Man judgeth that Good is to be followed, and Evil to be avoided. By all *Moral Writers* this is call'd a *Law*, and that very properly, because a *Law* is ‡ the Rule or Measure of Things that are to be done, and not to be done. This is the plainest and clearest Definition that I can give of a *Law*, after all that *Aristotle* and *Tully* among the Antients, *Suarez* and *Aquinas* among the Moderns, and * others more lately have writ of it. This is exactly agreeable to the thing I am treating of: It is given us by God to be the Rule of what we are to do, or not to do. And it is rightly call'd the *Law of Nature* or *Reason*, to distinguish it from all other *Laws* whatsoever; which (as you have heard) are of various Ranks.

Having thus shew'd what the *Law of Nature* is, now, secondly, I will enquire what the Principles of it are. It is certain that it consists both of Principles and Precepts; for these two are distinguish'd in Strictness of Speaking. But they are so involv'd in one another, (Notion referring to Action, and Practice to Knowledge) that it is very difficult, not to say impossible sometimes, to speak separately of them. I will then blend them both together, because in many Instances it is hard to distinguish them, and likewise because they do illustrate one another. The Principles and Precepts of *Natural or Moral Goodness*, have Respect either to God or our Neighbours, or our selves.

I. As to God, this is a *Natural Principle* that there is such a Being, a Supreme, Infinite, Independent, All-sufficient Being, who was the *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, (which is placed in the very Front of the *Apostle's Creed*; for the *First Article* of *Natural Religion*, though the rest contain Points of Reveal'd and Christian Doctrine.) His Existence is easily demonstrated from the Origin of things in the World, and from the Nature of Production, for Things could not make themselves, and nothing can be the Producer, and the thing produced, wherefore that which made and produced them is God. This is prov'd from the Order and Series of Causes: There must be a First Cause, otherwise there will be an infinite Succession of

* τὸ ὁρθὸν λό-
γῳ πεθεῖται
καὶ τῷ θεῷ λα-
τρεῖν ὅστις.

† Δικαιοσύνη
τῶν θεῶν, Rom. I.
32.

‡ Εὐρημα καὶ
δῶρον θεῶν,
Demosthenes.

** Ἀσφαλῆ
θεῶν νόμιμα,
Sophocles.

† Jus Natura-
le, quod Natu-
ra omnia ani-
mantia docuit.
‡ Justi inju-
stique regula,
Lex, Sen.

* Grot. de
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Pac. Selden
de Jure Nat.
& Gent. Puf-
fendorf de Ju-
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Dr. Parker, Dr.
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Dr. Templer.

of Causes, which is impossible; for what is successive is not infinite in Number, because then that which is thus Infinite may be more Infinite, there being new Successions of Causes: We must therefore grant a First Cause, and that is God. Likewise from the Consideration of the Frame and Constitution of Nature, and the admirable Structure of things in Heaven and Earth, the Mind of Man naturally riseth to a Sense of that supreme Cause and Author of all. It as easily grants, that God who made the World preserves it and upholds it in its Being, and disposes and governs all Things and Persons in it with admirable Wisdom: For Providence is as natural a Principle as that of a Deity; because it is unworthy of the Supreme and Wisest Being to make Things only to destroy them, or to take no Care of them. Nature teaches us to *think aright* of God, to form due Apprehensions of him, and to cherish Reverent Thoughts of his Excellent Nature, Attributes and Works. Natural Religion dictates that God is to be Honoured and Worshipped; that the most profound Adoration and Duty are to be paid to him; for He that gave us our Being, and continues us in it, and constantly doth us Good, deserveth our utmost Regards and Veneration. Nature teacheth that God is to be worshipped Heartily and Sincerely; for Hypocritical Addresses are Mocking of God. God is to be worshipped with Inward and Outward Worship, with our Souls and Bodies, because he made both, and that to serve and honour him. God is to be acknowledged and ador'd in *Private*, because then we can more intimately perform our Devotion to him; in *Families*, because the Fear of God is thereby further propagated; in *Publick Assemblies*, because by that Conjunction of Devotions there is yet a fuller Signification of Honour to God; and it is reasonable and fitting, that to this Purpose Solemn Times and Places be set apart; for these conduce to a more Decent and Reverent Worshipping of God. Our rational Natures tell us, that as God is to be worshipped, so He *Alone* is to have that Honour paid to him; for it is unreasonable to give Divine Veneration to any thing which hath not the same excellent Nature that God hath; for it is this Alone which commands Divine Honour. Nothing can be more absurd and sottish than to honour a Creature as the Creator. Our Inbred Reason informs us that many Gods are a Contradiction; for there is but *One Infinite*, and so the rest are no Gods, whilst they are acknowledged to be such. Idolatry is a Sin against the Light of Nature; for Nature obliges us to give nothing which is proper to God, to any other: It requires that no Creature be esteemed, loved, trusted in, and honoured, as God; for that were not only a gross Injury to Him, but an Abuse of the Creature.

It is a Principle of Natural Reason that we *Speak* reverently of God, and that we take not his Name in vain, i.e. that we use it not Idly, Rashly, or Falsly; much more is it Evil and Unlawful to use it Profanely, and to Reproach and Blaspheme the God of Heaven. *Prayer*, as it is an Acknowledgment of our Sins, and a begging Mercy of God, is an essential Part of Natural Religion; for to whom should we confess our Sins but to him against whom they were committed, and who alone is able to forgive them? Of whom should we crave Mercies and Favours, but of Him who is the Donor of them? Whence it is clear, that Prayer is as rational an Act of Adoration as we can perform to God. It is as natural to us to Pray as 'tis to Breathe. And as our Reason prompts us to *Pray* to God, so it bids us *Praise* him; for it is fitting that Man, having the Gift of Speech from God, should employ his Tongue in Extolling him; it is reasonable that since he is continually receiving Mercies from Him, he should be constantly Returning Thanks to his Great Benefactor. Natural Religion teacheth that we should *Live* always as in God's Sight; because he is Omniscient, and sees all that we do, speak, or think. Man is oblig'd by Nature to Trust in God, to Love him, to Fear him, to Acknowledge his Authority, to Admire his Works in the World, to take Notice of his Judgments, and lastly, to Obey him, to Observe all his Commands, and to be at his Disposal. For as he is our Maker, he is our Owner and Proprietor, and hath on that account a Right of commanding us to do what he pleaseth. We are wholly his, and none hath an absolute Authority over us but He; therefore our Service and Obedience must be entire, and we must not dare to disbelieve his Word or dispute his Pleasure. We having had our Being from him, it follows undeniably that all our Actions must have Regard unto him, and terminate in Him, and his Glory. Whence it appears that the Discharge of our *Duty to God* is simply and in it self Good, and that the contrary is simply and morally Evil, and contains an intrinsic Turpitude in it.

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2. As to our *Neighbours*, it is a Principle and Precept of Reason, that we injure no Man, either in Thought, Word, or Deed. First, We must not injure our Neighbour in our *Thoughts*; that is, we must not so much as desire his Ill, we must not covet what is his, we must not inwardly wish his Harm; for out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth will speak, and the Hands will act; Desires and Wishes will make way for Injuries in Words and Deeds, which I am next to speak of. The Dictate of Natural Conscience tells us that we ought not to wrong our Neighbours by our Words. We must not *slander* or *revile* any one, but regard their Credit as our own; we being bound by the Law of Nature to love our Neighbours as our selves. *Lying* is a Sin, because it is plain Injustice; because we wrongfully detain from our Neighbours that which is their Right, *viz.* Truth. It perverts the Use of Speech, a Privilege vouchsafed to Mankind only. It is in its own Nature servile, base and sordid, and unworthy of a Man. Lastly, it is a Sin, because it is in it self mischievous to the Societies of Men, and is the Bane of Integrity, Faithfulness and Friendship: Particularly *bearing false Witness* is contrary to Nature; because it is a more open and avow'd Injury, and palpably proves injurious to the Estates, and sometimes to the Lives of our Brethren. Next, therefore, the main Wrong we are capable of doing our Neighbours is in *Deeds* and *Actions*, and the Law of Nature is most averse to this. It bids us take Care in a special Manner of *the Lives of Men*. It acquaints us that as we were not the Authors of these, so neither ought we to dispose of them, or take them away at our Pleasure; therefore *Murder* is a crying Sin, and that which Nature abhorreth. Besides, it is against Self-Preservation, which is one of the prime Laws of Nature (as you shall hear afterwards): for if I may kill others, I give leave to others to do so to me. Again, If it be unlawful, (because unnatural and unreasonable) to take away my Brother's *Life*, it is so likewise to deprive him of his *Goods*: for besides that his Goods are to sustain his Life, he hath a *Property* in those as well as in this, which it is against Nature and Reason to bereave him of. Therefore we must not violate his Right, or take any thing from him without his Consent. We must not by Fraud and Couzenage, by Theft or Robbery, spoil him of his proper Goods, but we must let him enjoy them peaceably, and without any Disturbance from us; yea, we must promote his Welfare and Prosperity in the World as much as lieth in us. The Reason of this, and of what hath been said before, is, that we ought to do to all Men as we would they should do to us. Now, we would not have them injure and wrong us, or do us any Harm either in their Thoughts, Speeches or Actions; and therefore we ought not to be injurious to them in any of these kinds.

Adultery, upon this Account, is a Sin against the Law of Nature: For to corrupt a Woman that is another Man's Wife (which is the true Notion of Adultery) is a downright Injuring of the Person who hath a Property in her; and we do not in this Case as we would be done to. Adultery is the worst sort of Theft; for it is not only an Invading of another Man's Right, but 'tis robbing him of what is most dear and precious to him: Besides, it is wronging the other Party, by making her violate her Matrimonial Bond, and consequently her Faith, whereby she becomes perjur'd. For this Reason it is an unjust thing, and Evil in it self, and would have been so * though God had not forbidden it by a positive Law. And though there is not this individual Evil in *Fornication*, (which is corrupting of a Person that is not married) yet this also is against the Law of Nature and Reason: for the Child born in Fornication is generally neglected and exposed, the Mother's Love and Father's Care (both necessary to the Educating of young ones) being usually wanting here, and then what a sorry thing will this poor Offspring prove? I ask, is it not *immoral* to deny it due Education? Is it not *dishonest* to occasion the exposing it to Shame and Disgrace all its Days? Is it not *unjust* to deprive a rational Creature of things fitting for it? Is it not against Morality, Reason, and Religion, to indanger both the Soul and Body of a Person? If these things * be true (as most certainly they are) then Fornication is unlawful and vicious; for all or most of these things do naturally and necessarily accompany it, and so are of the very Nature of it. And these very things happen sometimes in the Case of *Adultery*, indeed always when the Offspring is suspected, much more when it is known and confessed to be spurious, and when the injur'd Party is incensed and injured. From this it is plainly evident that *Marriage* is a Law of Nature; for this is a Joining together of one Man and one Woman, by the strict Observance of

* Dic ergo cur Adulterium male fieri putetur. An quia id facere Lex vetat? Non sane ideo malum est quia vetatur Lege, sed ideo vetatur Lege quia malum. Aug. de lib. Arbit. l. 1.

which, *Adultery* and *Fornication*, and all the vagrant and wandering Mixings of Lust are hindred; which is a thing that sober Reason dictates; for promiscuous and unregulated Generation tendeth to the Corruption of Mankind.

I proceed now to *other Particulars* of the Law of Nature, as it hath respect to our Neighbours, and contains our Duty towards them. This teaches us to discharge the peculiar Offices which we owe to the *distinct Ranks* of Men in the World. Thus there is a natural Obligation on *Children* to honour and obey their *Parents*, for they owe their Being to them under God. The Son obeys his Father, because he begot him, he was the Cause of him. This is the Foundation both of Paternal Authority and Filial Subjection. Besides, those that are come to Years of Maturity and Discretion may be guided by that common Rule of doing as we desire to be done to: Now, Honouring of Parents is but what they expect of their own Children. Parents also have a Duty to discharge towards their Children; they must bring them up in the Fear of the Divine Majesty, and provide both for their Souls and Bodies. *Morality* also teacheth that Men should not live loosely and ungovern'd in Kingdoms and Common-wealths, but that they should submit to the Orders of Government, and honour and obey those who are set over them by Providence. The same Law of Natural Reason and Goodness requires that Princes and Governours protect, succour, and love their People, and study their Welfare, and always promote the Publick Good. The *Husband* and *Wife* have mutually agreed to be what they are, (of which I have spoken before) and therefore the Consciousness of that solemn Engagement, together with the Intimacy and almost Identity of their Condition, should oblige them to an extraordinary Love and Affection, and these will teach them all their other Duties. And so likewise there are the different Offices of *Masters* and *Servants*, which flow from the very Law of Nature; for this obliges the former to take Care of their Servants, and the latter to be industrious and faithful in the Service of their Masters. Thus if you recount the *several Relations* wherein Persons stand towards one another, you will see that *Reason* dictates the particular and proper Duties which are owing on these Accounts.

Again, the Laws of *Natural Goodness* enjoin us to behave our selves *justly* towards all Men in our Dealings and Converse with them. This *Justice* is really good and laudable, because every Man hath a proper Right and Interest of his own, a particular Title to what he possesseth, and what he hath purchased, or what is given him, or by any other way becomes his proper Goods. If there be no such thing as this *Natural Justice*, then there is no such thing as Industry and Labour, and being employ'd in an honest Calling: And then Idleness is no Vice; then there is no such Virtue as Beneficence and giving of Alms; for every Man may be as rich as another, if there be no distinct Property. Then there is no such Vice as Unmercifulness, or want of Compassion, or griping and oppressing the Poor; for if they have no Title to that little they have, any Man that can, may dispossess them of it. Then there is no such Fault as Prodigality; to be riotous and profuse must be allow'd of; a Man may lawfully throw away all at the Dye, because he may furnish himself again with Cash, when he pleaseth, out of other Mens Stocks; there are some getting working People that are providing for him to reimburse him after all his Extravagancies. Then to oppose Tyrants and Oppressors is no commendable Enterprize: Yea, then Tyrants, Robbers, Bandittis, are as honest and just Persons as any; yea, Violence, Ravage, Rapine, are so far from being criminal, that they are lawful and praise-worthy. Then to bring all the World into Confusion, to propagate Slaughter and Murder, is good and virtuous. All these things will necessarily and unavoidably follow upon the Premises. But because no Man of tolerable Sense can agree to any of this, that Consequence is undeniable, that *Just* and *Righteous Dealing* is in it self Good and Excellent, although there were no positive Law to enforce it; for it is founded on Natural Principles.

So also is *Charity*, as well as *Justice*: We are taught from within our own Breasts to be charitable to the Necessitous, to succour and relieve the Distressed, to forgive those that have offended us, and to pity the Failings of all Men. The Law of Nature teacheth us to be friendly, loving, and sociable; for Man is naturally disposed and made for this Purpose. He is born shiftless, and ever afterwards stands in Need of others Help and Aid: So that Nature and Necessity prompt him to embrace Society, and to admit of Converse and mutual Friendship.

Lastly

Lastly, Our reasonable Nature teacheth us to do no Harm, but all the Good we can, even to our *Enemies*: for that Reason which bids us do good to others as they are Men and Fellow-creatures, teacheth us to do good to all Men, and consequently to those who have injur'd us, and done us Harm. Thus you see how wide the Law of Nature spreads it self towards our *Neighbours*. It enjoineth the Exercise of *Justice* and *Charity* towards all Persons whatsoever, and in what Capacity and Condition soever they are. These are the Principles and Precepts which are congruous to the Notions of right Reason implanted in all Mens Breasts.

3. As to the Duty owing to *our selves*, the Law of Nature teacheth us *Self-preservation*; it bids us take care of our selves by all due means, it calls upon us to avoid all Dangers, and to study our Safety. This Principle in Man is the first and chiefest of all, and all others yield to this. A Man's Safety and Welfare direct all, therefore this is the prime and fundamental Law of Nature. We are to preserve our *Bodies*, and in pursuance of that, we are to shun those things which are injurious to them, the chiefest whereof is *Self-murder*, and laying violent Hands on our selves, which is the most unnatural Act a Man can be guilty of. Moreover, *Idleness*, *Intemperance*, *Luxury*, *inordinate Lust*, *Anger*, *the Excess of all Passions*, *Envy*, *Covetousness*, and *Discontent*, are hurtful to the outward Part of us, but much more to the Soul; and our Care of that is the next thing I must speak of. And truly the Principle of Self-preservation must exert it self chiefly in the preserving of this part, because this is much more precious than our Bodies. Here our Main Care is to be employ'd.

But what can Nature do as to this? What is *Human Reason* able to discover or to effect here? I answer, there is no considerate Man but may perceive that he is not in a State of Innocence and Uprightness. It is generally known to all Men that Man's Nature is depraved, that his Faculties are corrupted and disorder'd, that the Frame of his Soul is shatter'd: For they may observe that Reason is disobey'd, and that they have an inbred Proneness to act against it, and that Vice is more follow'd than Virtue. They cannot but see that this is the Condition of Mortals. It is true they know not by *Nature* and *Reason*, that the Guilt of *Adam's* sin was charged upon all that descended from his Loins: they cannot discover Man's Depravity to be the Effect of *Adam's* Fall: This is known only from the scriptures. But they can find themselves inclin'd to all Vice, and they see all Mankind is so too. This Proclivity of all Men to what is vicious, is frequently mention'd by the *Heathen Orators*, *Philosophers*, and *Poets*: they complain of a very great Disorder in Man's Nature, they take notice of a strange Backwardness to Virtue, and a wondrous Pronity to all that is sinful. All is summed up in that of *Ovid*,

Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.

Thus Original Sin, as to its Existence and Reality, though not Manner, is known to Men by the Light of Nature. They are apprehensive of the Corruption of Mankind, and that it is universal, and seizes on the whole Race of Men in the World. This then I assert to be a Principle of *Natural Religion*, that we are to be sensible of our polluted Nature, and of the sad Effects of it in our Minds; we must lament the Shallowness of our Understandings, the Distortion of our Wills, and the Irregularity of our Affections. And by this means we shall arrive to a due Care of our Souls, our nobler and better Part. Then we shall be always looking into our selves, and prying into our Consciences; we shall be studious to rectify the Disorders which we espy there, and we shall watch over our Thoughts and Inclinations: for even this is the Work of *Natural Religion*. Though Civil Courts and their Laws punish only external Acts, yet Morality takes care of the inward Intentions, and observes the secret Motions of the Soul, and retrenches the Impurities of the Mind, and pierceth into the Heart. This is most effectually done by *Christianity*; but even Reason or *Natural Conscience* is employ'd about this also, as you may see in the Writings of those Persons who were conducted only by the Light of Nature, as *Antoninus*, *Epictetus*, *Hierocles*, and others.

Our Natural Reason likewise suggests to us, that we are of a higher Condition and Rank than other Creatures, that we have Souls of a nobler Nature than what

they

they are indu'd with, viz. that we carry within us immortal Spirits, and therefore that the Life of Brutes is below us, and that we are obliged to live in a higher way than they do. We must take care to be furnished with all Virtues, to act worthy of that excellent Nature which God hath given us, to purge out of our Souls all Prejudice and Passion, to endeavour to please God in all we do, and to be displeas'd and dissatisfy'd at nothing that He doth; to despise the Vanities and Follies of the World, to slight sensual Pleasures, to have a mean Opinion of Earthly Enjoyments, and to prepare for a better World.

Which brings me to the last Principle and Rule of this Natural Law which I have been speaking of, viz. that there is another Life after this, and that we ought to provide for it. Some have asserted, that all the Offices, and the whole Scope of the Law of Nature, are shut up within the Limits of this Life; and a late Learned Writer, who seems to be much vers'd in the Nature of Laws, is fallen into this gross Mistake. For so I must call it, because it cannot be denied that a Sense of a Future State follows necessarily upon the Belief of the Soul's Duration after it is separated from the Body, and of its being immortal, and from the Doctrine of Providence, which assures every Man that there shall be Rewards and Punishments hereafter; and that cannot be, unless the Souls of Men survive their Bodies. I confess the Persuasion and Sense of this by the Light of Nature is but low and imperfect, in comparison of what we have attain'd to by the Discoveries of the Gospel. But yet, such as it is, it prevail'd among the most thinking and considerate Men among the Pagans, and it stirr'd up many of them to undertake brave and worthy Enterprizes, and to undergo the most disheartning Sufferings, and even Death it self. A future Life, another World in their Eye animated them to this. It is then highly accountable, and according to the Rules of the best Reason, that Men should live and act in this World, as those who are to live in another; that they should live soberly, righteously and piously here, that they may be happy hereafter. Thus I have given you a brief Scheme of that Natural and Moral Law which appertains to rational Human Beings. You see what are its main Principles, Precepts and Rules, as they have reference to God, our Neighbours, or our selves.

According to what I propounded, I am to shew in the last place what are the proper Inferences from the whole. First, we gather the Excellency of Moral Righteousness and Goodness. Which is evident in these following Particulars.

1. We see the Reasonableness and Equitableness of it. I have shew'd, that to dishonour God, and to injure our Neighbours, to be intemperate or unchaste, are against the Light of our rational Nature, and contradict the inward Arguings of Mankind: but to honour God, to be loving to our Neighbours, to live soberly and chastly, are according to the Dictates of unprejudiced and unbiass'd Reason. Now seeing it is the Prerogative of Man to be a rational Creature, it cannot but be a high Commendation of Religion, that it is thus fitted to the natural Make and Frame of Man; that it agrees with his in-born Notions and Conceptions; that it flows from a rational Instinct, Inclination and Impulse; that it is the Result of a natural Law of Operation, even the Law of his Creation; that it approves it self to our strictest Reasonings, and carries a native Brightness, Evidence, and Clearness with it. It being inlaid in our very Nature, we cannot but acknowledge the Equity and Reasonableness of it.

2. See the stable and fixed Nature of Moral Goodness. It is determin'd, and admits of no Change, because it is founded on an unchangeable Basis. Indeed the Moral Law being a general and comprehensive thing, may seem sometimes to alter, because it is particularly and differently applied, and every Society of Men make Additions daily to it in Circumstances and new Respects; but yet this Law and its Dictates, are always the same. Tho' they seem to be changed in the Variety and Alteration of Relations, Capacities, Time, Persons, and the like; yet they continue entire, and hold their own Nature and Quality. Tho' as to some oblique, secondary and occasional Inferences, they may be said to vary, yet as to the first and main Principles the Law is unchangeable; and that with respect to both the Tables, whatever some have suggested to the contrary, particularly an * Eminent Man of our own, who determines that Divine Authority may alter, dispense with, yea null the Law of Nature. He is pleas'd to grant, that the First Table is im-

* Pufendorf de Jure Nat.

* Bp. Taylor. Ductor Ductant.

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pregnable, and that God never dispensed with those Commandments, which have Himself for their immediate and proper Object. But the *Second Table*, he saith, hath not this Privilege, but the Commandments contained in it are oftentimes dispensed with, and the practising contrary to them is not unlawful. But this is an Assertion that hath no Ground at all, because all Moral Laws, as *such*, are immutable in their own Nature, and therefore indispensable. God, the Great Law-giver, hath Power over all mere positive Laws, and can remit and dispense with Obligation to them. Of these it is probable the *Jewish* Doctor speaks, when he saith, † It is lawful sometimes to transgress some Precepts of the Law, when some extraordinary Hint by a Prophet is given. But things eternally good are not to be dispensed with; for if God could exempt his Creatures from doing these things, then he may deny himself and his own innate Uprightness, which is the Foundation of all Goodness and Righteousness in Man. And he must also destroy the reasonable Nature of Man, in which the intrinsic Notions of Good and Evil are implanted. Upon these Considerations it is impossible for God or Man to annul the Laws of Natural Religion, and to dispense with real Goodness, and to absolve us from our Obligation to observe its Rules. No Human or Divine Authority can enact a Law in opposition to these: For the Distinction of Honest and Dishonest, of Right and Wrong, is not arbitrary, but from an Eternal Rule, making a difference between the one and the other. This shews how stable and fixed the Nature of Moral Goodness is.

3. Behold the *Plainness* and *Easiness* of Religion. The Moral Part of it (which is so great a Portion of it) is made up of things intrinsically good, and the things that are forbidden us are intrinsically Evil. The former are imprinted in our Nature, and the latter are opposite to it. Whence it must needs follow, that this part of our Religion is easy and obvious, and that it is familiar and intelligible, and that we cannot easily mistake about it. Hence it is that *Solomon's* Words prove true, that the Ways of Religion and Wisdom are plain to him that understandeth, *Prov.* 8. 9. For do but look into your own Minds, consult your own Breasts, and there you will find Justice and Honesty seated. Goodness and Virtue are your Complexion and Nature, they are Principles of your Constitution: They spring from you as you are Men, they are from your very Make; they are the free Results of your reasonable Faculties, they are natural and congruous to your Minds. Now what is *natural*, is *easy*, accessible and feasible: Virtue therefore must needs be such, unless you can imagine, that Men are able to shake off Nature at their Pleasure.

4. See the *Certainty* of Religion. It is not left dubious and precarious; for it relies on the Reasons and Rules of the Law of Nature, which are unchangeable. It is not founded altogether on positive Laws, but on those eternal Rules which are universal and indispensable. Most of its Laws are so intrinsically and essentially good, that their Nature cannot be changed, no not by God himself; for he would not be God, if he should do so. Therefore we must needs hold that Virtue is indelible and immovable, its Pillars are fixed, and never to be shaken. It hath a solid Basis, firm, permanent, and unvariable; so that what is Virtue to day, cannot be Vice to morrow. And as *Virtue* is necessarily and unalterably good, so *Vice* is necessarily and unalterably evil. || It being of its own Nature filthy and ugly, it cannot become otherwise. Pride, Theft, Adultery, Murder, were ever evil, and they can never change their Nature. Hence it is evident, that Good and Evil are no fictitious Terms, as too great a Number of Men at this Day persuade themselves, and endeavour to persuade others, telling them that the Notions of these things are contingent, inconstant and variable, and indeed are but seeming and appearing. But they talk most perversely and inconsistently, for I have proved that Just and Right are not placed in Opinion and Fancy, but in the very Nature of the things themselves. I have shewed that the Measures of Good and Evil are set down and determined, that the Principles of Virtue and Vice are not shaped and fashioned according to the Placits of Men, but are fixed, stable, and inviolable. We drew them in at first with our very Breath: they go along with us, and will never leave us. This gives you some Account of the *Certainty* and *Settledness* of Religion, and consequently of the Reasonableness why you should venture your Souls and Bodies and all you have on it,

5. Behold

† Licet
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phetiâ.
R. Levi in
1 Reg. 17.
4.

|| Ουσία
καὶ οὐ
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λὸν ἡ-
δὲ τὸ αἰ-
ρεῖν.
Plut. de
audiend.
Poet.

5. Behold here the Pleasure of Virtue.

* Η δὲ φύσις ἀγαθὸς ὄντι
 αὐτῶν ἐαυτῶν πρὸς τὸ καλόν.
 Plut. Orat. de Alex. virtute.

† Τὸ δὲ ἀκέραιον ἐκάστω τῇ
 φύσει, κατέτισον καὶ ἡδίστον ἐστὶ
 ἐκάστω καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δὴ ὁ
 κατὰ φύσιν εἶς, ἑπὶ μάλιστα
 τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὗ ἀρετὴ καὶ
 ἀδαιμονία. Ethic. 1. 10.
 c. 7.

Seeing the Foundations of Religion are laid in the very Nature of Man, seeing it is fitted to our primitive Frame, seeing (as the Moralist rightly saith) * Nature of it self conduceth to Honesty and Goodness, these cannot but be accompanied with singular Delight and Pleasure; for what is natural is pleasant, as well as easy. Wherefore those are very delicate Words of the Great Aristotle, † "What is suited to the Nature of every one, that is best and most pleasant to every one: consequently the Life of that Man which is lead according to his Mind, seeing this is chiefly and properly the Man, is most happy. On this very account Religion cannot but be very pleasant, and (which is the Effect of that) render us exceeding happy. Virtue must needs be the greatest of intellectual

Pleasures, and wonderfully charm us into a Compliance with it and Love of it, because it is the proper Employment of reasonable Souls. The voluptuous Epicure doth not experience a higher and brisker Pleasure in the gratifying of his sensual Appetite, than the righteous Soul doth in the Discharge of his Duty, and in the Perception of those ravishing Delights which are the Companions of a virtuous Life. He really feels the Delight, and tastes the Sweetness of a Divine State, which is caused by that exquisite Sense which his rational Mind makes him capable of. Whereas if Moral Goodness were a thing not conform to our reasonable Natures, it were impossible for us to find so extraordinary Contentment in it: In acting suitably to the innate Dictates of our Minds, there is abundance of Satisfaction, a wonderful Cheerfulness and Complacency, because we act as we should do, and because we act according to the Intention and Design of our Natures. As 'tis in Physicks, so it is in Morals, not crooked Lines, but right and streight ones are aimed at in all Motion: therefore Bodies moved circularly tend from the Center of the Circle which they describe. So Man's Nature aims at that which is streight and right: he is naturally inclined to go in a direct Path. But when he sins, he deviates from it, and declines from his Center, and puts himself out of his way; so that Sin is a Force and Violence on Nature, which makes it unpleasant and afflictive. But Acts of Virtue and Goodness are pleasant and delightful, because they are agreeable to the primitive and reformed State of Man. As the Understanding naturally and originally pursues Truth, so the Will embraces what is really good. There is a native Honesty and Justice in our Souls. Every intelligent Creature finds himself obliged to do all Moral Duties antecedently to all positive Laws. Hence is that marvellous Joy and Contentment, those unspeakable Transports and Ravishments, which attend the Practice of Virtue. Religion, which is so intrinsically good, must needs be the Point where all the Lines of true Pleasure meet.

Secondly, the premised Doctrine acquaints us how *inexcusable* all those Persons are who live in Sin and Vice, and neglect their Duty towards God and Men. They must needs be self-condemn'd, because they act against their own Nature, and bid Defiance to an inward Law in their Minds. On this Account the whole Pagan World is left without Plea, or the least Pretence to any; for they being reasonable Creatures, can judge of things, and are sensible of the Breach of the Rules of Justice and Honesty. Their Understanding is sufficient of it self to teach them the Distinction between Good and Evil. The essential Differences between these are engraven on their Minds. Even Nature it self, as dim as it is, is able to light them into the Way of common Virtue, and to satisfy them of the Equity and Reasonableness of it, though it cannot give them a Power to practise it. But alas, the Generality of them wilfully obscure and stifle this Light, and will not be lead by Right Reason, and the inward Law in their Consciences, but live in the Commission of the most notorious Sins. Their Practises are extremely vicious and enormous, notwithstanding their natural Notions and Reasonings incline them to the contrary. So that that of St. Jude is verified in these Men, * *What they know naturally as brute Beasts* (i. e. in things which meer Nature, in irrational Creatures, and so in them, teacheth them to be unfitting, and not to be done) *in those things they corrupt themselves*, i. e. against the very Light and Dictate of Nature they wilfully act those things, and never attend to the common Notices

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tices in their Breasts, which would have taught them things of another Nature, and hereby they miserably corrupt and debauch themselves, and even put off Reason and Manhood. This is it which renders *Pagans* inexcusable; and *Christians* must much more be so, if they act contrary to the Law of Nature, that Candle of the Lord set up in their Souls. It must be remembered that though the Generality of *Pagans* lived not according to their natural Sentiments, yet some of them did in a great Measure, and were noted for their virtuous Practises. Such were the *Scipio's*, the *Curii*, the *Camilli*, the *Fabii*, and *Fabritii*, those *Heathen Saints*, if I may be permitted to call them so. And shall *Christians* be defective in those Morals which even *Heathen Men* were celebrated for? Did some of them attain to an Eminency in their Manners, and shall not we arrive to the same? Have not we the same Light of Nature? Doth not right Reason conduct us as well as them? Can we not, in most Actions, have Recourse to our own Minds, and find there whether they be good or bad? Are not a great Part of the Laws we are to be guided by, founded upon eternal Verity and Righteousness? Is there not an inward Conformity of the Things which are required of us to our human Nature? What then can we say for our selves, when we act wickedly, *i.e.* against the Dictates of our Understandings and Consciences? But besides these natural Dictates of Good and Evil, we have also a revealed Light from Heaven, we have a higher and nobler Law added to that of Nature, we have the Law of Faith, and of the Christian Institution, which is also a *reasonable Service*, and which we cannot but make Choice of and embrace, as we are rational Creatures, and which recommends to us and urgeth upon us all the Laws of Natural Religion and Morality: Therefore we have nothing to plead in our own Defence, if we live in the Practise of Sin.

Thirdly, If we seriously entertain the Contents of the fore-going Discourse, they will be a cogent *Restraint* to us from all manner of *Immorality*. * Vice is against our Natures. A wicked Life is disagreeable to the Law of Reason, that Law which is strongly riveted and fasten'd into our Minds, that Law which cannot be rooted out of our Hearts. The Obliquity that is in Sin, the Turpitude and Deformity which are in Vice, are abhorrent to our rational Constitution. Therefore, if we have any Regard to our common Nature, we must not act viciously. The very inbred Principles of Reason, and a Rectified Understanding, are sufficient to make us discard most of our Sins; for they are violent and preter-natural, and contradictory to our selves. Thus we meet with a Restraint from Sin, even from within our own Breasts. It was this which made a wise *Pagan* say, (and it may make *Christians* blush) † If it were possible to conceal all our Actions both from God and Men, yet we ought not to do any Act of Covetousness, or Injustice, or Licentiousness, and Lewdness. The Filthiness of Sin it self should make us abstain from it, altho' there were no Eye to behold us when we commit it, although there were no Judge to animadvert upon it here, altho' there were no Hell to punish it hereafter. If we could suppose there were no such things, yet the Consideration of the intrinsic Deformity and Evil of Sin, and its absolute Opposition to the Divine Nature, should cause us to refrain from it; and we are obliged to be good and virtuous, and to act justly and righteously for Righteousness sake, and by reason of the essential Bonity and Rectitude which are in Virtue.

To excite us to this, let us remember that this is the firmest Basis of Religion. If we love Virtue for it self, and are inamour'd with its intrinsic Beauty, we have laid the best Ground-work of Religion imaginable; and our Superstructure upon it cannot but be answerable to it. This was a Notion not unknown to some of the most exalted *Pagans*. Their Moral Philosophers distinguished between *Honest* and *Profitable*, and they defined the former to be that * which, tho' it be abstracted from all secular Gain, and be attended with no Rewards and Advantages, yet deserves to be praised for it self alone. It is true, it is not unlawful to love Virtue and Goodness for some external Accidents, for the happy Adjuncts that accompany them, for the temporal Advantage and Emolument which they carry with them. But that which gives us a Proof, that Virtue is firmly rooted in us, is, that we love and practise virtuous Actions for their own sake, and not because they are follow'd with Gain, or Honour, or any Worldly Interest. This is the Difference between *Philosophers* and others, (as a great Philosopher said) that the former do

* Omnia vitia contra Naturam pugnant, Sen. Epist. 123.

† Si omnes Deos hominesque celare possimus, nihil avare, nihil injuste, nihil libidine, nihil incontinententer faciedum. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 12. c. 11.

* Honestum id intelligimus quod tale est, ut detracta omni utilitate, sine ullis praemiis fructibusque, per se ipsum possit jure laudari. Cic. de finib. l. 2.

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that freely, and out of a Sense of Virtue, which the latter do for fear of the Law, or in Expectation of a Reward. The Goodness of Religion should prevail more than Threatnings or Promises. We should imbrace it as it is holy, just, and good, as it is desirable and eligible in it self. We should prize Religion, because it commends it self to us by its own inward and abstract Goodness, because it is worthy and excellent in its own Nature. Let us not be backward in practising the Duties of it, seeing it is so just and equal a thing, seeing its own native Worth incourageth us to it.

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A DISCOURSE ON Our Saviour's Abridgment OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

In MAT. XXII. 37, &c.



HAVING Spoken of *Moral Goodness* in general, and in particular what was requisite for the Explaining the Nature of the *Decalogue*; I will now, in the next Place, insist on our Saviour's *Abridgment* of it, in order to the farther Explaining and Illustrating of these Precepts. He gives us this Abbreviation of them in *Mat. xxii. 37, 38, 39. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind:* This is the first and great Commandment. And the second is like unto it, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* Here our Lord, who is the best Interpreter of the Law, lets us know that the *Love of God*, and the *Love of our Neighbours* are the Summ of the whole *Decalogue*. Wherefore by way of farther Introduction to the Commandments, it is requisite that I distinctly treat of these two: And First, of our *Love to God*, wherein the Commandments of the First Table are briefly comprised. But before I enter upon this, we might observe, that of all the *Affections* of the Mind of Man, *Love* is the choicest and most considerable. From this all the other Passions take their Rise. This is the Mother-Affection; the rest are the Daughters. This is in the Soul before them all, and hath full Power over them all. If there were no *Love* implanted in us, there would be no *Desire*, no *Grief*, no *Joy*, no *Fear*, and the like. All these grow from *Love*: and they are *Love* in several Shapes, according to the Difference of Objects and Occasions. *Love* is the Spring and Root of *Fear*, for why doth a Man fear Death, but because he loves Life? Why doth a rich Man fear Poverty, but because he loves Riches? And so *Love* acts all the Parts of the other Affections: *Love desires* when the thing is absent; *bates* that which would hinder its Enjoyment; *is angry*, and grieves for the Loss of it; *fears the Departure*; *hopes for the Return* of it; *rejoices* in its Presence, or *despairs* of its coming. From our *Love* it is that we exert all the other Passions, and without *Love* we could not be affected in any of these fore-mention'd Ways: *Love* is the great and first Wheel that sets the rest a-going. And as *Love* is the Principle of all the Passions, so of all Religion, and consequently of all Virtues. Accordingly, we find that the Affections, according to the Difference of the Objects on which they are placed, are reckon'd in Scripture as Virtues or Vices. But *Love* more especially, as 'tis the Capital Affection and Virtue, is the Ground of all other virtuous Endowments and Graces. They are all but the various Modifications and different Applications of *Love*. *Prayer* is the Breath or Voice of *Love*. *Hope* is *Love* expecting and longing. *Patience* is *Love* bearing and suffering. *Humility* and *Self-denial* are only *Love* in a lowly and submissive Posture. *Heavenly-mindedness* is *Love* in its Exaltation and mounting aloft. *Faith* is *Love* trusting and confiding. *Zeal* is *Love* enflamed, and good Works are

Love visibly display'd, and clothed with Action. In short, *Perseverance* is loving to the End. Thus far in general.

I am now to speak of *Love*, as 'tis peculiarly terminated on God, and as it is the first and great Commandment, and is the Substance of all the Commandments of the First Table. Here I shall undertake these Five things. 1. To shew wherein the Love of God consists. 2. What are the principal Effects and Products of this Love. 3. What are the inseparable Properties and Qualifications of it. 4. What Reasons and Incentives there are to stir us up effectually to love God. 5. How we may be directed to put this in Practice.

I begin with the First, *Wherein doth the Love of God consist*, or what are the essential and immediate Acts of this divine Grace. They are these four;

1. A high Esteem, valuing and prizing of God; a deep Admiration of his infinite Excellencies and Perfections, and an accounting his Favour and loving Kindness better than Life, Psal. 63. 3. And the Language of a true Friend and Lover of God is that of the same Psalmist, *Whom have I in Heaven but Thee? and there is none upon Earth that I desire besides thee*, Psal. 73. 25. Angels and Saints in Heaven, and holy Men upon Earth, are mean and inconsiderable in respect of thee. I see nothing excellent and worthy in them, if compar'd with thy transcendent Dignity.

2. The Love of God consists in an ardent Longing to enjoy him. *As the Hart panteth after the Water-brooks, so panteth my Soul after thee, O God. My Soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: When shall I come and appear before God?* Psal. 42. 1, 2. Divine Love is restless and unquiet, till it arrive to the Fruition of the beloved Object. Yea,

3. Love is an actual Conjunction with it: For 'tis of the very Essence of Love that 'tis an intimate Union with the suitable Object. Accordingly, that Divine Love which I am now defining, is the Act of the Soul, whereby it is united unto God. *He that dwelleth in Love, dwelleth in God, and God in him*, 1 John 4. 16. There is a mutual and entire Fellowship between them. *I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine*, Cant. 6. 3. To love God is to live and dwell in him, and to be wholly his, to have constant Communications of his Grace and sanctifying Spirit, to partake of the Divine Presence and the Benefits of it.

4. The last immediate Act of Love is Delectation or Joy. The true Lover of God feels in his Breast a most ravishing Pleasure and Satisfaction in the Enjoyment of him, such as surpasses all other Joys. To love God is to adhere to him with the highest Complacency and Delight, and with a Desire that the Enjoyment may never be interrupted. *I found him whom my Soul loveth; I held him, and would not let him go*, Cant. 3. 4. These are the more immediate Acts and Emanations of our Love to God, and they express the very Nature and Essence of Love.

Secondly, I am to shew what are the Effects and Products of this Love; and they are such as these:

1. To do nothing whereby God is displeased; or, in other Terms, to indulge ourselves in no Sin; for nothing is displeasing to God but Sin. *They that love the Lord, hate Evil*, saith the Psalmist, Ps. 97. 10. thereby informing us that Hatred of Sin is a certain Consequent of our Loving of God. Many hate the Punishment of Sin, but not the Sin it self, and thereby discover that they have no true Love of God. Yea, our Hatred must extend to the least Sin; for so among Men we observe that they resent every little Unkindness from those that are their Friends, those that pretend Love to them, yea, they take it much more heinously than if it were from their Enemy. Whence we hear the Psalmist speaking thus; *It was not an Enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it; neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me; but it was thou, a Man mine Equal, and my Acquaintance*. This was the great Aggravation of the Miscarriage, that it proceeded from a Person who was his Friend and Lover, that such a one shew'd himself unkind to him. And this certainly will mightily aggravate the Fault and enhance the Guilt of those who have had some Friendship with God, that they venture to do those things which they know will displease him. Here then we ought to be watchful and cautious, and strive to shun the least Offences. But more especially we are concern'd to pray with that holy Man, *Keep back thy Servants from presumptuous Sins; let them not have Dominion over us*, Psal. 19. 13. These marr our Friendship with God, and are absolutely inconsistent with our Love of him.

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2. To take Care to do what will please him, that is, to obey his Will and Com-
mands, is an other Effect of our Love to him. This is evident from our Saviour's
Words, *John 14. 15. If ye love me, keep my Commandments*, and *Ver. 21. He that*
bath my Commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me, and *Ver. 23. If any*
Man love me, he will keep my Words. And *15 Chap. Ver. 14. Ye are my Friends, if ye do*
whatsoever I command you. Observe the Expression; there is a Friendship between
Christ and all Believers, between God and all good Men. Thus *Abraham* and
Moses were stiled the *Friends* of God, yea, the former of these is four times call'd
by that Title. And this way of Speaking is commended to us by our Saviour, not
only in the fore-named Place, but in others; more especially we may take No-
tice of it in *John 11. 11.* where this Epitaph is bestow'd by *Christ* upon *Lazarus*,
Our Friend Lazarus sleepeth. And this was the Stile of the best Moralists, the *Plato-*
nists and *Stoics* chiefly, who frequently call a virtuous Man a *Friend of God*. Now,
as in Friendship among Men you see how careful and solicitous Persons are to do
those things which are acceptable to those whom they love and own as their
Friends; they are very diligent in informing themselves what will be pleasing to
them; so it should be much more here, if we are *Friends* of the Most High, we
shall study to perform those things which we know are pleasing and grateful to him:
We shall take all Occasions of doing what is agreeable to his Mind; for *Love* is
obsequious, pliant and obedient; wherefore we shall be glad to be conducted by him
in all things, and to resign ourselves to his Will and Pleasure. We love God truly
when we have Respect to all his Laws, when we devote our selves to his Service;
and thus shew that our Lives are full of *Love* to him; for this is a making over of
our whole Will to him.

3. To love our Brethren is a constant Effect and Issue of our Love to God.
This is confirm'd by the great Amorist, *1 John 4. 20. If a Man say, I love God, and*
hateth his Brother, he is a Liar: For he that loveth not his Brother, whom he hath seen,
how can he love God, whom he hath not seen? And he concludes the Chapter thus:
Ver. 21. This Commandment have we from him, That he that loveth God, love his Bro-
ther also. For all Men in some Degree bearing the Image of God upon them, we
must be affectionate toward them, and not hate and persecute them, for this would
be executing the Deity in Effigie. But especially those that are good, challenge
our Love, upon the account of our Love to God; for there is a firm Union be-
tween Him and the Godly: and therefore he that loves God, must needs love the
servants of God. He loves whatever he sees of *Christ*, whatever he sees of Grace,
and God's Spirit in the meanest and poorest of his Brethren. Men love those that
are *† their Friends Friends*, as the Philosopher observes, when he shews to whom
Men are wont to bear Friendship and Kindness. This is to be practised in the
Divine and Spiritual Friendship: If we truly love God, we shall discover it by
bearing Respect and Love to those who are his Friends: We shall love all those
whom God loves, and hath a Favour for.

4. The next genuine Expression of our Love to God is, Undergoing any Suffer-
ing for his sake. To this I conceive those Words of *St. John* refer, *1 John 4. 17.*
Herein is our Love made perfect; this will try the Perfection of our Love to God,
namely, that we may have Boldness in the Day of Judgment, that is, that in a Time of
Danger, when we are brought before Rulers and Judges, and are in Peril of lo-
sing our Lives for the Cause of *Christ*, we then manfully confess him, and lay
down our Lives for the Truth, as he did. A true Lover of God is ready to un-
dertake the most difficult Task, to undergo the greatest Hardships for his Sake.
What have not *Friends* done for one another? What have they not suffer'd to te-
tify their mutual Love and Respect? Of which there are many remarkable In-
stances in *Greek* and *Roman* History, a great Number of which are collected to our
Hand by *Valerius Maximus*, who speaks thus on occasion of those admirable Exam-
ples of Friendship, which he produces; * This is, saith he, the excellent Fruit of
Friendship, to bestow Contempt of Death, and to extinguish the sweet Sense of
Life. Much more if we be *Friends of God*, shall we not manifest our selves to be so
by laying down our Lives for his sake, if he calls us to it? Shall we be back-
ward to own his righteous Cause, and to seal it with our Blood? *Maximus Ty-*
rius speaking of Death, saith, || He that loves God, expects it with Joy, and is
cheerful at the Approach of it. Should not this much more be the Language of
Christians? Shall we not shew our Love to *Christ* by loving him on the Cross, by

† Τῶν φί-
λων φί-
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* Hæ sa-
næ vires
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mortis
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Lib. cap.

|| ὁ ὃς ἐ-
ραστὴς Θεοῦ
ἐνδέχεται
ἀσμεῖν,
καὶ περὶ
θνήσκει χα-
ρῆν. Dif-
fert. 1.

owning and professing him when reviled and persecuted, and treated with the greatest Severity? Or, if God requires not our Lives, let us part with our Lusts, cut off the right Hand, and pluck out the right Eye. *Abraham*, the Friend of God, was ready to offer his only Son. Every Day calls for such a Sacrifice, something that is very dear to us, our most beloved Sins. This is an undeniable Maxim, A Friend will deny nothing to the Person he loves.

* Pirk
Avoth.

† Magnus
dolor ira-
tus amor
est. Sen.

5. If we love God, we shall be unspeakably grieved and disturbed for the Dishonour that is done to his Name in the World. *I beheld the Transgressors and was grieved, because they kept not thy Word*, Psal. 119. 158. and before, in the same Psalm, V. 136. *Rivers of Waters run down mine Eyes, because they keep not thy Laws*. He that loves God resents the Injuries done unto him by Profaneness and Irreligion. We do not tamely suffer our Friends to be affronted and abused. * Let the Credit of thy Friend be as dear to thee as thy own, say the *Hebrew Masters*. And the same must be said when we speak of God; we must shew we are his Friends, and that we bear an entire Love to him by our Resentment of the Dishonour and Reproach cast upon him by wicked Men. We cannot without Grief and Anger hear his Name prophaned and blasphemed, and see his Word and Worship, and the Christian Religion it self abused; for Love incensed is big with † Sorrow and Indignation.

* πῶς
πάλαι
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|| Wale's
Dictionar.
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6. Another Demonstration of our Love to God is our frequent Thinking and Speaking of him. *Where our Treasure is, there will our Heart be also*. We shall in our Retirements meditate on it, and feast our selves with the Contemplation of it. And what Men love, they not only revolve in their Thoughts, but discourse of with their Tongues. It was observed long since by *Plutarch*, that * Love is talkative, and especially it utters it self in the Praises of the Thing or Person beloved. The old *Arabians*, who were *Warriors*, and loved that sort of Life, had no less than three hundred Names for a || *Sword*. We shall not want Words for what we admire and affect, we shall coin and invent new ones rather than be silent. Certainly, the inward Delight which good Men take in God and Religion, will influence their Language; for out of the Abundance of the Heart, the Mouth speaketh.

7. He that loves God doth not distrust him, nor suspect his Faithfulness. Jealousy among Men breaks Friendship; at the same Door where that enters in, this generally goes out. It is so in Divine and Religious Love; if you call into question God's Truth and Fidelity, your Friendship with him will soon have a Period. God counts it his greatest Honour to be trusted, and none are taken into greater Favour with him, than those that confide in him without Reserves. If we were Enemies we were reconciled to God by the Death of his Son, much more being reconciled, being Friends, we shall be saved by his Life, Rom. 5. 10. If we once entertain Thoughts of his being false to us, we ruin our own Love and Friendship, and we destroy his, for he cannot brook our Suspicion and Jealousy.

And to this I will add, that if we would give Proof of our Love to God, we must in every thing be faithful and sincere. This is one inseparable Quality of a Friend, this is the never-failing Badge of a true Lover. *Abraham*, the Friend of God, was bid to walk before him, and be upright, Gen. 17. 1. for to be perfect and upright are expressed by the same *Hebrew Word*. Of *Moses* the Friend of God 'tis said, he was faithful in all his House, Heb. 3. 2. in the House of Israel which he administered. A false Friend is a Contradiction in the very Terms; wherefore, whatever God commits to our Charge, whatever Gift or Talent he hath conferr'd upon us, and entrusted us with, we must be careful to manage it with Integrity.

* Ομοιότης ἐστὶν ἀρετῶν
καὶ ἠθῶν, Plutarch.
βόων, Max. Tyr. Jungit
amicitias similitudo morum,
Quintil.

† Τὴν δὲ φιλικὴν συμφωνίαν
καὶ ἀρμονίαν ἐστὶν ἀνόμοιον, ἐ-
στὶν ἀνόμοιον, ἐστὶν ἀνόμοιον
μέρος, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀπώλητον ὁ-
μοίως ἐχόντων, ὁμοιογενὲς καὶ
ὁμοδοξόν καὶ ὁμοβουλόν καὶ σὺν-
μοπαθεῖν, ὡς ἅπαρ μιᾶς ψυχῆς
ἐν πολλοῖσι σώμασιν.
Περὶ Πολιτείας.

8. To be like unto God is a natural Consequence of loving him. It is made part of the Description of Friendship, by the best Moralists and others, that it is a * Likehefs of Studies and Manners. In few, but choice and excellent Words, this Similitude, which accompanies Friendship, is expressed by *Plutarch*; † "The Concord and Harmony of Friendship (saith he) will suffer no Part whatsoever to be unlike and unequal, but renders it all of a piece, inasmuch that all the Words, Sentiments, Counsels and Affections, exactly agree, like one Soul diffused into many Bodies. Apply this to the present purpose, and you will certainly know what it is to be Friends to God, and to love him: It is to have your Hearts and Lives con-

formable

formable to the Nature of God. * Plato had this very Notion, that to be a Friend of God, is to be like him. And Hierocles agrees with him, || What a Man loves, saith he, speaking of God, that he resembles and imitates. Shall not Christians be much more persuaded of this great Truth, and endeavour to put it in Practice? Shall we not resemble God, and strive to be transform'd into his Divine Image? For in Love there is always Agreement, Consent and Likeness. * De Le-gib. l. 4. γὰρ ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεόν, ὁμοιωθεὶς αὐτῷ γίνεται. In Pyth. Car.

Lastly, to heap up many things together, if we love God, we shall love his Ordinances, his holy Word and Worship, because they are his. We shall say with the Psalmist, *How amiable are thy Tabernacles?* Psal. 84. 1. And again, *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thy House, and the Place where thine Honour dwelleth,* Psal. 26. 8. We shall desire to have frequent Communion with God in those holy Institutions which he hath appointed. We shall read the holy Scriptures with Delight, and express our Reverence and Regard for them above all other Writings. We are told that the *Turks* have such a Respect to *Mahomet's Law*, that if they find the least Portion of it fallen on the Ground, they take it up and kiss it, and place it some where safely, saying, It is a Sin to suffer that wherein the Name of God and *Mahomet* is written, to be trod under Feet. Shall not we then, who profess the True Religion, evidence our Love to God in esteeming *those Writings* we are sure are from God? Shall we not have free Recourse unto God at all times, and apply ourselves to him on all Occasions, seeing we can never be unreasonable or unwelcome? Let us every Day seek to him, and acquaint him with our Case and Condition. With an humble Intimacy and awful Familiarity let us approach to him, and partake of his Love and Kindness, which he is so desirous to impart to us. I might add, that our Love to God is discover'd by shewing a Regard to every thing that appertains to God. *Give me two Mules Burden of Earth,* said *Naaman*, 2 Kings 5. 17. for he thought no Ground so good as that, and therefore would carry some of it away to sacrifice on. *Thy Servants take Pleasure in her Stones, and favour the Dust thereof,* said the Captive Jews, Psal. 102. 14. they pitied and loved the very Ruins, the Rubbish of the Temple. Every thing that hath Relation to Religion is esteemed by a Lover of God. And, to shut up this Part of my Discourse, a Love of all Goodness and Holiness, and an universal Respect to God's Glory in all things are comprehended in the Love of God.

And thus I have shewn wherein the Love of God consisteth, and what are the more eminent Expressions of it. We should make use of these several Particulars to try our selves, and the Frame of our Minds, and the Practise of our Lives; and by both we may come to know whether we are Lovers of God. Let us suppose that Query put to us which our Saviour put to *Peter* once and again, and a third time, *Lovest thou me?* Let us accordingly examine our selves about the Truth and Reality of this Love in us, that we may be able to return the same Answer that *Peter* did, *Lord, thou knowest that I love thee.*

I pass to the third Demand, What are the Properties and Qualifications of this Love of God? The Text before us gives us an Account of this: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind. First, it must be with the Heart, the Soul, the Mind, that is, with all the Rational Faculties and Functions, with the Reason, with the Will, with the Affections, with the Memory, and all that appertains to the human Soul. Our Love must flow from an inward Spring and Principle. Secondly, When 'tis said to be with the Heart, it is implied that it must be unfeigned, and without Hypocrisy. What was spoken of the inferior Love, may be applied to that which is higher and divine. *How canst thou say thou lovest me, when thy Heart is not with me?* Thirdly, Our Love to God must be entire, impartial, and universal; for we see it is to be with all the Heart, all the Soul, all the Mind. And there is added in the parallel Places, *Mark* 12. 30. *Luke* 10. 17. with all thy Strength, to let us know how extensive this Love is. Not only all the Faculties of the Mind, but all the Actions of the Body are to be concern'd in it. Or it may be the Strength of the Mind is here meant, and then the strong and vigorous Bent of it is here signified. Which leads me to

The next Property of this Divine Love. It must be ardent, vehement, and intensive. Some degrees of Love may be entertained for our Friends and Relatives, our Neighbours; yea we are commanded to love these: but a more transcendent

scendent Affection is reserved for God. We love him for Himself, but we love others for his sake: so that this latter is but a second-hand Love. We must love nothing so much as God, nothing equally with him, nothing but in subordination to him. Our Love to him must be so predominant, that we may be said to hate all other things. Which is the meaning of what our Saviour saith, *Luke 14. 26. If any Man come to me, and hate not his Father and Mother, &c. he cannot be my Disciple.* Which is not spoken absolutely, but comparatively, that is, in respect of that Love which is due to *Christ*, our Behaviour towards our nearest Kindred may be called *Hatred*. When these come in competition with him, all our Affection to them must yield and give place to our Love of him. Again, this Love is orderly, regular and prudent. It is not accompanied with extravagant Heats, which some mistake for the Love of God. It is not Superstitious or Enthusiastick, it is not attended with any indecent and uncomely Actions. Lastly, it is no Flash, no sudden Fit, but it is a constant and permanent Frame of Mind. He that truly loves God, loves him as *He* he loves his own, that is, *to the End*, *John 13. 1.* This Love is strong as Death, *Cant. 8. 6.* yea, it cannot be conquer'd by this which conquers all others: for the Apostle assures us, that *neither Death nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor Height, nor Depth, nor any other Creature, is able to separate from the Love of God; not only from God's Love to us, but ours to him.* So much for the Qualifications of our Love to God.

The Fourth Enquiry is, What Reasons and Arguments are there to back it? Or rather, we may say, What is there that is not a powerful Argument and Motive to this purpose? Where can we look, but there are Reasons to excite us to this Love? God is lovely in himself, and he is kind and loving to us, and we have every where Testimonies of that Love. That he is lovely in his own Nature, is most evident; for his innate Wisdom, Mercy, Justice, Faithfulness, his unspotted Holiness and Purity, with all the other Excellencies and Perfections belonging to his glorious Essence, are the adequate Object of our Love. If we act but like Men and rational Creatures, we cannot but admire and love these; especially if we consider, that whatever is lovely and beautiful in our selves, or in any other Being, is derived from this Fountain of Loveliness, from this Treasury of all Excellencies. If therefore we love any thing in the Creature, we have much more reason to love it as we see it infinitely transcended in the Creator. On which account he is to be loved as the original Good and Perfection, the ** First lovely*

* Πρῶτον
τὸ φίλον,
Αὐτοφίλον.
Plato αὐτὸ
φιλίας.

Object, and to be loved for it self, as a Great Man styles him. But besides his innate Goodness, we are obliged to love him for the Emanations of his Goodness to us. He produced us at first out of nothing, and made us thereby capable of receiving all Kindnesses from him, namely, by bestowing upon us a Being. Our Creation was the mere Efflux of his Eternal Love, for he could not inhanse his own Happiness by making us; and therefore it must be owned, that nothing but free and undeserved Love was the Source of this first Blessing. The same Philanthropy still sustains and preserves us, and keeps us from relapsing into the Abyss of Non-Entity. The Divine Providence continually watches over us, and skreens us from Dangers, and confers on us actual Favours and Mercies. Do we love our Friends and Benefactors, our Parents and dearest Relations? and why? is it not because we are beholding to them, and receive great Kindnesses from them? Yes without doubt. There is greater Reason then to love God, whose Kindness to us far exceeds all the Care and Affection of the most entire Friend, of the most indulgent Parent. He is merciful to All, tho' the peculiar Rays of his Bounty are cast on the Righteous. Whence is that Exhortation of the Psalmist to them, *Psal. 31. 23. Love the Lord all ye his Saints, for the Lord preserveth the Faithful.*

But the highest and most signal Evidence of God's Kindness, is the sending of his Son for the Redemption of Mankind. God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, *John 3. 16.* God commendeth his Love towards us, in that while we were yet Sinners, Christ died for us, *Rom. 5. 8.* He loved me and gave himself for me, *Gal. 2. 20.* The latter is a Proof of the former. We cannot question Christ's Love when we look on him hanging on the Cross, and behold his Side open'd with a Spear, and then espy his Heart full of Mercy and Love, and when we take a view of all the glorious Effects of his Undertakings for lost Sinners. How

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ravishing are those Words of the Apostle in Eph. 2. 4, &c. God who is rich in Mercy, for his great Love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in Sins, hath quicken'd us together with Christ (by Grace ye are saved) and hath raised us up together, and hath made us sit together in heavenly Places in Christ Jesus: that in the Ages to come he might shew the exceeding Riches of his Grace, in his Kindness toward us through Christ Jesus; for by Grace are ye saved, through Faith, and that not of your selves, it is the Gift of God. Here is Grace, and Gift, and Kindness, and exceeding Riches of Grace, and great Love, and Richness of Mercy, which must needs kindle the Flame of Love in our Hearts.

I will add a Motive of another kind, but it is of very great virtue and power. The Love of God is the Foundation of all Religion, and that which makes all Religion easy. This is the great Instrument of Virtue, and doth further and facilitate all Enterprizes of Holiness: What great things should we do, if we truly and heartily loved God! If we were inspired with this holy Principle, we should exert all other Graces with alacrity and cheerfulness. This would smooth all the Roughnesses of our Way, this would remove all Difficulties, this would render Christ's Yoke easy, and his Burden light. In short, all other religious Endowments and Exercises receive their Life and Motion from this.

I come now to the Fifth and Last Part of what I propounded, namely to offer Directions for the attaining this so excellent and useful a Grace. To which purpose we are to make use of these following Helps and Assistances.

First, That we may love God, it is absolutely requisite that we know him, that we be acquainted with his Nature, his Attributes, his Excellencies. That which we are ignorant of, it is impossible we should love. When the Great Philosopher was asked, Why all Men naturally love the Light? his Reply was, that that was the Question of a Blind Man. As much as to say, that none could doubt about the Reason why the Sun is lovely, but those that never beheld it. To see the Light is enough to make us in love with it. In a resembling manner, to taste and see (as the Psalmist speaks) that God is good, that he is lovely in himself, and in his Acts of Kindness and Love to us, is sufficient to raise a reciprocal Affection in us towards him. It is observable therefore that the Apostle prays for the Philippians, that their Love may abound in all Knowledge and in all Judgment, Phil. 1. 9. implying that a Knowledge and Sense (for so the * Greek Word which we translate * *ἀντιλογία* Judgment should be render'd) of what is the Object of our Love, do necessarily contribute to the abounding of our Love. If we have a full Understanding of the excellent and transcendent Nature of God, if we have a Sense that he deserves our greatest Love on the account of his intrinsic Worth, and the many extrinsic Demonstrations of it, this is the most proper way to excite our Love to him. This will force us to acknowledge that he is altogether lovely, Cant. 5. 16. Let us therefore study the Nature of God, that we may love him.

Secondly, Converse not too much, engage not too earnestly in the World, and the things of it; but by all means check your inordinate Affections to sensual Delights and Entertainments. For St. John hath told us, that if any Man love the World, the Love of the Father is not in him, 1 John 2. 15. The Love of God and of the World are inconsistent. Demas, St. Paul's Companion and Coadjutor in the Gospel, forsook him, and consequently Religion and God himself, having loved this present World. And this is it which still extinguishes in so many Persons the Love of God. Wherefore that you may nourish in you this Love, follow the Advice in that forenamed Place of St. John, Love not the World, neither the things that are in the World: and then you will be in a capacity to terminate your Love on God, who both desires and deserves your Love. This is the Order to be observed, you must first dispossess your selves of your Affection to the World, and then you will be able to fix your Love on God.

Thirdly, Be diligent and frequent in Prayer and Supplication, in praising God, and celebrating the Memory of his Mercies, in consulting the Holy Scriptures, and hearing the Word of God, and partaking of the Lord's Supper, and in all other Religious Offices, Exercises and Employments: for in these the God of Heaven communicates himself, and by these Divine Love is infused into our Souls. It must needs be so, because the Use of these Sacred Institutions was ordain'd by God to this very End and Purpose; and therefore if we employ our selves in these Religious

Religious Duties, in that manner which God hath prescribed, we shall certainly find the good effect of it, we shall feel this Divine Affection rising in our Breasts, and the more we converse with God in this Way of his own Appointment, the greater and stronger will be the Flames of our Love.

These are effectual *Helps* to the Love of God, and so are all those *Arguments* and *Motives* which I before propounded. In the careful Observation of them we shall arrive to an entire Love of God here, and fit our selves for the eternal Enjoyment of his Love in the World to come.

The other Part, namely, concerning loving our Neighbours as our selves, is discours'd of just before the *Commandments of the Second Table*. See there.

The Love of God is the Foundation of all Religion, and that which makes all Religion easy. This is the great Argument of Virtue, and both further and farther all the Blessings of Holiness. What great things should we do, if we truly and heartily loved God? If we were inspired with this holy Principle, we should exert all other Graces with alacrity and cheerfulness. This would insure all the Blessings of our Way, this would remove all Difficulties, this would render our Yoke easy, and his Burden light. In short, all other religious Duties and Exercises receive their Life and Motion from this.

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O F T H E

Ten Commandments

IN GENERAL.



DESIGNING to treat of the Divine Law contain'd in the Ten Commandments, I will speak of it first in general. 2. I will particularly and distinctly discourse of every one of the Precepts. In the general handling of them, I will, 1. Say something of the *Division* of them. 2. I will consider the *Order* and *Disposition* of them. 3. I will lay down some *General Rules* for the expounding of them. 4. I will explain to you the *Preface* or *Introduction* to them all.

As for the *Division* of the Commandments, they are usually distributed into *Affirmative* and *Negative*. The *Affirmative* are those wherein God commands something to be done: the *Negative* are such wherein he either forbids the doing of something, or enjoins the omitting and shunning of some things. Concerning the first it is generally said by *Casuits*, that they do *not always* oblige us, but only when there is *Occasion*. But I think it is safer to say, they bind us always, *i. e.* whenever there is a *Possibility* of performing them: thus we must obey our Parents always, namely, as long as we have them. The second sort of Commandments are obligatory in a larger Sense, and without any Restriction. They bind at all times, and in all Places. A Man can on no account be freed from his Obligation to them. He must *never* worship Images, or take God's Name in vain, or steal, or commit Adultery. There are more of this latter sort than of the first; for there are but Two *Affirmative* Precepts, whereas there are Eight *Negative* ones. But then this is to be considered, that there are *Affirmatives* always included in the *Negatives*; for the *Negative* Precept requires the opposite Virtues and Duties; and it is as true, that *Negatives* are always included in the *Affirmatives*: though the *Pharisees* and *Jewish Doctors* thought not so, as appears from their false Glosses on the Commands, *Matth. 5.* for which our Saviour reproves them, and joins both these together in his Exposition of the Moral Law. He lets them know that an affirmative Command forbids the contrary Vices. So that hereupon is grounded the received Partition of *Sins* into those of *Omission* and *Commission*. An Offence of the former sort is, when a Man doth not that which he is bound to do, and of the latter, when a Man doth that which he is bound not to do. And hence is observable the Extensiveness and Fullness of these *Commandments*; for the Law of God is violated these two ways, either by not doing what it commands, or by doing what it forbids. Accordingly the Decalogue obliges us to these two things, namely, to do what God requires of us, and to forbear doing what he hath prohibited; it bids us embrace the Good, and shun the Evil.

Again, if you enquire into the more *particular Division* of the Decalogue, you will find that there is some difference among Writers. All of them agree that there are Ten Commandments, but they do not reckon them after the same manner. * *St. Jerom* divides them thus, Four Commandments have respect unto God, * *Comment. in*
and Six to our Neighbours: but his Division of the former is very strange; for *Hof. 10.*
the First Commandment he saith is, *I am the Lord thy God*: the Second is, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me*: the Third is, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Images*: and the Fourth is, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*. Thus he leaves out the Precept of observing the *Sabbath*, and he makes the first Commandment out of the *Preface* to it. But this Writer is singular in this, and hath none to back him: nor indeed could it be expected, for there is no Foundation at all for this Distribution of the Commandments of the First Table.

St. *Austin* hath another way of dividing these Precepts; for according to him, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*, and, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image*, are but one Command, one being included (as he thinks) in the other: And he divides the last Commandment into two, because *the Lust of the Flesh* and *the Lust of the Eyes* are two different things. And thus he makes Three Commandments have respect unto God, and Seven to our Neighbours: and there are Three of the first Table, and Seven of the second. But there is as little ground for this Division as for the other; those Words, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image*, being plainly mention'd as a distinct Precept; but the things which we are forbid to covet come under one only, otherwise you may make Seven Commandments out of those Words, *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's House, &c.* But none undertakes to do this, therefore it is as unreasonable to do the other, that is, to make two Commandments out of those Words.

* Antiq.
l. 3. c. 4.

Before St. *Austin*, all or most of the Greek and Latin Fathers divided the Commandments as we of the Reformed Churches do, i. e. they reckon'd the First Commandment to be [*Thou shalt have no other God before me*] and so went on (taking in that of *keeping the Seventh Day holy*) and they made no Division in those Words, *Thou shalt not covet, &c.* And the ancient Hebrew Rabbies did the same, only they made the Tables even, i. e. they put Five Commands in one, and Five in the other, therein following * *Joseph the Jew*. But this we are certain of, that God divided the Moral Law into Two Tables, because we read so in *Deut. 5. 22.* and there is a great Probability that there were but Four Commands in one of them, and Six in the other, because of the different Matter of them, i. e. Four only mention our Duty to God, and the other Six that to our Brethren. Besides, our Saviour seems to confirm this particular Distribution, when he mentions the First and the Second Commandment, *Mat. 22. 38, 39.* by which he means the First and Second Table, and reduces the Duties we owe to God to the one, and those that are due to Man to the other.

But (tho' there hath been, as you have heard, some difference as to the distributing of the Commandments, yet) none divide them after that manner that the Church of Rome doth; for tho' they follow the forementioned Father in splitting the Tenth Commandment into two, yet they have no Precedent for striking the Second quite out of the Decalogue. It is plain that they do this merely to hide that Commandment which forbids Images in the Worship of God. They must not let the People see and take notice that these are positively forbidden by the Divine Law: hence it is that they expunge this Precept. Wherefore we have reason to condemn this bold and impious mangling of God's Word, this using of an *Index Expurgatorius* in the Bible as well as in other Writers: and we have reason to admit of the Division of the Ten Commandments which is now among us Protestants, and which hath been received from the Learnedest Jews and Christians, tho' some of the Modern among both dissent from it. Thus much I thought fit to premise concerning the Partition of the Decalogue; for I am not of the elder *Vossius's* Opinion, who tells us that the dividing of these Moral Precepts is not of any considerable moment, especially not of such as is worth contending about.

Secondly, we may take notice of the Order and Placing of the Commandments. And here it might be observ'd, that the Sixth and Seventh Commandments are not placed alike by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, for this latter represents our Saviour's words thus, *Do not commit Adultery, do not kill*, chap. 10. ver. 19. whereas *Killing* is set before *Adultery* in St. *Matthew's* Gospel, chap. 19. ver. 18. The Reason of which may be this, St. *Matthew* writing in Hebrew follows the Hebrew Text, but St. *Mark* writing in Greek follows the Septuagint, who place Adultery before Killing. Or else we may say, and that rightly, that our Saviour did not intend to repeat the Commandments in order, but took liberty to place them as he pleas'd: and accordingly you'll find in the foresaid Texts, that the Fifth Commandment is set after the Precepts against Killing, committing Adultery, and Stealing. Whence it is evident and undeniable, that it was not Christ's Intention to rehearse the Commandments in that Order in which they were deliver'd at first. Therefore those who allege these Texts to prove that the Order of the Commandments is rectified by our Saviour, and that this was the Primitive placing of them, effect nothing, because Christ doth not here inform us what was the first placing of them, but he only uses the Freedom of mentioning them in that Order which he thought was fittest at that time.

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Again, it is worth your observing, that the Commandments have their Place according to the Dignity of the Duties commanded, *i. e.*, those Duties which have Regard unto God, have the Pre-eminence of those that relate to Men. It was excellent Advice which King Henry the Eighth gave to Sir Thomas More, when he first came to his Service, *First* (saith he) *look unto God, and then to Me afterwards.* I will not enquire how this was observed; but certainly it concerns us all to mind chiefly the Worship and Service of God, and then to perform our Duties to our Neighbours in subordination to these. First begin with God, then attend those proper Offices which belong to Man. You must have regard to the Life, Possessions, and Credit of your Brethren; you must take Care that you wrong none as to any of these; but before all, see that God be not injur'd by you in his immediate Service and Worship. The Order of the Commandments instructs us in this, for the four first belong to the Honour of God, the following six to the Welfare of our Neighbours.

Moreover, it is observable that the Commandments are ranked according to the Heinousness of the Sins forbidden. Thus the Offences against God are more grievous than those against Men, and accordingly the Neglect of the Worship of God, and the bowing down to Images, and taking God's Name in vain, and prophaneing the Sabbath, are mention'd before the Transgressions of the other Table. And then, if we look into this second Table, we shall see that there is a very exact Order there. For it is more heinous to offend our Parents (whether Natural or Civil) than any other Persons, and therefore this hath the first Place. The other five remaining Precepts are placed according to the Nature of the Crimes which they speak of: For there are three Degrees of Sinning, *viz.* in Deeds, in Words, in Desires; and these differ as to their Guilt, for 'tis more criminal to offend in Actions than in Words, and in these than in bare Desires; therefore according to the gradual Defilement of these Sins, we are forbid first to hurt our Neighbours by any Deed or Act, whether it be Killing, or Adultery, or Theft. Next, we are obliged not to hurt them by our Words, *viz.* by bearing false Witness; and likewise we must not so much as offend in our Hearts and Thoughts, by coveting any thing that is theirs. Nay, as to the Sins of the former sort, *viz.* in Deeds, there is an accurate Order observed, for though *Stealing* be a very great Offence, yet *Adultery* is more flagitious than that, and *Killing* or Murder is more profligate than this. Wherefore, first Killing, then Adultery, and after that Theft are mentioned. These are the several Observations which I offer concerning the Order and Disposition of the Commandments.

Thirdly, I am to lay down some Rules for Expounding the Commandments, and they are such as these;

1. Where any Duty is injoin'd, there the contrary Practise thereto is forbid: And where any Vice is forbid, the contrary Duty is commanded: Or (which is the same thing, and hath been already suggested) in every Commandment there is both a Negative and an Affirmative Part: In the 1st are the Sins forbidden, in the 2^d are the Duties and Graces required, opposite to those Vices and Sins. Thus, tho' it is only said in the 6th Commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, yet by Virtue of this Commandment we ought to take Care of our Neighbour's Life and Health. Though in the seventh Commandment all that is said is, that *we shall not commit Adultery*, yet it is here commanded that we shall be chaste and continent.

2. Where a Virtue or Duty is prescribed, there all the Ways that lead to it, all the Instruments that are serviceable to advance it, all the Means and Helps conducing to the attaining of it, or the Exercise and Increase of it, are also commanded; and where a Sin is forbidden, there likewise all the Causes and Occasions of it, all the Invitations to it, and whatever things promote it, are at the same time prohibited, and therefore must be avoided. Thus when we are bid to keep holy the Sabbath Day, it is commanded also that we shall apply our selves to those proper Means and Helps whereby we may be enabled to keep that Day holy. When we are forbid to take God's Name in vain, it is likewise intended that we ought to be careful in avoiding all Occasions of committing this Sin, every thing that we know will conduce towards it. And the like Extent is to be observed in all the Commandments, there being the same Reason for all. We must remember to beware of the Opportunities and Occasions of Evil, as well as the Evil it self.

self. We must give a Repulse to all those things which may nourish the Vice which we are cautioned against.

3. What is fairly implied and supposed in the Commandments, is to be reckon'd as part of them, i. e. it is something enjoin'd or forbidden in them, though it is not expressly mention'd. Thus the lawful *Love of our selves* is not one of the Commandments in express Terms set down, but it is implicitly there, because we are to love others as *our selves*, according to our Saviour's Exposition of the second Table, *Luke 10. 27.* Wherefore those who look upon the Decalogue as imperfect, because our Duty relating to *our selves* is not here set down, as well as that to God, and our Neighbours, (for there must be, they think, these three sorts of Duties mention'd to make the Commandments complete) these Men, I say, are to be reminded of this, that the Love of our selves, which is innocent and lawful, is *supposed* in these Precepts, and that both in the first and second Table. The same may be said concerning *Sobriety, Humility, Meekness, &c.* for without these it is impossible to exert those Duties which are expressly set down in the Commandments. Unless a Man be *sober and temperate*, he cannot obey the sixth or the seventh Commandment. Unless a Man be *humble*, he cannot practise the fifth; unless he be *meek, self-denying and submissive*, he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to keep any of the Commandments. And as to what I first mention'd, *viz. Self-Love*, this may be farther added, that seeing we are to place all our Happiness in God and his Service, according to the Tenor of the former Table, and seeing the true Love of our selves is included in our Happiness, and that Happiness is in loving of God, which is the Substance of this Table, as *Christ* hath summ'd it up, *Luke 10. 27.* it cannot be denied that lawful *Self-love* is included here. This also is implied in the latter Table, we being to love our Neighbours (who are the Subject of it) as *our selves*.

4. What follows by *natural Consequence* is forbidden or commanded in the Decalogue, as well as the bare things themselves expressly mention'd. What I can rationally infer from any part of the Moral Law, is comprehended in it, and may be reckon'd a Part of it. Thus, if I must not kill others, it follows that I must not do so to my self. If I must not bear false Witness against my Neighbour, then I am obliged to preserve my own good Name and Credit. Many other Instances might be given of this Nature, but what I shall further offer at present, shall be grounded upon what I suggested before under the last Particular.

If the Objects of the Precepts of the second Table be not only our Neighbours, but *our selves*, (because our Duty to them is founded on that to our selves) then Self-Incontinency or Uncleaness, Self-murder, and all Self-hurting are forbid. Some have ask'd, In which of all the Ten Commandments *Temperance* is enjoin'd, and *Drunkennes* forbid. The Answer is not difficult, though some have conceiv'd it to be so; for if we our selves, and the Duties which respect us more immediately, are included (as hath been said) in the Commandments of the second Table, then it is easy to find where the aforesaid Virtue is commanded, and the contrary Vice forbidden. For if by Virtue of the sixth and eighth Commandment, we must not hurt and damage our selves, then it is an undeniable but natural Consequence thence, that we must not, by Gluttony and Drunkennes, impair our Health, and endanger our Lives; but that we ought to support and secure them (as far as in us lies) by a temperate and sober way of living. And consequently this may be inferred by way of natural Reason and Deduction from the Commandments before specified, and from what hath been already asserted, *viz.* that Self-love is an essential Ingredient in the first and second Tables. And so as to all other Duties which respect *our selves*, they are by rational Consequence contained in the Decalogue.

5. Under one kind of Duty or Vice expressed in the Commandments, all others of the like Nature, yea all the Species and Sorts of them, are comprehended. The general Virtues and religious Offices couched in this short System of Laws, are these that follow: Having no other God but one, worshipping him without Images, the reverent Use of his Name, the due observing the Time set a-part for his Service, honouring our Civil and natural Parents, Mercifulness, Chastity, Justice, and that both as to our Neighbour's Goods and Credit, Contentedness. But any one may see that here is not a full Enumeration of all particular moral Duties,

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nor was it designed there should be ; but they may all be *reduced* to these general Heads ; because they some way or other appertain to them, as being of the *like Kind and Nature*. So the Heads of those Vices which are mentioned here, are only these : Having of other Gods besides the true one, adoring of Images, prophaneing God's Name, the Neglect of keeping the Sabbath Day holy, dishonouring or disobeying those that have the Title of Father and Mother, Cruelty or Bloodshed, Adultery, Injustice, Calumny, Avarice ; but all the rest of immoral Actions do in an oblique and collateral Manner belong to these ; though they are not particularly specified, yet they are virtually contained in, and may be referred to these Ten Precepts.

6. Another Rule to be observed in expounding them is this, that where one *Relative Duty* is enjoined, the other is so too ; for *Relatives* are mutual and reciprocal. Thus the Commandment which requires the Duty of Children to their Parents, includes also the Parents Duty ; and the same Commandment requiring the Duty of Subjects to their Princes, and of all Men to their Superiours and Rulers, whether in Church or State, enjoins likewise the Duty of Princes and Superiours to those that are under them.

7. This is a noted Rule, that these Commandments forbid not only the outward Act of Vice, but the inward Desire of it ; and on the contrary, they require not only the external Performance of religious Duties, but an inward Principle, from whence they are to proceed. Thus as to the former, *Anger* is made a Breach of the sixth Commandment, and *Lust* a Violation of the seventh, *Mat. 5. 22, 28.* whereas the most zealous Pretenders to a strict Observance of the Law, concluded they were not guilty of the Breach of the former Commandment, if they did not take away a Man's Life, notwithstanding they nourished Malice and Hatred against their Brethren. And they thought they offended not against the latter, if they did not actually commit the Sin of Uncleanness, although they indulged themselves in adulterous Thoughts, and in Uncleanness of the Eye. And so in the rest of the Commandments, they regarded only the Letter, but penetrated not into the inward Intention and Design of them. And since that time we are told by a noted **Rabbi*, that the *Jews* were of Opinion generally, that there was no Sin but what was in Fact, unless it was when their Minds were taken up with Idolatry : In that Case, they determine, that the Thought of Idolatry is imputed to a Man as if he had actually committed Idolatry. And we have some Christian Writers that seem to Judaize in this Matter, [The Laws which God gave to the *Jews*, saith † one of them, according to the literal Sense of them, did only oblige them to an external Obedience.] But we must have other Apprehensions if we would expound the Law aright, and even the affirmative Precepts of it. Thus *keeping the Sabbath Day holy* is not only commanded with respect to the outward and visible Parts of Religion and Devotion that are to be observed on that Day, but with respect to the inward and invisible Springs whence the outward Actions are to proceed. And there is very great Reason for this : because *moral Actions* properly so called, flow from *within* a Man ; they deserve not that Denomination if they have not their Rise thence. The Goodness of every Action depends upon the Principle whence it proceeds. But of this I shall say more afterwards.

8. This is to be added, that to the Ten Commandments all the Duties of Practical Religion, not only barely *Moral*, but *Christian*, are *reducible*. This may seem strange to some, but it will not continue to be so, if we consider the *Latitude* of these Divine Laws. That of the *Psalmist* is here applicable, *Psal. 119. 96.* *thy Commandments are exceeding broad*, i. e. they are full and pregnant, and were designed to contain in them what relates to our Practice and Duty, whether of a lower or a higher Nature, whether merely Moral or Evangelical. Again, our Saviour in his Comment upon them in *Mat. 5.* lets us know that these Commandments are larger and ampler than they were thought to be at the first Promulgation of them. This transcendent Law-giver hath acquainted us in several Particulars, how broad, how spacious, how extensive these Precepts are. Wherefore if we follow his Way of Exposition (which certainly is the best) we are authorized to reduce some of the Evangelical Laws that refer to Practice, to this famous system of Commandments. Moreover, tho' nothing is a Part of the Decalogue, but what belongs to the Law of Nature, (nothing, I say, excepting only a Limitation

* R. Levi
Barcelon.
Præcept.
226.

† Dr.
Scott's
Christian
Life, Vol.
5. P. 260.

imitation of a certain Day in the fourth Commandment) yet even on this Account some of the Precepts of the Gospel are comprehended in these Laws. In as much as they are either founded in Morality and the Dictates of Reason, or are the highest Improvements of them. Christianity, and the several Injunctions of it, are according to the Apostle *our reasonable Service*, and therefore justly appertain to these Laws. Thus, though the Commandments are only Moral, yet many of the Rules of the Gospel are reducible to them.

Lastly, This is another thing to be observed in interpreting the Decalogue, viz. that whatsoever you are to do *your selves*, you are to take Care that *others* also under your Charge perform it in their Place and Station. And on the other Hand, you must be careful that they abstain from those Sins which you are obliged, by virtue of these Commandments, to avoid. This we learn from what is annexed to the *Fourth Commandment*; for it is not only said, *Thou shalt not do any Work on the seventh Day*, but further, *Nor thy Son nor thy Daughter, thy Man Servant nor thy Maid Servant*. Those who have Persons under their Care and Tuition, ought to see that they (as well as themselves) sanctify the Sabbath. The like is understood in the rest of the Commandments, though it is not expressed; for there is the same Reason for the universal keeping of the other Commandments. When it is said, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, it is included, that we suffer not others to prophane God's Name. When it is said, *Thou shalt not kill*, we are enjoined to take Care (as far as in us lies) that others be not guilty of this Sin. And the same may be said of the other Precepts. As we must not hinder others from their Duty, so we are bound to promote the Practice of all the Commandments in the Lives of others. These are the *Rules* to be observed in the *Exposition* of this Law, that we may arrive to the full Sense and Meaning of the several Parts of it. And though I shall not attend to every one of these Rules in my following Discourses, because I should then exceed the Bounds that I have set my self, yet I will not forget to observe the chief of them, and leave the rest to the Reader to make use of, and to apply to every individual Commandment.

In the 4th Place I am to explain the *short Preface* to these Laws. And this is twofold; first, the Preface of the Law-writer *Moses*, *God spake all these Words, saying*; he spoke them just as they are here set down; but in *Deut. 5*. *Moses* recites them rather as an Interpreter or Expounder of the Law. *God spake* here immediately by himself, that thereby he might conciliate the greater Authority to this Law, that he might beget a greater Reverence in Mens Minds: *God is come to prove you, and that his Fear may be before your Faces*, Ver. 20. This was done to convince the People at that Time, and all Men since, who is the only Law-giver; and it was partly done likewise to gain Credit and Reputation to *Moses*, the chief Minister of God on this Occasion. Secondly, here is the Preface of the Legislator himself, *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the House of Bondage*; where we observe, 1. the Sovereignty, 2. the Beneficence of God.

First, He makes Way to the Obeying of his Laws, by propounding his *Sovereign Power*, *I am the Lord thy God, I am Jehovah*, the only true God: I am self-existent, and I give Being unto all things. My Essence is eternal and unchangeable; I do what I please in Heaven and Earth; my Power and Dominion are infinite. This is a very suitable Introduction to the Commandments, and we find it premised and prefixed to several other Commands and Injunctions which we read of, given to the *Jews*. It is a prevalent Motive, a powerful Argument to induce us to yield Obedience to what-ever God shall be pleased to propound as our Duty. And indeed we cannot effectually obey him, unless we be thoroughly apprehensive of his absolute Power and Dominion over us, unless we be really persuaded that he is *the Lord our God*, that he hath an uncontrollable Right to command us. This is denoted to us in the Stile that is used all along in the *Commandments*, *Thou shalt* and *Thou shalt not*, which expresses to us the Authority of him that speaks, as also the Force of the Obligation on our Part; for this *Imperative* Stile shews no less. Besides, *Thou* signifies the Equality of the Obligation; God speaking to all the People as to *one Man*, that every Person may think himself concern'd to obey, and that no Man may plead Exception. This Law is directed to All, to every individual Person. *Thou*, whoever thou art, *thou Man and Woman, thou Bond and Free, thou whatever thy Quality and Condition be*. This *Lord*, this *Jehovah*, who here speaks, is *God over all*; his Authority and Sovereignty are unlimited; there-

therefore all Persons are to be obsequious to these his Laws. The *Preface* to them reminds us that they are not Commandments of Men, but of the Almighty *Jehovah*; these are not Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, but those of the *Two sacred ones*, on which the Decalogue was writ with the Finger of God, *Exod. 31. 18. Deut. 9. 10.* These are no human Constitutions, but they are the Fundamental Laws of the *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*; they are the great and authentick Placart of Heaven, and therefore we cannot deny Obedience to them.

Secondly, Not only the *Sovereignty*, but the *Goodness* of God is mention'd here as an Argument of Obedience, *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage.* Which Clause, though it primarily belongs to the *Jews*, who were miraculously deliver'd out of *Egypt*, yet it concerns us all, because every one of us have been Sharers in the free and unmerited Favours of God; we have received Blessings in great abundance from his liberal Hand: And those also which are of a spiritual and higher Nature, have been vouchsafed to us by the same indulgent Hand. We have by the gracious Undertakings of our Lord *Christ Jesus*, been brought out of the House of Bondage, delivered from that Captivity and Slavery wherein *Satan* and our own Guilt had involved us: we are set free by our blessed Redeemer and Saviour. This divine Philanthropy, this transcendent Kindness and Beneficence, together with all the other Blessings, Mercies and Favours conferred upon us, are forcible Engagements, yea strong Allurements to Obedience. And that is the Reason why they are here premised before the *Ten Commandments*.

I wave the Dotages of the *Rabbies* about *Numbers*, and particularly some frivolous things which they have about this particular Number of the Commandments. Yet seeing they are (as the *Hebrew* hath it) *Ten Words*, i. e. Ten Precepts, and no more nor less, I think it is no Superstition to take Notice of this peculiar Summ which God himself was pleased to reduce all the Commandments to. It was the universal Custom of the World (as * *Aristotle* long since observed) to comprehend all their Numbers in *Ten*. And from him the learned *Grotius*, upon the Decalogue, remarks that Men at first reckoned or kept Account with their Fingers, and accordingly could number no farther than *Ten*, there being so many Fingers given them to number on, and then they began again. So that † *Ten* takes in and contains all Numbers in it, and is the End of all numbring, and hath for that Reason been antiently esteemed the perfectest Number. Fitly therefore is the whole *Moral Law* reduced to a just Decad, to intimate to us the Excellency and Perfection of it, for a Decad is the || Symbol of *Perfection*, it being the most consummate Figure, and the Heighth of all Numbers.

* Probl. lib. 3.
† Δέκα decem a δεκομαι
Ion. pro δεχομαι
|| Σύμβολον τῆς τελειότητος
Cyril. in Hos. c. 3.

Having suggested what was proper to be said concerning the Commandments in general, now I will treat of them particularly; and I begin with the first.

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt have no other Gods before me :

Or, exactly according to the Original,

**There shall not be unto thee other Gods before
my Face.**

In this Commandment is contain'd the Whole Worship of the Supreme Being, both Inward and Outward, which is particularly described. The regulating and ordering the Mind and Affections is the main thing in Religion. A true Account of the Nature of Superstition. Idolatry describ'd in general.



IT is observable that the Word *Achadim*, which is here translated *other*, is sometimes by the *Septuagint* rendred *ἄλλοι*, *alii*, and sometimes *ἀλλότριοι*, *alieni*; and so in this latter Acceptation it denotes those *Strange Gods* so often mention'd in Scripture, such as were accounted and called *Gods* by the Heathens, but were not really so. *Gnal panai*, which is here rendred *before me*, may be more exactly Englished, *before my Face*, or *in my sight*: and accordingly the 70 translate it *πρὸ προσώπου μου*, *Deut. 5. 7.* but in *Exodus* they render it *παρὸν ἐμὸν*, *but, or besides me*, minding the Sense rather than the Words (as they do in many other Places.) The Meaning is the same whether you read it *but* or *before me*: for the Design of this Commandment is to establish the Doctrine and Belief of the Deity, and to fix the true Worshipping of God, as he is distinguished from all false and counterfeit Gods, and so to exclude all other Gods, and their Worship.

In this Commandment we are to consider the Affirmative and Negative Part: for there are these Two (as I have already premised) in every one of the Commandments. The Affirmative Part is, *Thou shalt have Jehovah for thy God*. The Negative Part is, *Thou shalt have no other God*. I begin with the first, which is evidently contain'd in this Precept, tho' you see it is in a Negative Form: for when 'tis said, *Thou shalt have no God but me*, this is necessarily included, that we must *have him for our God*. This therefore is that which is the very Substance of this Commandment: There shall be unto thee a God, or thou shalt have unto thee a God, and I am that God. If you ask what is enjoyn'd in this, I answer, no less than the Whole Service and Worship of God, and our Behaving our selves towards him as such. This is the more general Account of this Commandment, and you see it is a brief Representation of our whole Duty towards the Supreme Being, and consequently a general Draught of Religion, as it hath immediate Respect unto God. But more particularly and distinctly to display the Nature and Contents of this Commandment, it is requisite that we discourse both of the *Inward* and *Outward Worship* of God, for both these are contain'd in this Divine Precept. It enjoins that Service which consists in the Employment of the Head and Heart, and also that of the Body and Outward Actions.

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Under the First are commanded these following Duties,

1. The Believing of a God. *He that comes unto God, saith the Apostle, must believe that he is, Heb. 11. 6.* he must be thoroughly persuaded that there is such a Being. * This is the first Step to Religion, this is the very Basis and Ground-
work of all Divine Worship, and therefore this must be firmly laid and established. To be fully convinced of the Existence of a Deity, an Infinite, Eternal, All-wise and All-powerful Being, that made and governs all things, is the first thing which is required of us in this leading Commandment. An understanding Man never scruples a Deity; for he plainly perceives that every Part of the Universe bears upon it the Inscription and visible Signatures of Divine Power and Wisdom. He wonders not therefore that that Excellent Physician of old acknowledged a Deity from the Consideration of the Composure of *Man's Body*; for this is able to extort from any Man the same Confession. But then he wonders not a little, that some great Pretenders to Philosophy were so sottish, as not to allow God to be the Author of the exact Fabrick of the World, but that they held it was the Result of a fortuitous Assembly of Atoms, void of all Sense and Deliberation. But because I have heretofore largely handled this Subject in the Entrance on the *Creed* (where it was so proper to speak of it, for the *First Article* of the *Creed* answers to the *First Commandment* in the *Decalogue*, they both being design'd to instil the Belief of a God) I will not insist on it here.

2. To the *Inward Worship* enjoyn'd in this First Commandment it is requisite that we be persuaded that there is but *One God*. For we must know that it is the Great Design of this first Part of the Moral Law to fix this Notion upon us: whence it is call'd by *Philo*, * *The Precept concerning God's sole Empire*, or the Government of Him who is but One. Indeed this is a Principle that all rational Minds (if they consider aright) agree in; for there can be but one Eternal Cause of all things, and there can be no more, because there can be but one First Cause. It would be absurd and ridiculous to say there is more than one First. It is true, there are Three Persons or Subsistences in the Deity; but this Trinity of Persons is consistent with the Unity of the Divine Essence: for one and the same Essence is in the Three Persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Essence of God cannot be divided, for that would necessarily destroy the Unity of God, and infer more Gods than one. But tho' the Divine Essence cannot be divided, yet it is communicable, and was actually communicated from the Father to the Son, and from them to the Holy Ghost. Yet still the Essence remains simple, and entire, and the very same. Whence God is *One*, and there can be no other. But having on † another Occasion fully demonstrated this, I need not say any more. Only I urge this, that we ought to be settled in the Belief of this fundamental Truth.

3. To the inward Part of that Worship which we owe to God, belongs the believing of his *Word*. This Commandment requireth that we give firm Credit to all that God hath at any time deliver'd and reveal'd. For as he is God, he neither can, nor will deceive us; and therefore we are to be fully persuaded of the Truth and Certainty of whatever he hath declared to us at any time. This Faith is the very Root of all Divine Worship, and no Man can be religious and devout without this. Especially we are to give a plenary Assent to all the Discoveries of the Gospel, and the Doctrines of the New Testament, because they most nearly concern us, and are peculiar to the present gracious Dispensation which we are under.

4. This Commandment requires of us, that we have right Apprehensions concerning God's Glorious *Attributes* and *Perfections*. For these give us an Account of the Nature of God, and it is impossible to have any Knowledge of this, unless we be acquainted with these. We are therefore to inform our selves, that the Divine Being is Eternal, Immense, Immutable, Infinite in Wisdom, Truth, Power, Justice, Goodness, Holiness. All these are comprehended in the Belief of a God, and therefore are directly contain'd in this Commandment. We are then obliged to have sound Conceptions of God, as he hath thus reveal'd himself, and we are continually to maintain a deep Sense of these Divine Excellencies on our Minds. The Pagan Moralist could say, || *We worship God by having right and pure Sentiments concerning him.* Much more ought *Christian Men* to be thus persuaded.

5. The Worship of God, enjoyn'd here, requires *Thinking* and *Meditating* on him and his Divine Perfections. The impious Race of Men in King David's Time are

* Primus
deorum
cultus est
deos cre-
dere. Sen.
Ep. 116.

* *ὁ μὲν Θεὸς
ἓν ἐστίν.*

|| *Discourse
on God's
Attributes.*

|| *Διὰ τὴν
ὁμοιοῦσιν
καθαρῶν
θεοῦ καὶ
ἀνθρώπων
Πορφύρ.
de Ab-
stin.*

charged with this, that *God was not in all their Thoughts*, Psal. 10. 4. Whence we may gather, that it is part of the Character of a Godly Man, that his *Thoughts* are employ'd in the Contemplation of God and the Divine Perfections. He is one that minds and observes God in the World, he meditates on the constant Wonders of his Providence in all the Occurrences which happen. He takes notice of all that comes from Heaven, and frequently revolves in it his Mind, and diligently studies it, and makes it advantageous to the great Designs of Religion and Holiness.

6. To the Acts of our Understanding must be added those of our *Wills and Affections*; and consequently we are to have a high *Respect, Esteem, and Observance* of the Divine Author of our Beings, the Glorious God with whom we have to do: we are to *admire* him, we are to *rejoice* in him. But the chief of the Affections which are most celebrated in the Holy Scriptures, are *Fear, and Hope, and Love*, of which therefore I am obliged more distinctly and amply to speak.

First, A *awful Fear and Dread* are due to God, and are the genuine Issue of those Conceptions which we ought to frame of him. For tho' it is some *Evil and Hurtful* thing that is the *proper and direct Object of Fear*; yet God, who is the greatest Good, because he can bring the greatest Evils, Judgments and Plagues upon us, is to be feared. For as the Apostle bids us be *afraid of a good Magistrate*, because *he beareth not the Sword in vain*, Rom. 13. 4. he hath Power to punish, and is just in animadverting on Evil-doers; so the Great God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, must be feared of all, even of Earthly Kings and Magistrates, who make others tremble at them, because he is of Infinite Power and Justice, and will not let Sin pass unpunished. Our Saviour therefore bids us *fear him who is able to cast Body and Soul into Hell*, Mat. 10. 28. Luke 12. 4. Fear then is a Passion that naturally flows from the serious Contemplation of the Greatness and Power of God, and of his impartial Justice in punishing Offenders. This by Divines is call'd *Servile Fear*, because 'tis like the Fear of Servants and Slaves, who obey their Masters merely for fear of Blows and Stripes. This Fear, if it goes alone, without a higher Principle, is not commendable, because 'tis accompanied with some Love and Liking of Sin: but in it self it is not *simply Evil*, because this Fear of God is naturally implanted in the Minds of Men. Yea, this Fear is the Forerunner of a better, it makes way for the *filial Fear*, which is so call'd, because it is proper to the Children of God: and this is the Duty of this First Commandment, of which I will give some account.

Whereas the *Servile Fear* was a Fear of Punishment only, this is a Fear of Sinning; a Fear whereby we are afraid to displease and offend God, a Fear of losing his Favour. He that hath this Fear, stands in awe of God, tho' no Punishment should ensue, tho' no Judgment should attend the Commission of Sin, for he reckons that Sin it self is a Punishment. Filial Fear is founded in Love. Thus a Son fears his Father, because he loves him. *If I be a Father, where is my Fear?* Mal. 1. 6. From this we may fully apprehend the Meaning of the Apostle, Rom. 8. 15. *Ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to Fear*, that is, you are not endued with that servile Affection whereby Persons abstain from Evil, only for fear of Punishment, which was generally the State of those under the Old Testament: Punishment drew them to Obedience: but now under the Gospel you have another Spirit, a Free Spirit, which is accompanied with Adoption, whereby you serve God with a filial and ingenuous Fear, which proceeds from Love. For so the Apostle explains himself in 2 Tim. 1. 7. *God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Love*: we act not by the Slavish Spirit, the Spirit of Bondage (as he before styled it) but by that of Sons. Thus we are to *serve him without Fear*, Luke 1. 74. that is, without a servile Fear: but we cannot serve him acceptably without that Fear which is due to him as a Father.

Having thus briefly display'd the Nature of the Fear of God, I will in the next place shew what are the natural Effects and Fruits of it. These are very high and worthy, and will abundantly commend this Grace to us. We owe it to this Fear that we are not inconsiderate and rash, and furious in our Prosecutions. And on the other hand, we are kept by it from Security and Drowsiness; for it begets Watchfulness, and makes us stand upon our guard, and be heedful and circumspect. Hereby we weigh all our Actions and Undertakings, and ask our selves whether they will be pleasing to God. Of this without doubt the Apostle speaks in

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in Phil. 2. 12. *Work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*: and mark the Reason which follows, *For it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* As much as to say, you can do no good of your selves, God is the Worker of that in you, therefore walk before him in godly Fear, take heed that you do not offend and displease him, lest he withdraw his Grace and Favour from you, and so leave you to your selves: which State if you arrive to, you will be able to do nothing but what is offensive to him. It is this Fear that incites us to be good and holy, and urges the Practise of our Duty even in private. Yea, * the whole Retinue of Virtues necessarily attends on the Fearing of God. That Man will be exact in the Discharge of all the Offices of Religion, who hath an Awe and Dread of God upon his Heart. All Righteousness flows from the Fear of the Most High. If this be lost, we may expect all Manner of Disorders in Mens Lives. When the Patriarch Abraham sojourned in Gerar, he thought surely, *because the Fear of God was not in that place, they would slay him for his Wife's sake,* Gen. 20. 11. Where this Principle was wanting, he reckoned there would be no Restraint of Lust, nay they would proceed to Bloodshed and Murder. To this Meaning I interpret those Words in Psal. 36. 1. *The Transgression of the Wicked saith within my Heart, that there is no Fear of God before his Eyes*; that is, their open Prophaneness and Wickedness, which I see in their Lives, declare to my Understanding that these Persons are void of the Fear of God: it is as clear and plain to me as if it was really spoken to me within my Heart and Mind. We may observe, that when Joseph would effectually perswade his Brethren of his Purpose of not wronging and injuring them, he fetches his Argument from hence, that *he feared God,* Gen. 42. 18. Because I do so, you may assure your selves I shall deal justly and honestly with you: That Principle will lead me to it. He that fears God will not be unjust to Men, yea, he hath that in him, which will excite him to a conscientious Discharge of his whole Duty. Hence we may gather the Reason why the Fear of God in Scripture Language oftentimes denotes all Religion, namely because this is signally promoted by our reverential Fear of God, and because where this prevails, no part of true Religion is wanting.

We are then concerned to fear God, and stand in awe of his Majesty; which is a Duty so frequently inculcated, that we cannot but think it to be of the greatest importance. *Serve the Lord with Fear,* saith the Psalmist, Psal. 2. 11. *Fear the Lord, ye his Saints,* Psal. 34. 9. *He ought to be feared,* Psal. 76. 11. And from Jer. 32. 39. we are informed that the Fear of God is one of the Graces of the New Covenant, *I will give them one Heart and one Way, that they may fear me for ever:* and Ver. 40. *I will put my Fear into their Hearts.* Our Saviour himself enjoins his Disciples and Friends (as we have heard before) *to fear him who hath power to cast into Hell,* Luke 12. 5. We are taught by the Great Apostle that we ought to *serve God with Reverence and godly Fear,* Heb. 12. 28. And he adds as the Reason, *for our God is a consuming Fire.* Fear bears a part in the acceptable Service of God, even as it looks upon him as a *consuming Fire*, that is, as a God that avengeth all Disobedience. And this Fear is not inconsistent with the Love of God, because the Soul may love the same Infinite Being as he is merciful, and fear him as he is Just. If ye call on the Father, — *pass the time of your sojourning here in Fear,* saith another Apostle, 1 Pet. 1. 17. He being our Father, we ought to fear lest we should provoke him by our Disobedience. In brief, God must be feared even by those who are his Sons, for he can punish and chastise them, tho' he will not disinherit them.

To hope in God is another Divine Affection which is included in this First Commandment. The Nature of which is this, that it looks for some future good thing; for *Hope that is seen, is not Hope, for what a Man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?* Rom. 8. 25. He that hopes in God, cheerfully expects that God will support him under, and deliver him from Evil, and at last glorify him: Hope in God is a firm and constant Expectation of the Performance of his Promises relating to the present and future Life; especially it waits for the Fruition of all those great and glorious things that God hath prepared for his faithful Servants hereafter. Therefore 'tis said that it *entreteth into that within the Vail,* Heb. 6. 19. namely, into the Holy of Holies, that is, Heaven. Hope looks beyond all things below to the Mansions above. And this I must add, that it must be join'd with an observing the Conditions of the Promises: else it is *Presumption*, that is, a hoping without any ground.

But he that truly and rightly exerts this Grace, is careful to perform the Terms that are annexed to the Promises, and lays the Foundation of Life and Happiness in Obedience and Holiness. This is the true Nature of Hope.

Now for the Excellency and Usefulness of it. All things that are done in the World, are done in Hope. No Husbandman would sow or till his Ground, if he hoped not that the Seed would grow up, and he should be bless'd with a Crop. No Tradesman would take Pains in his Calling, if he expected not to reap Advantage by his Traffick. No Student would addict himself to Reading and Contemplation, unless he had a Prospect of some Proficiency and Success in his Studies. And in short, every one is inspired by Hope in the Employment he busies himself about. Hope in Religion is as great, and should be more operative, and stir us up to the noblest Adventures. The excellent *Platonist* expresses it thus; * Hope is the Wings of the Soul, which move of themselves upwards, and fly high, and carry it up aloft, and there bear it up. The eloquent *Christian Father* calls it an impregnable Garrison, a Wall inexpugnable, and in other the like apposite Terms sets forth the great Power and Energy of Hope. This is the Grace that acknowledges the divine Power, Wisdom and Goodness, and causes us to live upon them. This abates the Esteem of all Worldly things: This disposes us to Contentedness in all Conditions, and even in Death: and this mitigates our Sorrow for the dead. This is our sure Anchor in the midst of the greatest Storms and Tempests; this is the great Cure of all Maladies. This is very helpful toward the purging our Hearts and Lives from the Contaminations of Sin; for, as the Apostle saith, Every Man that hath this Hope in him, purifieth himself, 1 John 3. 3. This Grace being grown to its Heighth, the strongest Temptations cannot shock it, the blackest and darkest Afflictions cannot eclipse it: But it breaks through Clouds and Darkness, and grapples with the greatest Oppositions, and rejoices with joy unspeakable and full of Glory, according to that of the Apostle, We rejoiced in the Hope of the Glory of God, Rom. 5. 2.

And shall we not then strive to attain to this excellent Virtue? Shall we not nourish it by the Consideration of the Almighty Power, unsearchable Wisdom, undoubted Faithfulness, and transcendent Goodness and Mercy of God, who is a tender and compassionate Father? If we were under the Hands of an inhuman Tyrant, we might sit down in Despair; but here is that which administers a kindly Hope, that we are under the Care of an indulgent Parent, who will not always chide, neither will he keep his Anger for ever. He frequently deals with his Children as Joseph with his Brethren: At first he made as if he knew them not, and used them harshly and severely; but afterwards, when there was a fit Season for it, he made himself known to them in the Caresses and Language of Love, I am Joseph your Brother. And seeing Experience worketh Hope, as the Apostle saith, Rom. 5. 4. let the Experience which we have had of God's Favour in Time past, beget in us an assured Hope of the like for the Time to come, and let former Mercies be Pledges of future ones. I take that to be the Sense of that Place, Hos. 2. 15. I will give the Valley of Achor for a Door of Hope; that Valley was the first the Israelites enter'd upon and possessed after they had passed over Jordan; yea, though it was a Valley of Trouble, as the Word signifies, yet it was a happy Inlet to the Promised Land.

Especially, let us have Hope towards God with respect to our Souls, and our eternal Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ. To which End let us consider that Christ is said to be our Hope, 1 Tim. 1. 1. that is, the only Foundation we have to build our Hope of eternal Life upon; and consequently those that are without Christ, are justly pronounced by the Apostle, to have no Hope, Eph. 2. 12. But it is from the free and undeserved Mercy of God in Christ Jesus, that we are encouraged to exercise this Christian Virtue. Wherefore 'tis said, that God hath given us good Hope through Grace, 2 Thess. 2. 16. that is, through the gracious Offers made to us by Jesus Christ in the Gospel. And another Apostle tells us, that the Father hath begotten us again unto a lively Hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, 1 Pet. 1. 3. by his voluntary and free Undertakings for us, and particularly by his rising from the dead, and ascending into Heaven, and assuring us of the Pardon of all our Sins.

To support and fortify our Hope, we ought to set before us the universal Tender of Grace: Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give

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you Rest, Mat. 11. 28. Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out, John 6. 37. And our Hope may be encouraged by the extensive Mercy of God to the worst of Sinners. There are abundant Instances of this in the Scriptures, but none more eminent than that of *Manasseh*, who was the most prodigious Sinner that we read of in the sacred Writings, or can read of any where else. He was a rank Idolater, a Worshipper of Devils, a Sorcerer, a Murderer, a sacrilegious Invader of God's House; and these horrid Crimes were committed against the Counsels of the Prophets, against his pious Education, and against his Conscience. Yet this Profligate becomes a Convert through the indulgent Compassion of Heaven. Therefore, whoever thou art, never despair of God's Mercy to thee, if thou art a true Penitent as he was. So much concerning Hope.

Again, ardently to love God is another main thing enjoined in this Commandment. And truly to love that Being which is most amiable, and most perfect, is but the natural Effect which the Contemplation of such Loveliness and Perfection should produce in us. There is nothing can so forcibly call forth this Passion, as that Object which is most lovely in it self, and is loving and good to us. For as our Fear of God (of which before) arises from the Consideration of his Greatness and Majesty, his infinite Power and Sovereignty, so this Exertment of Love naturally flows from the serious Thoughts of his transcendent Goodness, Mercy, and Bignity. These cannot but kindle this divine Flame in our Hearts, and make us ardent in our Longings after him, and in our designing all to his Glory. In a word, we are bound to unite our Hearts to him by a most intimate and entire Love, which our Saviour thus expresses, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Might, Mat. 22. 37.* But because I have amply discoursed of this before, I omit the Enlargement on it here. These are the internal Acts of Religion and Worship, which the first Commandment calls for. And it is by these Spiritual and Mental Exercises of Religion that we chiefly converse with God, and hold Communion with him. For it is the Soul wherein we resemble the Divinity, it is this that joins us to God, because it is like him. Which is the import of our Saviour's Words, *Mat. 4. 23. The true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.* Our Worship must be spiritual, because God is so. It must flow from the Soul, because this of all things hath the nearest Affinity with God.

But secondly, there is an outward Service and Worship, which this Commandment enjoins also. This is Adoration, a religious Reverence and Homage performed by the Body, a venerating of the Most High, by all external Acts of Religion. This is Honouring of God, for Honouring is a visible Expression of the inward Esteem we have of a Person. It is an outward Testifying of the Excellencies which we acknowledge to be in him. So this Worship we are now speaking of is an extrinsick Sign and Demonstration of that inward Observance, Reverence, Fear, Hope, Trust, Love, which were mentioned before. And the Conjunction of these is necessary, for first God's Image was imprinted on the Body, as well as the Soul, and therefore both must be sanctified, both must be Instruments of Religion. Besides, they are assistant to one another, by reason of that intimate Union which is between them; so that they jointly advance the Concerns of Religion. And then, we are to remember that Christ redeemed not only our Souls but our Bodies; therefore we are to serve him with both, according to that of the Apostle, *We are bought with a Price, therefore glorify God in your Body and in your Spirit, which are God's, 1 Cor. 6. 20.* This is a good Foundation for the Service of the whole Man, Soul and Body, and all the Powers and Faculties of both. On this Account Christianity ought to have its Scene not only in the Heart, but in the outward Man. Moreover, we expect that our Bodies shall be received to Glory and Happiness, and the eternal Jubilee in Heaven, as well as the other Moiety of us: Shall we not then serve God with the former, as well as the latter? Shall not the outward Acts of Religion accompany the inward and mental ones?

Lastly, we need no other Argument than this Frame of ours; we being made a Compound of Spirit and Body, we ought to worship our Maker with both. He expects the Hand to be lifted up in Prayer, to be stretched forth in Charity, and exercised in the Works of Honesty and Industry. He requires the Knee should be bowed to him in our solemn Addresses to him. He forbids the Eye a wanton Glance,

Glance, but would have it employed in its peculiar Office of Devotion, looking up to Heaven, the Residence of the God of all Glory. He calls for the *Ear* to listen to his Laws, and to attend to divine Instruction. He hath constituted the *Tongue* the Organ of his Praise, the great Instrument for the setting forth of his Glory. In brief, he expects that we should *outwardly* behave our selves towards him as the only true God, the sole Object of divine Honour. The *Civil* Worship which is required of us, is the Matter of the Fifth Commandment, but *Religious* or *Divine* Worship is the Subject of this First, which bids us give outward Veneration unto God, and testify our Regards to him by *Words, Gesture, and Deeds.*

First, this must be done by our *Words and Speeches.* Our Mouths are to declare the inward Resentments of our Hearts. There must be a vocal Expressing of the Sense we have of Gods Excellencies and Perfections. The most notable Instances of this kind of external and audible Worship, are these three, 1. A Speaking reverently of God, and all things belonging to him. A pious Man will shew by this what Veneration and Regard he pays to the Almighty. He mentions sacred things in a sacred Manner, he discourses of religious Matters with the greatest Seriousness and Gravity, with a profound Humility and Modesty. 2. Open Profession of the Name of God, and of the Holy Religion which we have embraced. That we are bound to an open Acknowledgment of these is manifest from our Saviour's Words, *Mat. 10. 32, 33.* Not only *Believing with the Heart,* but *Confession with the Mouth,* is made a Condition of Salvation, *Rom. 10. 9.* This is a necessary Honouring of God, when we are asked an Account of our Faith by those who have Power and Authority to do it, when we know that others will be thereby edified and confirmed, when we see Religion is in Danger, and our holding our Peace will be interpreted as a disowning of the Truth, when others by our Silence will be invited to renounce it. Thus our Tongues are to be employed in making Profession of our Religion, otherwise we cannot be said to worship and serve God.

3. Invocation, or Prayer, is another Part of our Oral Worship; and this is three-fold; namely, 1. *Confession,* or an Acknowledgment of our natural Meanness, Vileness, and Unworthiness, but much more of our actual Guilt, which we contract by our daily Offences. 2. *Petition* or Impetration, that is, a hearty imploring of the Divine Help, Mercy and Favour, both for our selves and others. 3. *Praising and giving of Thanks,* which are a higher and nobler Act of Worship than Prayer; for in this latter we lift up our Hearts to God, but in that we are said to lift God up. Our Acknowledgments and Thanksgivings, though they make no Addition to God's Excellency and Perfections, (no more than looking up to the Sun adds a Light to it) yet they spread abroad the Glories of the Heavenly Majesty, and display his infinite and boundless Goodness. Therefore this Religious Service hath been the constant Practise of all pious Votaries. It is usually in the *Psalms* call'd, *Blessing of God,* and so it is sometimes in the New Testament, *Mat. 14. 10. Mark 6. 41. Luke 1. 64. Rev. 5. 12.* And the Reason is, because we speak good of his Name, we speak honourably of our gracious Lord and Benefactor. This is to offer the *Sacrifice of Praise to God, that is, the Fruit of our Lips, giving Thanks to his Name,* *Heb. 13. 14.* Singing is a more elevated and composed Act of Praise and Thanksgiving, and therefore is join'd with them in *Eph. 5. 19.* *Speak to your selves in Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs, giving Thanks always for all things, unto God even the Father, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* It was usual with the antient Worshippers to testify their Joy and Gratitude by this excellent Way of Devotion, as the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament acquaint us; and to this Day the same vocal and loud Expression of Thanks is an eminent Part of Divine Worship.

Secondly, This Worship must be discovered in *Bodily Gesture.* O come, let us worship, and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker, saith the devout Psalmist, *Psal. 95. 6.* So in *Mic. 6. 6.* *bowing themselves before the High God* is equivalent with worshipping him. And we find that kneeling, uncovering the Head, lifting up the Eyes and Hands, standing up, and at other times Prostration, and such like humble Deportment, was the Practise of all the Worshippers of the true God, both in the Old and New Testament. Wherefore, we have no Reason to think that we are excepted from shewing the same Reverence in Prayer and other holy Duties, by our humble and submissive Behaviour and Gesture. We are not

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excused from giving unto God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the devout Adoration of the Body on just Occasions. And the Reason is evident; for as Physicians say of the Pulse, the Heart is known by it, so it is as true that the inward Disposition of Mens Souls is made discernable, and (if I may so say) is felt by these outward Motions and Postures of the Body. This bodily adoring of God is a Sign and Testimony of the inward Worshipping him. It is, as a pious Writer saith, * a Mark of profound Humiliation and Reverence, of that invisible Abjection and Submission of Soul, which are acceptable to God. They that have Religion deeply imprinted on their Minds, will not fail to give Evidence of that Impression by an external and bodily Reverencing of God. He that truly fears God, and is humbled for his Sins, will discover it by these visible Expressions of Religion and Devotion, which are also instrumental to the increasing the inward religious Temper of the Mind, both in those that use them, and in those also that are Spectators of them. That this corporeal Reverence which is paid to God, is a signal Part of Worship or Service, may be gathered from *Mat. 4. 10.* (which our Saviour quotes out of *Deuteronomy*) *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; which refers (as the Context in *St. Matthew* will inform us) to Prostration, or falling down, which was one of the chief Gestures used in Worship. And that bowing down, or using some such reverent Behaviour of the Body, is Part of this First Commandment, may be gather'd from the Second, where we are forbid to bow down to Idols or Images; and why? because bowing down is part of Divine Worship. When it is said then, *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*, we may infer thence that we are obliged to bow down to the true God, and thereby to worship him.

Thirdly, The true Worship which is due to the eternal God, is discover'd by the Actions of the Life. The true Adorer of the Divine Being is known by his frequent Exercises of Mortification and Abstinence, his guarding himself from outward Objects that may promote Temptation, by watching over his bodily Senses, his adding himself to Temperance and Chastity, his Acts of Righteousness and Justice towards his Brethren. He gives Proofs of his being truly religious by his consulting the Holy Scriptures, his delighting to hear them explain'd and applied, his Meditating upon them, his making them the Rule of his Life, his conversing with God in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, his charitable communicating of his worldly Goods to the Neccessitous, his visiting the Fatherless and Widows in their Affliction, and keeping himself unspotted from the World, *i. e.* taking Care that his Mind be not defiled and debauched by the Enjoyments of this Life. This, as the Apostle *James* tells us, is *ἀσκητική* Worship or Religion, yea, this (he saith) is pure and undefiled Religion, worthy of him who is the purest and perfectest Being. But this is not all; this external Worship and Service which God requires of us, consists in turning unto him by unfeigned Repentance (for as we heard before that Faith or Belief, so now it is as true that Repentance is included in this Commandment) in submitting to God's Will and Providence, in obeying his Laws, in living according to that Sense we bear in our Minds of a Being so perfect, and so worthy to be adored. To obey God, to endeavour in all things to please him, to live a pure and holy Life, and to discharge a good Conscience in every thing, are the Height and Perfection of this Duty, and are indeed the greatest and most acceptable Worship we can perform to God. Yea, according to the Rules premised in the Entrance into these Discourses of the Decalogue, we are to take Care that others do all these things mention'd, that our Families, our Flock, our Relations, our Charge, believe, acknowledge, reverence, love, adore, serve and obey, one only true, living, and eternal God. And to sum up all, *Worshipping of God* implies that we and they endeavour to be like him. Honouring of God, saith the || excellent *Hieronymus*, is not only to know the Divine Nature, but to resemble it as much as we can. And *Plato* and some other improved Philosophers had attain'd to this Notion before, declaring that it is the Height and Perfection of all Religion and Divine Worship to imitate God. Thus we see what is the Affirmative Part of this Commandment, what is positively enjoin'd in these Words. *Josephus* hath thus contracted it, † *The First Commandment teacheth us that God is One, and that he alone is to be worshipped.* I have shew'd you what that Worship is, both as it respects the Inward and the Outward Man.

* *ὑποτάξεως καὶ τιμῆς σύμβολον*, *Damascen.*

|| *In Carm. Pythag.*
† *Διδασκει μὴ ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς, καὶ τὸν σέβειν μόνον.*
Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.

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After all I must add this, that the *chief Worship* which is here enjoined, is that which is seated in the former, the *Inward Man*, the *Soul*. Not but that all the Commandments, in their utmost Extent (as hath been said before) include the inward Acts of the Mind; and the *last Commandment* particularly forbids all covetous Desires and Inclinations which relate to the things of this World: But this is that which I say, that this *first Commandment* doth chiefly respect our *inward Duty* in general, and is designed to regulate the Actions of our *Minds* and *Hearts*, and to set us right as to our *internal Principles* of Action. Now that this is chiefly here meant I gather from this, that the other three Commandments of this first Table relate most of all to *outward Worship*, for they forbid *bowing down to Images*, and *taking God's Name in vain*, and *prophaning the Sabbath Day*. Thence I argue, that the inward and mental Worship of God is that which is principally aimed at in this first Precept of the Law. I take it to be the great Design of this Commandment to enjoin *inward* and *spiritual Religion*. And therefore I hold my self obliged to speak somewhat largely of this, before I proceed to the *Negative Part* of this Commandment. Tho' there must be a visible Exercise of Religion and Piety, and an outward Performance of holy Duties, yet our *main Care* must be that our *Hearts* be right before God, and that we serve him with the *inward Man*.

We cannot but be made sensible of this from our Saviour's frequent Checking and Reproving the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* for their Neglect, and even want of this internal Principle. The visible and external Shew of Piety which they made, was remarkable in such Instances as these; first, they were very conversant in the holy Scriptures, they spent much Time in Reading of these, and were so well skilled in them, that they could tell how many *Verses*, how many *Words*, nay how many *Letters* were in every Section of the Bible. That they might be acquainted more especially with some Parts of it, they wore them about them continually. Certain * Portions of Scripture were written in two Parchments, whereof one was bound to their Foreheads, that they might mind, remember, and think upon it; the other to their left Arm toward their Hearts, that they might be affected with it. These are call'd by *Moses*, *Totaphoth*, *Frontals*, and by the Rabbins *Tephillim*, because they used them chiefly at their Prayers in the Synagogues; and in the New Testament they are call'd *Phylacteries*, i. e. *Conservatories* of the Law. These Parchments were made of the Skin of a clean Beast, and what was written in them, was written with the right Hand, unless the Scribe had the Use of the left only; and great Curiosity there was in the Lines, and in the whole Manner of Writing it. Nay, some of them wore Parchment Scrolls of Scripture not only on their Foreheads and Arms, but they used them instead of a Border, Fringe or Lace, at the Bottom of their Garments, in which they fasten'd sharp Thorns, that by the Pricking of them they might be reminded of the Commandments, as St. || *Jerom* reports. Thus they were beset with Scripture, and clothed with it from Head to Foot. I will only add, that the ordinary sort of these *Phylacteries* and Borders would not content the bigotted Pharisees, but they affected those which were very large and wide, and which made a greater Shew than the rest; of which our Saviour took Notice, saying, *They make broad their Phylacteries, and enlarge the Borders of their Garments*, Mat. 23. 5. And some have thought that this gave the Denomination to the *Pharisees*, deriving that Name from a † Word which signifies to extend or enlarge.

Again, as these Men were great *Scripturists*, so they were very celebrated *Expositors* and *Preachers*. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* sit in *Moses's Seat*, saith *Christ*; and he adds, *All whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do*, Mat. 23. 2, 3. by which it appears, that their Doctrine was generally good and sound, and that they preached excellently well. And they were very industrious in Propagating their Religion, they spared no Pains to win Converts to their Way, for they compass'd Sea and Land to make one *Profelyte*, Mat. 23. 15. And they were as eminent for Praying as they were for Preaching and making *Profelytes*; they took Delight in Praying openly, and in the Sight of all Men, which *Christ* expressed thus, *They love to pray standing in the Synagogues, and in the Corners of the Streets*, Mat. 6. 5. And of the same Persons he saith, *They make long Prayers*. It seems they enlarged their Prayers, as well as their *Phylacteries*; they had a way of lengthening their Prayers, and eking out their Devotion, which our Saviour calls *Battology* in * another Place. To Prayers they added *Fasting*, as *Christ* introduces a *Pharisee* speaking

* Namely,
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ing after this sort, *Luke 18. 12. I fast twice in the Week, i. e. I fast on Mondays and Thursdays* (as was the Custom with them) besides the Yearly Fasts which I observe. *Almsdeeds* likewise accompanied their Fasting and Praying, as is intimated in Christ's warning his Disciples *not to do their Alms as those Hypocrites did, Mat. 6. 2.* And it appears from their giving so largely to the *Corban* (as we read) that they knew how to bestow their Money on charitable Uses.

Lastly, See how religiously they observed the Traditions of the Elders, as to external Purifications and Washings. *They eat not, except they wash their Hands oft, Mark 7. 3.* The * Word which is here translated *oft*, hath different Significations, and accordingly may be render'd diversly: first, it signifies the *Fist* or *Hand* *closed*, and so here is meant their manner of Washing their Hands by thrusting the Fist into the Palm of the Hand. This was a peculiar way of Washing, which they affected. Again, the Greek Word signifies also *the Elbow*, and so it is thought that this denotes here a particular Mode of washing their Hands, by letting the Water drop from them, being held up to the very Elbows. Of this speaks † *Maimonides*, and *Theophylact* thinks this Custom is meant here by our Saviour. More-
over, the Word may be rendred [*Diligently*,] or according to the *Syriack* [*Accurately*,] and so signifies to us the great Care and Exactness they used in these Ceremonious Washings. This produced at last a whole Treatise, entituled *Fadaim*, i. e. *Of the Washing of Hands*; where is shewed what Water must be used for that purpose, what Vessels are to be imploy'd, what things pollute the Hands, and occasion Washing, and how this is to be performed.

Thus if being acquainted with the Scriptures, and even wearing them about them, if Preaching and making Profelytes, if Praying and Fasting, if Alms-deeds and Ceremonies, Washings and Cleansings, were infallible Marks of true Righteousness and Holiness, then these Scribes and Pharisees were holy and righteous Persons, and exceeded most in that way. But unless we far exceed these, we are assured by our Saviour, that *we shall never enter into the Kingdom of God*. For (as it was said in another case) * *there is wanting some inward thing*. All that external Shew of Holiness is insignificant, without an inward Sense of it on the Heart. The Pharisees were destitute of this, they did Great Things, if you respect the mere outward Acts of Religion: but they were not solicitous about the Heart and Affections, and so it was little or nothing that they did. They were like the Pagan Worshippers, who would by no means approach their Altars with unwashed Hands, altho' their Consciences were defiled, and their Lives were impure. They carefully avoided all corporal Pollution and Defilement, but minded not the Impurity of their Souls. *They washed the Outside of the Dish and Platter*, as our Saviour told them, but let the Inside be foul.

All this is short of the true Serving and Worshipping of God. Therefore those who would acquit themselves to be true Worshippers, must exceed the Pharisees in this. They must not lay the stress on bodily and outward Performances, they must not content themselves with the bare Work done, as too many do, but they are to take care that their serving of God be a reasonable Service, accompanied with and springing from the Understanding, Will, and Affections. *David*, who was a Man of an Evangelical Spirit, altho' he had the Benefit of the outward Washings prescribed by the *Mosaick Law*, and without doubt made use of them upon all Occasions, as being obliged to do so by the Nature of that Dispensation which he was then under, yet this did not suffice him. If his Heart and inward Man were not purified by the Grace of the Holy Spirit, he reckon'd himself polluted and defiled, notwithstanding all the Purifications of the Law. *Behold!* (saith he) *thou desirest Truth in the inward Parts: and in the hidden Part thou shalt make me to know Wisdom, Psal. 51. 6.* And again, *Ver. 10. Create in me a clean Heart, O God.* In imitation of this Holy Man we ought to be most careful of the inward Temper of our Souls. Tho' we cannot be Christians without a conscientious Discharge of all the External Duties of the Gospel, yet these are but as it were the Body of Religion: and therefore they must be inspired and actuated by an inward Principle, which is the Life and Soul of Religion.

Here then our main Business lies, to take care of our Hearts, according to that excellent Advice of the Wise Man, *Keep thy Heart with all diligence, for out of it are the Issues of Life*, *Prov. 4. 23.* Which Words at the first view might seem to be very Philosophical, and to carry this Meaning with them, that the Heart is

the chief and most considerable Part in the Body of Man; that this is the Fort Royal, and therefore to be diligently watched and kept. And Nature hath taken great care of it, for we see this Castle is moted about, and hath its Intrenchments. It is surrounded with a sufficient *Membrane*, with a *Midriff*, and with a *Lympha* round on every side. And 'tis added, *out of it are the Issues of Life*; hence, as from a Fountain flow the Streams of *Vital Activity*. Here you may behold and at the same time admire those two famous Cavities through which the Blood continually makes its impetuous Passage, and diffusing it self into all the Parts of the Body, communicates Heat and Vigour to them. Thus even in the literal and philosophical Sense it is most true, that *out of Man's Heart are the Issues of Life*.

But those that are acquainted with the Stile of the Holy Scripture, find another and a higher Meaning in *Solomon's Words*; for by the *Heart* is to be understood the Mind and Affections, and all the Inclinations of the Soul; and *keeping the Heart with all Diligence*, signifies that great Care and Concern which we ought to shew in ordering and regulating our inward Desires and Affections. And then we may interpret the next Clause in either of these Senses, first, *out of it are the Issues of Life*, that is, thence proceed all the Actions of Man's Life, whether they be good or bad. As the Heart in the Body is the Fountain of natural Life, so the Mind is no less of that which is Moral and Religious. As we may know the Fountain by the Streams, so we may discover the Heart or Soul of Man by the Actions which proceed from it. This then is the Force of the Reason which *Solomon* here gives, why every Man is to make his chief Business to keep his Heart with all diligence, because such as his Heart is, such will his Actions be, such will his Words and all the Circumstances of his Life be. This is the Import of *Christ's Words* in *Mat. 12. 33. Either make the Tree good, and his Fruit good; or else make the Tree corrupt, and his Fruit corrupt: for the Tree is known by his Fruit.* A good Heart will be the Root and Source of good Actions, but an evil one will produce nothing but evil and vitious Actions. Our Lives will always be the Pictures of our Hearts, and Men may without Breach of Charity construe one by the other. *Out of the Heart*, saith our Saviour, *proceed evil Thoughts, Murders, Adulteries, Fornications, Thefts, false Witness, Blasphemies*, *Mat. 15. 19.* The Heart is the Shop of all these adulterate Wares, and it never fails to vent them when Temptation sollicit, and the Grace of God's Spirit is not made use of: The Heart is the Womb where all Good or Evil is conceived and shaped, and after this Conception and Formation of either, they are brought forth and deliver'd in outward Actions. Whatsoever may be called *sinful* in our outward Behaviour, in our Lives, whatever appears enormous in our bodily Actions, whatever vitious Deed discovers it self openly in the World, it all derives its Sinfulness and Viciousity from the Mind. For this Reason we are concern'd to keep our Hearts with all Diligence.

Or Secondly, We may interpret the Words thus: *Out of the Heart are the Issues of Life*, that is, upon our ordering and managing our Hearts depends either Life or Death, Happiness or Misery. He that looks to his Affections and Desires with that Care and Caution which are required of him, in so doing lays the Foundation of his own eternal Welfare. But he that neglects this Duty, is like to receive the Reward of Fools, and the Wages of unprofitable Servants. So that if you consider the Words in this Sense, they contain in them a very forcible Reason of what the Wise Man exhorts us to.

There is another strong Argument that may be made use of to enforce this, namely, because God himself, before and above all other things whatsoever, hath regard to the Heart and Inward Man. To this purpose is that of our Wise Man, *Prov. 21. 2. The Lord pondereth the Hearts.* Which Words we may observe have something of more than ordinary importance in them, for they are the Repetition of what *Solomon* had before delivered, in the very same Terms almost, *Prov. 16. 2. The Lord weighs the Spirits.* We know that the weighing of Mens Bodies hath been an Invention and Art practised by some Masters of Medicks. But lo here the *Divine Staticks*! It is God's peculiar Privilege to weigh the Spirits and Souls of Men. If these prove not light, that is, if they be found sincere and upright, and regulated according to his Will, we shall be accepted of him, we shall certainly share in his Favour: yea, for the sake of these he will have regard to our outward Services and Performances. Yea, I will add that God will be pleas'd with the sincere Tender

of our Hearts, tho' all things else are wanting. *If there be first a willing Mind, it is accepted according to that a Man hath, and not according to that he hath not, 2 Cor. 8. 12.* Sometimes the Case will be such, that the Omission of outward Actions shall be excused and dispensed with, if the inward and spiritual Acts of the Mind be not omitted. God oftentimes interprets sincere Inclinations and Desires for Performances. He was pleas'd with Abraham's Willingness and Readiness to sacrifice his only Son. He accepted of David's Desires and Intentions of building a House to him; 'tis said, *He did well, because it was in his Heart to build a Temple, 1 Kings 8. 18.* When the external Exercise of Religion is out of our power, the internal is accepted. But, because this latter is never liable to outward Restraint and Violence, therefore *this is indispensably necessary.* And when we are not at liberty to perform the outward Acts of Religion, this is *absolutely* requisite. Without this our Prayers are esteemed no better than *Howling*, as is clear from *Hos. 7. 14. They have not cried unto me with their Heart, when they howled upon their Beds.* Therefore we are reminded to call upon the Lord out of a pure Heart, *2 Tim. 2. 22.* If we give Alms, it must be *with simplicity*; *Rom. 12. 8.* with pure and simple Intentions to honour God with our Substance. Our Love must be out of a pure Heart, *1 Tim. 1. 5.* The Word must be heard *with an honest and good Heart, Luke 8. 15.* And so it must be obeyed, according to that in *Rom. 6. 17. Ye have obeyed from the Heart the Form of Doctrine whereto ye were deliver'd.* We are commanded to sing with Grace in our Hearts to the Lord, *Col. 3. 10.* In a word, no Exercise of Religion is acceptable to God, unless it be accompanied with the Heart. This is an Accomplishment that makes not any Noise in the World, it is not much talked of, it seems mean and inconsiderable in the Eyes of Men; but let this satisfy us, that it is of high Value and Esteem in the accounts of God.

We meet with a remarkable Passage to this purpose in *1 Sam. 16.* where we read that God being resolved to take away the Kingdom from Saul, bad Samuel go and anoint a King out of the Sons of Jesse, who, under a pretence of a Sacrifice at Bethel, were invited to appear before him. *And it came to pass when they were come, that he looked on Eliab (the first of Jesse's Sons that appeared before him) and said, Surely the Lord's Anointed is before him; this is the godly Person that outshines all the rest: the Height of his Stature bespeaks him a Superiority above others, his stately Mein and Looks intercede for him: that manly Forehead must be deck'd with a Crown.* But read what is said in the 7th Verse, *The Lord said unto Samuel, Look not on his Countenance, or on the Height of his Stature, because I have refused him; for the Lord seeth not as Man seeth; for Man looketh on the outward Appearance, but the Lord looketh on the Heart.* Thus Samuel was check'd for his weak and human Judgment, and with him the whole Race of Mankind is reproved, because they do not judge righteous Judgment, because they are so grossly erroneous and partial, as to set a higher Value on the outward Man, and the specious Concerns of it, than on the real and substantial ones of the inward. But will not the Judge of all the Earth do right? Yes assuredly, and what he esteems is of the highest Value. Wherefore the Heart must needs be so, for nothing is so pleasing and acceptable to him as That. Now, our chief Care ought to be about that which God most delights in.

Again, this may be added as another good Reason why we are to be extraordinarily concern'd for the regulating and ordering our Affections and inward Inclinations, namely, because of the Difficulty of this Task. We are to consider with our selves how liable we are to miscarry in this Affair; for do not our Consciences tell us that we find a great Reluctancy and Backwardness to undertake this Employment, and discharge it aright? It is no difficult Matter to step out of doors to the Public Assemblies, to join with the Prayers and Service of the Church, and to hear the Word preached: it is no hard Task to spend an Hour or two in the outward Worship of God, to read the Holy Scriptures, and to talk religiously. These are all cheap and easy. But to set a narrow Watch upon our Hearts, to retrench our very Thoughts, to correct the inward Motions of our Minds, to be inwardly affected with Religion and Holiness, these are not slight and easy things, but go against the Grain. Most Men are Strangers to this; but it is certain that this is the very Test and Trial of True Religion. As for the outward Actions, Men are not unwilling to correct them a little, they are content to lay some restraint upon them; but as for their inward Thoughts and Affections, they desire to be excused

and to be at liberty. Now, this great Aversness to this Work tells us plainly the Difficulty of performing it aright. But then, this Difficulty may excite us to set in good earnest about it, and that speedily, that so we may not want Time to perform it, there being an absolute Necessity of its being done. For (as I have shew'd) all outward Exertments of Holiness will be utterly insignificant without this, which is the Life and Substance of all Religion. Accordingly this *First Commandment* respects chiefly the *inward* and *spiritual* Part of Religion, the Worship of God that proceeds from the *Heart*: which I gather from this, that the other three following ones refer principally to the external Service of God, and the outward Acts of Religion.

Next, I come to the *Negative* part of this Commandment, *i. e.* to shew what Sins are forbidden by it. As we are commanded (according to the former part of it) to have a God, and him the True one, and to worship and serve him, so we are forbid to deny a God, to have any other God but the true one, and to serve and worship any but him. So that these three things are directly prohibited in the First Commandment, *viz.* *Atheism*, *Superstition* and *Idolatry*.

First, *Atheism* is directly opposite to the Duty required of us in this first Precept of the Moral Law. This *Atheism* is,

1. In *Thought*. The Fool hath said in his Heart, *There is no God*, Psal. 14. 1. He entertains such an Apprehension as this in his Mind, that there is no Supreme Being that is the Cause and Original of all things. He pretends that he cannot conceive an eternal immaterial Substance, he cannot form such an Idea in his Thoughts. But the true Account of it is, he will not, because his Mind is prejudiced and depraved.

2. There is the *Atheism* of the *Tongue*, as well as of the Heart: There are those who openly disavow the Belief of a Deity, and are so impudent as to proclaim it to the World. There have been some of these vile Men in all Ages, and this of ours is not without them at this Day. I have made it my Business heretofore to baffle this Folly, or Madness rather: wherefore I will say nothing of it here. But besides this grosser sort of *Atheists*, there are others that justly merit that Name, for even in Words they deny God. Such are all *Pagans* that are bred up in Ignorance and Barbarism; for the Apostle tells the *Ephesians*, that when they were in their *Gentilism*, they were without God, Eph. 2. 12. they were *Atheists*, so 'tis in the Greek. Such are professed *Jews*, who publicly disown *Christ*, who is the Son of God, and God himself: so far *Judaism* is *Atheism*. Such likewise are *Arians* and *Socinians*, who professedly renounce the Divinity of the Second and Third Person in the Glorious Trinity, and therefore may truly be ranked in the Number of *Atheists*.

3. There are *Atheists* not only in Thoughts and Words, but in *Actions*. These are they that acknowledge a God, but yet live as if there were none. They behave themselves as if there were no Omniscient Eye to take notice of what they do, as if there were no Supreme Ruler and Governour to punish their Miscalriages. Of these Men the Apostle speaks, Tit. 1. 16. *They profess that they know God, but in Works they deny him; being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good Work reprobate.* Though they seem to grant a Deity, yet they disown his Providence, his Care and Oversight over the World. They say, *how doth God know? and is there Knowledge in the Most High?* as the Psalmist represents these Men, Psal. 73. 11. These Scoffers (as St. Peter characterizes them) *walk after their own Lusts*, 2 Pet. 3. 3. murmur against Heaven, blaspheme the Holy Name of God, disregard his Judgments, and live in the constant Neglect of his Worship both private and publick: or if at any time they are concern'd in it, it is with great Irreverence and Prophaneness. They vilify all that is sacred and good, they laugh at Religion, and defy the Author of it. This is *Practical Atheism*, which is no other than *Impiety*. Unless you will add to this Character *Formality* and *Hypocrisy*, which are dissembling with God, and therefore nothing can be more prophane than these. So that an *Hypocrite* in Religion is the worst sort of *Practical Atheist*.

Let us then perfectly abhor this, and all the other Degrees of *Atheism* before-mentioned; let us with Disdain and Indignation eject all those Imaginations which would dethrone the Deity; let us with the utmost Hatred and Abhorrence defy such cursed Thoughts, and fling them back to Hell from whence they came. Let us not dare to pollute our Lips with the execrable Language of

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Atheists, whose Tongues are set on fire of Hell. Let not our Lives and Manners favour of any such horrid Wickedness, let not any of our Actions tell the World, that we so much as doubt of the Existence of a Deity, and his universal Government over all Persons and Things. Finally, let us demean our selves through our whole Lives, as those who heartily acknowledge a Sovereign Author and Governor of the World, one who observes all our Thoughts, Words and Deeds: and let us strive to avoid not only all Prophaneness, but Superstition. Which brings me to what I propounded to speak of next.

2. *Superstition*, as well as *Atheism*, is forbidden in this Commandment: For this we are to know, that there are two *Extremes* in Religion, one in the *Defect*, which is Neglect and Contempt of God and his Worship, Prophaneness and even *Atheism* it self: the other in the *Excess*, which is a vain and unnecessary Worship, and this is *Superstition*. The former proceeds from a fond Opinion and Conceit of Reason without Fear; the latter from Fear without right Reason. The first is a Defiance of Religion; the second makes it a groveling and sordid thing. The one makes Men irreligious and prophane; the other fills them with false Imaginations and needless Terrors. These are the two *Extremes* which prevail in the World, and the greatest Numbers of Men are carried away with them, which was long since observed by a very grave Moralist, † Some (saith he) erroneously plunge themselves into *Superstition*; others shunning this as some dangerous Bog, do unawares fall into *Atheism*, as down some fatal Precipice. I have spoken of the latter of these, now I come to treat of the former; and here I hope to offer the true Notion of *Superstition*, which hath been very much mistaken, and hath caused some Disturbance in the World. To give a full Account of it, I will examine the *Words* by which it is expressed to us.

† Ἐνιοὶ ἀποφάλλοντες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἄλιθον· οἱ δὲ φόβοντες ὥσπερ ἔλθουσι δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἔλαθον αὐθις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες ἢ ἀθεότητι. Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir.

1. Tully acquaints us that || those of old who offered Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods whole Days together, continually begging of them that their Children might out-live them, *ut sibi superstites essent*, were called *Superstitiosi*. Such importunate and unwearied Petitioners in behalf of their Family-concern, (being not so mindful of the Publick as their own Private Interest) gain'd the Title of *superstitious*. But this Original of the Word is not to our present Purpose, unless it be in this Respect, that those Persons were truly guilty of *Superstition* in their Misplacing of their Addresses, and too anxiously making that to be the Subject of their Prayers, which should not have been.

|| Majores nostri religionem à superstitione separaverunt: Nam qui totos dies precabantur & immolabant ut sui liberi sibi superstites essent, superstiti si sunt appellati, quod nomen postea latius patuit. De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

2. This Word was thought to have its Rise from the *Worshipping of the Dead*, who were called *Superstites*, because they survived in another World. This was a common Practice among the Gentiles, they worshipped separate Spirits, departed Souls, who lived after the Death of the Body. Thus some derive the Word, and *Lactantius* came near to it when he said, † the *superstitious* are those that worship the surviving Memory of the Dead, or that worship the remaining Images of their Parents as Gods. But this is rather *Idolatry* than *Superstition*.

† — Qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt, aut superstites imagines parentum tanquam deos venerantur. Institut. l. 4.

3. *Δεισιδαιμονία* (which is the Greek Word for *Superstition*) was reckon'd to be that Adoration which was paid to *Dæmons*, either good or bad; for this * *Theo-** *Charastus* means, when he defines *Superstition* to be *δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον*, by which he understands that Fear and Reverence which was given even to Diabolick Spirits, and whatever the mad World thought was Partaker of Divinity. The holy Records acquaint us that they anciently worship'd Devils, *Deut. 32. 17. Psal. 106. 37.* which is back'd by that of the Apostle, *The Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God, 1 Cor. 10. 20.* This was the vile Custom of a great Part of the Pagan World, they paid Obedience to the Spirits of Darknels, they were guilty of a cowardly Worshipping of them, for fear they should hurt them. But this, as well as the other before mention'd, is not properly *Superstition*, but something greater and higher, *i. e.* *Idolatry*, of which I shall speak afterwards.

4. *Δαιμόνιον* imports the *Deity*, as well as finite Spirits, (whether Human or Angelical) and consequently *δεισιδαιμονία* among the Gentiles was an *over-timorous* Appre-

† Δύσαν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ θεὸς
πομπικὴν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐκείνου
νῦν καὶ σωφρονιστὴν τὸν ἀν-
θρώπου, οὐ μόνον ἵνα θεὸς,
εἶναι ὅτι λυπηρὲς καὶ βλαβερὸς.
Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας.

|| Οὐκ οἶε θεὸς εἶναι ὁ ἀ-
θεὸς, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἐβέ-
λετο, πῶς οἶε ὁ ἀθεὸς.

* Terror
deorum
inanis.
De Nat.
Deor. 1.2.

* Epist.
123.

† Exitia-
bilis su-
perstitio.
Lib. 15.
* Nova
& malefi-
ca super-
stitio. In
Nerone,
c. 16.
† Lib. 10.
Epist. 97.

Apprehension of their Gods; an excessive and unreasonable Fear of them. Accordingly Plutarch defines it an Opinion of the Gods which is troublesome, and such as strikes a Fear into a Man, and causes a Consternation and Depression in him, whilst he thinks they are Gods, but withall that they are very grievous and hurtful. And in the same Place he makes this Distinction between an Atheist and one that is superstitious; the former (saith he) || doth not believe there are Gods, the latter wishes there were none, and unwillingly believes there are. The Reason is, because he apprehends them to be Ill-natur'd Beings, and diffi-

cult to be pleased. This was the Pagan Superstition, which is rightly styled by Tully * a vain and groundless Fear of the Gods. So proportionably among those that acknowledge the True God, Superstition is a causeless Dreading of the Divine Majesty, which arises from a false Conception of him and of his Nature. For some Men are apt to entertain hard Thoughts of God, to represent him as a Tyrant, to fancy that he is rigorous and austere, sower, angry and cruel, and that he delights in nothing so much as the Death and Damnation of Mankind. Or else they imagine that he is delighted in little and trivial Things, and will be pleased with petty and foolish Observances, with fond and trifling Ceremonies. Both these false Representations of God produce slavish Fear, servile Worship, constrain'd Devotion, Timorousness in Religion, Jealousies, Delusions, Anxiety, Sadness, Melancholy, and an Endeavour to surpass all others in Excess of Wor-

ship. Which reminds me of the 5th and Last, and which indeed is the most comprehensive Meaning of Superstition. This among the Gentiles (as Plutarch particularly mentions) was an immoderate and excessive Adoring of the Gods: For from || Seneca and others we are informed, that Superstition was derived from *superstare*, as it signifies *Nimium esse*: So that those were properly superstitious, who were over-much religious, who did that which was superfluous and unnecessary in their Devotion, thinking thereby to appease and bribe their angry Deities. Hence they found out strange and unaccountable Rites, foolish Observations, Charms, inhuman Sacrifices, Multiplicity of Altars, Purifications and Lustrations of different Kinds; and in short, they did all they could invent to compound for their Sins, and to please their Gods. In this Sense the Apostle used the Word when he thus addressed himself to the Athenians, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious, Acts 17. 22. you are too full of your *σεβήματα*; your Devotions (as he terms them in the next Verse) you are for multiplying of Altars, you are for heaping up of Gods whether known or unknown, as he there tells them. You have no Moderation with you, you run into Extremes. And in this Sense the Pagans understood the Word, when they fallily applied it to the Jewish Religion, as in Acts 25. 19. Festus the Roman Governor declaring St. Paul's Cause before King Agrippa, told him that the Jews had certain Questions against him of their own Superstition, that is, of their Religion, which (as he thought) maintain'd a great Company of needless Disputes and Services. And after the same Manner they applied it to Christianity, for this is call'd a † pernicious Superstition by Tacitus, an * upstart and mischievous Superstition by Suetonius, and the Christians themselves are branded with the Title of † superstitious by Pliny the younger. This shews what was their Notion of Superstition, (though they horribly misapply'd it, and though they did not discern this Fault in themselves) namely, that it was some superfluous and needless sort of Worship, that it was an Extreme in Religion.

Here then we have yet a more perfect Account of this Vice; and I will now speak of it as others, besides Pagans, are incident to it. I have before consider'd it as a Passion of the Mind, i. e. as it is an inordinate and irregular Fear. I will now speak of it as it is an Effect of that vicious Principle, as it is an unlawful Act produced by it, and flowing from it. We have seen in the general that Superstition is an Over-doing, that it is something which is lavish and superabundant in Religion; but more particularly and distinctly to explain the Nature of it, 1. It is doing more in Religion than is required by God. 2. It is doing that which is in it self commanded, but with a false Principle. 3. It is a being over-concern'd about things that are merely circumstantial or Indifferent.

First, I say, it is doing more in the Way of Religion and Divine Worship than God hath exacted of us. Many Sects of Worshippers among those that pretend to be of the Christian Church, are guilty of this, but none more than those of the *Roman Communion*. They are not content with the Ordinances and Institutions of God's Appointment, but they with great Zeal and Earnestness impose the Inventions of Men. Any impartial and unprejudiced Eye may discern in their Church abundance of Rites and Observances which are not commanded by God. *Excess of Ceremony in Religion* shews that they are *superstitious*, and so doth that *Will-Worship* which runs through all Parts of their Service and Devotion. Besides, their plain *Effects* of Superstition are seen in a great Number of Usages allow'd of, yea mightily extoll'd by those of the *Roman Perswasion*. A tedious Pilgrimage is but a short Step with a bigotted Devotionist. The Heat of his superstitious Zeal makes Ice and Snow a warm Habitation. This turns long and unhealthful Fasting into Feasts. This changes the Roughness and Uneasiness of Hair Cloth into the Softness of the finest Linen. This reconciles the Skin to Whippings and Scourgings, and makes the most inhuman Discipline very gentle and pleasant. These, and many other such fond Practises are the result of that *δεισιδαιμονία*, that undue Fear and Dread of Him whom they worship.

Yea, not only *Papists*, but too many of those that profess a *Reformed Christianity*, are justly blameable in this Matter. They that affect vain Repetitions in their Addresses to Heaven, they that value their Service by the Length of it, they that study Quaintness of Phrase in their Petitions to the Almighty; they that offer a conceited and fantastical Devotion, they that lay great Stress on meer Speculations and Opinions, they that blindly follow and admire the Dictates of a Party, they that delight in multiplied Formalities, they that dote on the outside of Religion, cannot clear themselves of the Charge of *Superstition*; for this (as we have heard) is doing that in Religion which is not required; it is a fond Over-acting of Religion.

Secondly, Superstition is doing that which is in it self commanded, but with a false Principle and Perswasion. And then this undue Principle must be consider'd as that which is superfluous in the Action, and not required by God. Thus the *Jews*, even whilst they observed their Legal Rights in the Worship of God, which we know were appointed and enjoined by God himself, were (notwithstanding this) *superstitious*, and grossly superstitious, because they had a false Perswasion concerning these ceremonious Usages. They thought that these were the *Main* of Religion, they groundlessly conceited that if they were strict Observers of these, they might be excused as to the Neglect of Moral Duties, and accordingly they despised these, and relied wholly on the other, *Isa. I. II. & 63. 5. Jer. 7. 4.* so the *Papists* (who in too many things imitate the depraved *Jews*) whilst they pray and fast, and give Alms, and perform many other Duties of Religion which are enjoin'd in the Evangelical Laws, yet they are in a very high Manner *superstitious*; and the Reason is this; because, though they do that which is required, yet they add a corrupt Principle of their own, they have wrong Conceptions concerning Praying, Fasting, and Alms Deeds, and the rest of the religious Exercises and Performances which are incumbent on them; they look upon them as *meritorious*, they persuade themselves that by these Acts of Religion they shall make Satisfaction for their Sins to the Divine Justice; yea, they verily think, that by these external Performances they shall make amends for the want of inward and real Piety. Now these false Springs of their religious Actions render them the most *superstitious* People under Heaven. And whoever they are (though not professed Roman Catholicks) that have an undue Esteem of their Religious Duties, that place their sole Confidence in them, and think the very bare doing of them is sufficient, these justly incur the Imputation of *Superstition*.

Thirdly, Superstition is an excessive Valuing or Condemning those things in Religion which are not absolutely necessary, but are of an *indifferent* Nature. There are several *Circumstances* in religious Worship, which vary according to the Places and Countreys where they are made use of; these in themselves, abstractly considered, are neither Good nor Evil, but are of a middle Nature, and therefore they may be used or not used, as shall be thought fit by those whose Business it is to order things of this Kind according to the Edification of the Church. Now, to be over-fond in retaining these, to be hot and fierce in contending for them, as if they were

were of absolute Necessity, is *Superstition*, because this is attributing more Worth and Value to a thing in Religion than truly it hath. And so on the contrary, there is *Superstition* in a turbulent Opposing, in an impetuous Condemning these things as absolutely unlawful and sinful, which in their own Nature are *meerly indifferent*, and are neither commanded nor forbidden. For the main and essential Duties of Religion are expressly enjoined us, and there must be no Dispute and Difference about them; but the *Manner* of doing them is oftentimes left to us, and therein there may be some Variety.

Thus for Example, there may be *Superstition* in urging the *absolute Necessity* of *unpremeditated* or *extemporary* Prayer; and there are those that are *superstitious* in using a *set Form*. This is on either side, when the one or the other sort of Praying is thought by the respective Users of them to be the *only lawful* Way of making their Addresses to God; whereas the Holy Scripture, which is our Rule in this and all other Parts of Worship, doth not speak exclusively of either of them. It frequently commands us to pray, but it no where saith that it *must* be done in a premeditated Form, or in Words immediately conceived; therefore we may indifferently put up our Petitions to God either ways: Besides, it is certain that they are *both* of them useful and proper in their kind; the former sometimes in private, and upon emergent Occasions, the latter in the publick Service of God, not wholly excluding the other. Take another Example; there may be *Superstition* in *sitting at the Sacrament*, and there may be also in *Kneeling*. It is in the former when a Man thinks that the Posture of Sitting is the *only* one that is lawful, and condemns all those that use any other. It is also in the latter, when a Man persuades himself of the absolute Necessity of Kneeling, and much more if he hath a Conceit of some inward Virtue and Worth in it; whereas 'tis certain that neither the one nor the other are grounded on the very Words of Scripture; for 'tis no where said, you shall sit at the Communion, or you shall kneel at the Communion. And though we read indeed in express Terms, that the Apostles *sat at Supper*, yet the Learned know, that the original Word properly signifies *lying along, or leaning*; for that was the Posture of the *Jews* at their Meals at that time.

Wherefore, as to these particular Circumstances of Worship, and some others which might be mentioned, I conclude that they are in themselves *indifferent*; and ought to be used as such. But if we place a *Necessity* in them, and censure, yet utterly condemn the Practice of those who differ from us, we run into *Superstition*, and that on several Accounts; for this is over-doing in the Worship of God, which as I said, is of the very Nature of *Superstition*. Again, this is placing that Worth, and Holiness in a thing which are not really in it. And moreover, it is direct *Superstition*, because it arises from a vain and needless Fear, from a fond Imagination that the God whom they worship is offended at, or pleased with these things. This is a Mistake; for he looks at the *Substance* of the Duty we perform, and indeed the *Manner* of it thus far, that it be done according to the Rule which he hath prescribed in his Word, that it be done heartily and sincerely, and to his Glory. But where the particular Mode and Circumstances of a religious Duty are not prescribed in holy Scripture, nor otherwise limited, we are left to our Liberty, and we may as to these indifferent things act as we see good, and we are not to think that God will be displeased with us, for he is offended at nothing but what is sinful, and nothing is sinful but what is forbidden by him. Only this I have to add to what I have said, that if any Persons fearing God are really persuaded in their Consciences that these things which I have mention'd are *not indifferent*, but *unwarrantable* and *unlawful*, then I cannot lay *Superstition* to their Charge, because no Man is to be blamed for acting according to his Conscience, after he hath taken Pains to inform it aright.

This is the Apprehension which I have of this Matter, and I hope no rational Man can be disgusted at it. If Men would walk according to these Measures, their Minds would be more quieted, Religion would be a more manly and august, a more substantial and solid thing, the Circumstances and Appendages of it would be distinguish'd from its main and integral Body, and Men would not dote upon external Observances. * Their Fear towards God would not be taught by the Precepts of Men, as the Prophet speaks. Then Disputes and Wranglings about these things would have an End, then Mens Consciences would not be causlessly scrupulous about petty things, then they would not be scared and terrified with

* Isa. 29.
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an innocent Usage; then they would not be timorous and wavering in their Worship; they would not with Doubting and Hesitancy, with a strange Nice-ness and Anxiousness, join with the publick Assemblies. Their great Care and Zeal would be about that which is absolutely necessary and indispen- sible in Divine Worship; but they would not be over-strict in insisting up- on that which in it self is but indifferent. In a Word, they would not place Reli- gion in that wherein there is none. All this is *Superstition*, and therefore I request the Reader to attend with Impartiality to what I say, and to form a right Notion of the thing I am speaking of. Especially we are concerned to do so, be- cause Men are generally much deceived about this Point. This I think is clear from what hath been said, *viz.* That both those who contend too fiercely against meerly indifferent things, and those that are too zealous in maintaining them, are equally *superstitious*; for this is the Basis I build upon, that rigorously to *stand upon* the doing or not doing of what is not of Necessity in Religion, and what is not re- quired of us, is *Superstition*. For this is an *Excess* in Religion, it is something im- moderate and redundant in the Service of God.

But you will say, Is there any such thing? Can there be any *Excess* and *Over- doing* in Religion? God whom we worship is infinite, and therefore no Service can be too much. All ways of Adoration, yea, if they were more numerous than they are, are little enough. To which I answer, There can be no true and lau- dable *Excess* and *Over-acting* in Religion, but I am now speaking of that which is false, vicious, and blame-worthy. Thus a Man may be said to be *righteous over- much*, as Solomon informs us, *Prov. 7. 16.* He cannot be truly and sincerely righ- teous over-much, but he may be so in an inordinate and irregular Manner; he may in a *superstitious* Way give more Homage and Worship to God than he re- quires. The poor deluded Man, that he may be sure to do *enough* in Religion, doth a great deal *too much*, and offers that Service to his Maker which he never enjoin'd him. And thus instead of being truly religious, and sufficiently careful of his whole Duty, he is too scrupulous and over-busy. This is the true Nature of the Vice which I have been displaying; for *Superstition* differs from Religion as much as fond *Curiosity* and *Pragmaticalness* from a becoming Diligence and Industry. Here therefore we ought to be very cautious; and in order to this by all Means endeavour to cherish in our Minds right Conceptions concerning God and his Worship, and the true Nature of Religion, which consists not in mean and petty Matters, in things of an indifferent Nature, but in real Righteousness and Holi- ness, and the Renovation of our Hearts and Lives.

And withal, consider the hurtful and pernicious Nature of *Superstition*. We may readily subscribe to *Plutarch's* Words, * There is no Malady of the Soul which is * Ουδέν, accompanied with so many Errors and Perturbations, and beset with such con- * τω πολυ- trary and repugnant Opinions as this is. Especially it is more than ordinarily * πλανές κ; hurtful to those that are infected with melancholy, and are sower and severe by * πολυπα- their natural Constitution. Such Persons, if they be over-run with this Distem- * θές νόση- per that I have been describing, are very uneasy in their Minds, and create a great * μα, κ; με- deal of Trouble, not only to themselves, but to others. To conclude, this is a * μιγνύον εναντίας δόξαις κ; base and servile Temper, void of all that generous Freedom which should attend * μαχομένη- true Religion. It is unworthy of a noble Spirit, and unbecoming a true Wor- * αις μάλλον * ως τὸ δ; shipper. It is one of the foulest Blemishes that a Person or a Church can be defa- * δεισιδαι- ced with. It is a near Approach to Idolatry, yea, is a lower kind of it. Where- * μονίας: fore learn to separate Superstition from Religion, that you may worship God a- * Περὶ Δει- right, that you may yield a fit Reverence and Service to him, such as the Affir- * σιδαιμο- mative Part of this Commandment requires, of which I spoke before. * νίας.

3. Idolatry (as well as Atheism and Superstition) is condemn'd by this Command- ment. Some Writers discourse of Idolatry under the first Commandment, and others under the second. I think it belongs to both; and accordingly I will speak of it under both; under the former now, in the general Notion of it; under the lat- ter, more particularly and distinctly afterwards. Idolatry is generally said to be twofold: 1. Worshipping of False Gods. 2. Worshipping the True God in a false Manner. I know this Distinction prevails among some Writers of no mean Note; but they strangely widen the Notion of Idolatry, when they make the Object of it the true God. I have therefore with good Reason reduced the Worship of the

True God in a false Manner, to *Superstition*. And now as to the strict and proper Notion of *Idolatry*, I conceive it consists in this, namely, a giving Divine Worship to any thing or Person but God. Or thus, it is a setting up of something for God which is not so, and it is giving that Adoration to it which is due to God alone. Though I do not deny that there is sometimes a *Mixture* of this with the other, for both *Pagans* and *Papists* pretend that they worship the true God under Idols and Images: But that will appear afterwards in the particular Account I shall give of this Matter. But I say, the first and principal Notion of *Idolatry* is worshipping any thing or Person as God, notwithstanding they have no Claim to that Worship: It is setting up a God besides the true one. This I ground upon the plain Words of this first Commandment, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*; where not only *Atheism* and *Superstition* are forbid, (as I have shewed before) but the Nature of *Idolatry* is set forth and condemned; for this, strictly speaking, is having another God before or besides the true one: It is having that Thing or Being for a God which hath no Divinity in it. This is very plain, and yet hath met with Contradiction from some who pretend to be good Christians. *The first Command-*

* Disput. cum Franck. || De Ver. Relig. l. 5. c. 29. * Exam. 100 Errorum. Er. 17. & 100. *ment, concerning Worshipping of God, and him alone, saith * Socinus, doth not take away from God the Power of commanding us to worship some other besides himself, but it only forbids us to do so of our own Heads. || Volkelius agrees with him, and so doth * Smalcus, who expressly tells us, that God can command that any Man or Angel shall be acknowledged as a God, and worshipped as such. But nothing can be more directly opposite to Reason, (which yet is a Talent that these Men lay claim to above others) and to the plain Meaning of this Commandment it self, which expressly prohibits the giving of Divine Worship to any but the true God. Here then is a Four-fold Idolatry forbidden, 1. That which is Moral, which is an immoderate affecting or prosecuting of any thing that is not our chief Good. It is setting our Hearts wholly on any finite and worldly Object. Thus the Apostle tells us that Covetousness is Idolatry, Col. 3. 5. and again, a covetous Man is an Idolater, Eph. 5. 5. He must needs be so, because he idolizes the World; he sets his Thoughts and Affections on it as his chief Happiness, and consequently makes it his God. Every Man that excessively prizes and loves his worldly Gain and Profit commits Idolatry: He bows down to Earth, he worships thick Clay; Silver and Gold are his Gods; his Chests and Coffers are his Chapel; his Coin is his Creed, his Faith and Religion, if I may be suffer'd to apply those Words of the Poet to this Purpose,*

*Quantum nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet & fidei.*

So the Apostle makes mention of some whose God is their Belly, Phil. 3. 19. he speaks it of the false Teachers and Deceivers in those times, who minded the Satisfaction of their sensual Appetite, and made this their Deity. Of such like Persons he had said before, Rom. 16. 18. *They serve their own Belly*, they design their own carnal Interest and Advantage in the Doctrines which they preach. And other Moral Idols are set up in the World every where. Altars are built to Intemperance and Luxury: Shrines are erected to Pride and Ambition, and Men fall down to them and adore them. Lust and Uncleanness have innumerable Sacrifices offer'd to them continually; and so I might shew that every Vice is a Man's Idol. Yea, every thing or Object that a Man excessively or immoderately grieves for or rejoices in, that which he most fears, desires, loves, trusts in, is his Idol, is to him instead of God. Whence you may gather how full the World is of Idolaters. All wilful Sinners, all those that delight in the Practise of what is vicious and unlawful, are such; for they make their Lusts their chief Good, and so in a Manner make them their Gods: This is downright Idolatry; for it is giving Worship to that which is not God; it is worshipping something else instead of God. This is Moral Idolatry.

2. There is *Polytheism*, or *Pagan Idolatry*, i. e. the Believing and worshipping of a Multiplicity of Deities, even among the Works of the Creation, as of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c. As the *Atheist* (of whom I spake before) maintains that there is no God, so the *Gentile Worshiper* is for making every thing a God. And truly this latter (whatever we may think) is very consistent with the former. * *Polytheists* are *Atheists*; for to say there are more Gods than one, is to assert that

* Aθείσμος. Ori-
gen. cont.
Cell. l. 1.

that there is none at all ; because the Notion of God is not possibly applicable to any more than *One*. But however, the *Heathens* were for a Multitude of Godheads. They ransack'd the Heavens, Air, Earth and Seas for them, they made Gods of all things, and of all Men, yea and of the Devils themselves, as the Apostle witnesseth 1 Cor. 10. 20. But that which was most frequent among them, and was as it were the inseparable Badge of their extravagant Devotion, was their Worshipping of *Images* or *Idols*. This was their constant Course : they were wont to make some external Representation of God, generally in the Shape of some sort of living Creature, and then they worshipped it as if it were the true God. This is the strict Notion of *Idolatry*, namely, worshipping *Idols* as *Gods* ; and this is that *special Way* of *Idolatry* which is particularly forbidden in the *Second Commandment*, and therefore I will treat of it there. Now I only mention it in the Company of other kinds of Pagan *Idolatry*, which this First Commandment strikes at. It lets us know that all the fictitious Gods of the Gentiles must be laid aside, and one only true God is to be worshipped both with mental Affections and bodily Gestures and Actions.

The third sort of *Idolatry* is to ascribe any essential Properties of God to a Creature. Thus if any Man shall attribute Omniscieny, Omnipotency, Infiniteness, Immensity and Perfection to any created Being, he therein shews himself *idolatrous* ; for in doing of this he makes a God of that which is not so. Thus the Persons before-mentioned, *viz.* the ignorant *Gentiles* idolized the Creatures whilst they imagined them to have a Title to some of these Divine Attributes. They verily thought that their Images heard and saw what they said and did. They perswaded themselves (some of the grosser sort of them at least) that some of the Creatures, which they Deified, were really endued with Divine Excellencies and Perfections, and could be helpful and serviceable to them in their Need. It was usual also with them not only to bestow the Title of *Gods* upon their *Kings*, but to worship them as such, and that both alive and dead ; which arose hence, that they thought they were exalted above the Nature of finite Creatures, and had the Endowments and Properties of the supreme Being : And not only Pagans, but even too many who profess themselves Christians, are guilty of the like kind of blasphemous *Idolatry*, whilst they pray to Saints and Angels, and extol them above the Nature of Creatures, as if they knew all things, and could do all things, and were in all Places ; and whilst they adore a *Wafer*, and cry it up to be in five thousand Places at once, they give Divine Honour to it, and thereby make more Gods than one. Thus they are guilty of *Idolatry*, of which I shall speak more afterwards under the next Commandment.

The fourth and last sort of *Idolatry* is that which hath a *Mixture* of the Worship of the true God with it. This may be observed in the *Jews*, and in those other Persons whom I have before named. From the sacred History in *Exodus* 32. 5. we may inform our selves that the *Israelites* worshipped *Jehovah* and the *Golden Calf* at the same time. They sometimes worshipped the *Lord* and *Baal* together, which *Elijah* objects to them in 1 Kings 18. 21. This Medley of religious Worship you'll find among the *strange Nations* which were transplanted into *Samarina*, 1 Kings 17. 41. They feared the *Lord*, and served their graven *Images*. They did not worship God alone, but had other Gods, and worshipped them with the true God. So among other *Gentiles*, those that had any tolerable Sense of Religion joined the true God and the false ones together. Their natural Reason taught them to adore a Divine Being that was the Maker of the World, but the extreme Depravity of their Wills put them upon Deifying any vile Animal that came in their Way. Which may be the Meaning of the Apostle's Words, who speaking of these *Gentiles*, saith, they worshipped and served the Creature more than (or as it is in the * Greek) * besides the Creator, Rom. 1. 25. *i. e.* they worshipped not only the one but the other ; but they chiefly worshipped the former ; therefore the vulgar *Latin* renders it *potius quam*, rather than the Creator. They had a Notion of the Deity, *i. e.* a Divine Author of their Existence and Life, and they knew he was to be revered by them, and they did in some sort pay this Tribute and Homage to him. Accordingly, when St. Paul found an Altar at *Athens* inscribed To the unknown God, which some have thought is the God of the *Jews*, the true God, he thus spoke to the Inhabitants of that Place, whom ye ignorantly Worship, him declare I unto you, Acts 17. 23. which intimates (as some apprehend) that those Pagans did worship the true God, though this was accompanied with obscure and dark Apprehensions

sions of him; and though at other times (and that generally) they adher'd to their native Gentilism, and adored false Gods.

Hither may be referred the Practise of the *Papists*, who pay Divine Reverence both to God, and to *Angels, Saints, &c.* They say they worship the true God by an Image, but it is to be feared the Image it self hath some part of the Worship. If it be so, the former will not excuse the latter from Idolatry. The true God is to be worshipped, and no other; therefore false ones must not be join'd with him. This we learn from those Words of God to *Moses, Exod. 20. 23. Ye shall not make with me Gods of Silver or of Gold.* God will not be worshipped with other Gods. This is the direct Prohibition of this first Commandment of the Decalogue, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.* The Conjunction of both, or the superinducing of one on the other, is here declared to be unlawful.

And what is the true Reason of this? Why is this and all other kinds of Idolatry forbidden, and that by a written Law? I answer, because it was first forbidden by a Law written in Mens Hearts, the very Law of Nature, although it was wilfully obliterated and extinguished by the perverse Custom of the Pagan World; and so on that Account it was requisite to renew and revive it, by committing it to Writing. But if we speak of it as it is in it self, without doubt it is the natural and genuine Dictate of all rational Minds. Unbias'd Reason tells us that God alone is both the Object and End of religious Worship, and therefore that this is due to him alone; and consequently that this Divine Honour is not to be given to a Creature, and, as the Consequent of this, that Idolatry is unreasonable, unlawful, unsufferable. The inbred Reasoning of our Minds informs us that (as one of the Ancients expresses it) * *a Creature should not worship a Creature, but that we being Servants should worship our Lord, and being Creatures should worship our Creator.* This is proper and fitting, but the other irrational and absurd

Thus you have a brief Account of the *several kinds* of Idolatry which are prohibited in this Commandment, *viz.* that which is mingled with the Worship of the true God, as sometimes it is; even this is unlawful: That also which consists in attributing Divine Excellencies to created Beings: That which dictates the worshipping of Images, Idols and false Gods: And lastly, Idolatry consists in a beloved Vice. He that defines his Lusts, he that immoderately affects and longs after any thing that promotes these, is an Idolater, as well as he that prostrates himself to an Idol: Thus I have finish'd this *first Word or Precept* of the Decalogue, which is the Root and Foundation of all God's Worship, and of all Religion. This indeed is the Abridgment and Epitome of all the other Commandments. He that entirely observes this, observes all the rest, because they all proceed from this. He that *hath God for his Lord*, he that is fix'd as to this right Object of Religion, Worship, and Devotion, and owns it, and adheres to it, will be obedient to all the divine Laws. But the contrary, the making, having, or owning that for God which is not, is the Source of all Impiety and Wickedness. Wherefore, most rightly is this placed in the Front of all, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*, because this obviates that first and main Error, *viz.* to have some other God than the true one. Here therefore we are enjoined to serve, love, adore one only living and eternal God, and no more. And thus our Blessed Saviour comments on this Commandment, *Mat. 23. 10.* It is written, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* I have endeavoured to shew what is the Nature of this Service and Worship, which is the principal thing in the Affirmative Part of this Commandment. Let us be very cautious of offending here, because it is of so great Importance, and is the Ground-work and Basis of all the rest.

...the Author of their Existence and Life, and they knew he was to be revered.

T H E

SECOND COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any Likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth. Thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them: For I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God, visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me, and shewing Mercy unto Thousands of them that love me, and keep my Commandments.

In this part of the Decalogue is forbid Idolatry in particular, that is, Worshipping of Images. An Answer to the Pleas and Excuses which the Romanists make use of in defence of their Image-Worship. The Nature of Pagan Idolatry, or Polytheism, its several Kinds, and the Original of them, with the Unreasonableness and Impiety of this Practice.



IN this Commandment are observable, 1. A Sin forbidden, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, &c.* 2. The Reasons of the Prohibition; first, *God's Punishing this Sin, For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting, &c.* God's People are by Covenant as it were married to him, and therefore they are to be His only; when they act contrary to this Engagement, he is said to be jealous, and he will shew the Effects of it in severely animadverting upon them. Secondly, *God's rewarding the keeping of this Commandment, Shewing Mercy unto Thousands, &c.*

But it is the Substance of this Commandment that we are most to imploy our Thoughts about, and accordingly I shall make that my principal Business. Only before I proceed to that, it will be requisite to reconcile this Passage, *Visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers on the Children*, with *Ezek. 18. 20. The Soul that sinneth, it shall die: the Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father.* We must know then that these latter Words are not to be understood as if it were unjust with God to inflict Punishment on the Children for the Fathers Faults and Offences. This cannot be the meaning, for we see a plain Demonstration of the contrary in several Examples recorded in the Sacred History. There we find that wicked Parents and Princes have brought temporal and corporal Punishments upon their Children and Subjects. *Canaan* was cursed for his Father *Cham's* Fault. At the Destruction of *Sodom* many little Infants perished, who never had consented to their Parents sin, and by reason of their Age could not. For *Saul's* Offence his Sons were hang'd. For *David's* numbering the People seventy thousand were cut off. For *Jeroboam's* Transgressions his whole House was utterly extinguished. The Family of *Baasha* fared after the same manner. The numerous Brood of *Ahab*, no less than

than seventy Sons, were rooted out for their Father's Demerits. *Our Fathers have sinned and are not, and we have born their Iniquities*, said the distressed Israelites, *Lam. 5. 7.*

And there is no *Injustice* in this, that Children should suffer for their Parents and Ancestors, tho' themselves be innocent. Even from the Judgment of Men, and their frequent Practice, we may gather that this is reasonable; for we see that the Children of Traitors and Rebels are disinherited for their Fathers Crimes. There is good ground for this, because by this means the Regard which Parents naturally have to their Children, will render them the more loyal to their Prince, and true to the Commonwealth. Their Affection and Love, which they have to their Offspring and Posterity, will prevail with them to abstain from those Practices, which they know will be destructive not only to themselves, but those who are dearest to them. And this transferring the Punishment even to Posterity is rightly executed, to create a great Detestation of those Crimes, and for the Terror of others, who see the Punishment so wide and ample, and taking so many into its Circumference, and likewise that the Parents themselves may feel the greater Smart for their bold Offences, they being punished in their Children, who are their own Flesh: and so the Punishment is mutual and reciprocal. Thus we see how equal and just this is thought to be among Men. There is no Reason then surely to complain, that the Judge of all the Earth deals after the like manner with the Posterity of wicked Men, tho' they are not involv'd in their Crimes. Yea, it is much more reasonable and accountable on God's part, than in Courts of Human Judicature; for God can and may use that Absolute Dominion and Sovereignty in inflicting temporal Miseries, which Earthly Judges and Rulers cannot do on their Fellow-creatures. It is evident then that God may justly visit the Sins of the Parents on the Children, which is here mention'd in this Commandment.

And this is consistent with what God saith by the Prophet Ezekiel, *The Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father*; for these Words have a particular and peculiar Relation (as any one may plainly discern by consulting the Context) to the Case of the Israelites at that time, and to no other. What God here saith was occasion'd by a Complaint made by the Israelites soon after they were carried Captive into Babylon, which Calamity they imputed to God's Severity in punishing them for their Fathers Sins. God saith, *Ye shall not have occasion any more to use this Proverb, &c. ver. 2.* It is plain then that they had occasion heretofore to use it, and the Prophets had told them that they should suffer for their Forefathers Sins, as well as their own. But now they are acquainted by God that they shall not be dealt with so severely for the future, and they shall have no occasion to use that Proverb concerning the Land of Israel, *Ver. 2.* that is, I conceive, they shall not be banished from their Land for their Fathers Sins, but they shall be restored to it in a short time. This respects that Generation of the Jews, and no other. This is the true and genuine Meaning of the Words, and we see they belong to a peculiar Case, and therefore must not be generally taken. And besides, it is not implied here that God's Ways would be unequal, if he did otherwise than he here saith he will do, for he might be more kind and indulgent in doing according to what he here promises, but he would not be unjust if he acted not so: for I have shew'd before, that it is no Injustice, if God punishes Children for their Parents Miscarriages.

But it is the Matter of this Commandment that I'm chiefly to treat of, and that is the making of Images, and the Likeness of anything whatsoever, in order to worshipping them, for so it is explain'd, *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* As for the Affirmative Part of this Commandment, all that I will say at present is, that we are hereby obliged to worship God in the true manner, namely, that which he himself hath appointed. But I'm not now concern'd to enlarge upon this, because it is proper to the First Commandment, and there I have treated of it; for those who have expounded the Decalogue, do freely own that this Affirmative Part was included in the First Commandment. It is the Negative Part I am to consider, viz. the Prohibition of all Image and Idol-Worship. So that it is manifest that this Second Commandment is directed against the Popish and Pagan Idolatry. And of these I will distinctly speak, but chiefly of the latter, because we are sure that this Part of the Decalogue was more immediately design'd against the Practices of the Heathen Nations, who were Neighbours of the Jews, and (as we read) too often tempted them to the Commission of this Sin.

First, the Practice of the Church of Rome is here forbidden and condemned, namely, their worshipping of Images. They are so sensible of this, that in their Catechisms they constantly leave out this Commandment, lest the People should observe how contrary their daily Practice is to what is here forbidden. And as nothing is more opposite to this Commandment, so nothing is in it self more irrational and absurd; for our Minds naturally dictate to us, that there is no Adoration due but to the Divine Majesty; of which I have spoken in my Discourse on the foregoing Commandment, and therefore shall not repeat what I there said.

But that which I undertake at present is to return an Answer to the Pleas and Excuses which the Romanists make use of in defence of their Image-Worship. First, they tell us that God himself commanded the Images of the Cherubims to be made and set over the Ark in the Place of Worship, and therefore it was not unlawful to worship them. To which some reply, that God could and did dispense with this Commandment; it being a Positive one. But I cannot approve of this, because first, this Prohibition of the Adoration of Images was not a positive Institution, but a natural one, and such as was founded in the very Reason of the thing it self, as I have proved. Again secondly, tho' it had been a positive Law, yet 'tis not likely that God would have so palpably and so suddenly dispensed with it, and even commanded the Breach of it. Therefore the true Answer to the Objection is this, that the Images of the Cherubims were not made to be worship'd. Which is evident from this, that the Jews did not come near the Cherubims, yea, they never so much as saw them, they being placed in the Holy of Holies, whither the People never came. Therefore it is undeniable that the Cherubims were not appointed to be worshiped by the Israelites. It is true they worshiped God toward the Ark over which these were seated, as they worshiped him towards the Temple at Jerusalem, because his special Presence was there: but as these Places themselves were not worshiped, but God toward them, so neither was there Adoration given to the Ark and the Cherubims, but to God himself.

It is objected again, that the making and erecting the Brazen Serpent was the making and erecting of an Image to a Religious Purpose, and it was by God's particular Command, and our Saviour afterward approved of it, and own'd it to be an Image and Representation of himself, John 5: 14. But there is no weight at all in this Allegation; for this Brazen Serpent was not set up to be worshiped, as we may inform our selves from the History of it; nay, we read that King Hezekiah broke in pieces the Brazen Serpent, when it began to be worship'd by some People.

It is urged that Naaman bowed to an Idol or Image in the House of Rimmon, and when he asked to be pardoned for it, the Prophet bad him go in Peace, 2 Kings 5: 8. as much as to say he approved of his Bowing. But this is answer'd either by saying that it is not meant of Religious, but Civil Worship, it being Naaman's Office to bow when he attended on his Master: or (if it be granted that the Words are spoken of Religious Worship) by understanding it of the Time past, as thus, The Lord pardon thy Servant, when my Master went into the House of Rimmon to worship there, when he leaned, when I bowed; for these Words are in other Places translated in the Prieterperfect Tense: He went, Psal. 51: 1. He leaned, 2 Sam. 1: 6. He bowed, Exod. 32: 10. So that Naaman here asks Pardon for the Idolatry which he had been guilty of heretofore: so far is it from being implied here that the Prophet allowed of worshipping an Idol or Image.

It is Alleged again, that the worshipping of Images redounds to God's Honour, as he that honours the Prince's Picture, honours the Prince himself. I answer, if the Prince forbids the making of his Picture, 'tis no honouring of him to make it, and to set it up; for then the Prince is dishonoured, because his Authority and Command are despised. The Application is easy, for God in the Second Commandment expressly forbids the making of any Images to worship them: therefore we cannot possibly honour him by paying Veneration to what he hath directly forbid.

But others tell us that they do not worship Images, but only God by them, so that the Honour passeth from them to God. I answer, some Pagans excused their Idolatry thus, as Celsus in Origen, and the Heathen in Arnobius: but this did not free them from Idolatry, for the Christians still charged them with it, notwithstanding this Evasion; and how then can it justify the same thing now in the Papists, who plead

plead that the Worship they give to Images is not fixed, but transient, and passes from the Image to the Exemplar, and from thence to God himself? Or they distinguish thus, they give not an *Absolute*, but a *Relative* Worship to the Images; they fall down to, and the Worship they give them is terminated on God. These are pitiful and sorry Distinctions; for tho' the Worship be *transient* and *relative*, yet still it is *Divine Worship*, and being given to a Creature, it must needs be idolatrous.

It is further pleaded by some *Roman Catholics*, that they have Images in their Churches only as *Remembrancers*, to put them in mind of Saints and excellent Persons. But this is a mere Pretence, for the Council of Trent commands the *worshipping of Images*, and all the Great Doctors of the Church of Rome defend it. It is plain then that *Image-Worship*, and not the bare Remembrance of Saints by the erecting of their Images, is approved of by the *Romanists*. Besides, we know that *miraculous Operations* are ascribed by them to the Images of Saints: which shews what Opinion they have of them, and that the Reverence they pay to them is *Divine*. And as for their being Helps to the Memory, and Mediums (as they call them) to excite the Affections and Devotion, this, if we consider it aright, is a vain Notion, for there are other safe and effectual Means of helping the Memory and exciting the Affections; but *this way* is attended with apparent Danger, for whilst they are bowing down and making formal Addresses to the Images, on pretence of calling to mind and reverencing the Persons represented by them, their Minds are easily brought by these formal Acts of Devotion, to give Adoration both to the Images and the Persons they represent. Thus we see that the *Pleas* are vain and groundless, which are made use of in defence of Image-Worship.

There is one more yet behind, *viz. the Testimony of Antiquity*, and because the *Romanists* lay great stress upon it, I will give a full and ample Answer to it. First, to uphold their Practice of Image-worship, they tell us that the *Linen Clothes* in which *Christ* was buried, received the exact Impression of his Face and whole Body: and another Cloth, which *Christ* applied to his Face, took from it the perfect Image of it, and this was sent by our Saviour to *Abgarus King of Edessa*. So we are told likewise, that a *Linen Hood* which a Woman, whose Name was *Veronica*, gave to *Christ* off her Head, as he was going to be crucified, to cover his Face, was impressed by him with his Image; and from these Relations they gather that the Adoration of Images is *antient* and lawful. But the Answer to this is easy; for first we may justly suspect the Truth of these Narrations, *Evagrius* and such like Authors, from whom they are fetch'd, being of little credit. Secondly, tho' we should grant them to be truly related, yet they make nothing for the worshipping of Images; for the Writers who mention these things, do not in the least intimate that these Impressions and Portraits of *Christ* had *Divine Worship* paid to them: nay, we are sure that they had not, as will appear from what I shall say afterward concerning the Practice of the *Primitive Times*.

* Lib. i.
cap. 24.

Again, 'tis alleged that * *Irenæus*, a Christian Writer that lived in the second Century, makes mention of the setting up of *Christ's Picture*, and crowning and worshipping it, which shews it was a very early Practice in the Christian Church. But to disparage and disgrace this Practice, it should be taken notice of likewise, that they were the *Heretical Gnosticks* that did this, and they are blamed and condemned by *Irenæus* for it.

† Hist.
Eccl. lib.
7. cap. 8.

The Writers of the Church of Rome tell us further, that Images were in Churches in *Eusebius's* time, for he saith he saw himself the Images of *Christ*, and of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* set up painted in Tables. It is true, in this fourth Century, toward the latter End of it, some superstitious Persons affected to have Pictures and Images erected in their publick Places of Worship; but neither the forefaid *Eusebius* nor any other Writer acquaints us that there was *Worship* given to them, which is the thing insisted on by the *Papists*: yea rather, we may think that they were only for Ornament sake, and that it was a very considerable time after this before they began to be Objects of Adoration. I believe I shall convince the Reader of this, if he pleases to attend to what I am now to suggest out of Authors of great Antiquity.

When the *Pagans* of old objected against the *Christian Worship* as defective, because they had no Images, *Minutius Felix*, who was a Christian, and took the part of the Christians, confesses the thing, *We have no Images*, saith he; and *Arnobius*, another

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another ancient Asserter of Christianity, saith the like. And so Origen, in his Book against Celsus, acknowledges that Images were not in use among the Christians. Yea, some of the Antient Fathers were so far from allowing the Worship-
ing of Images, or using them in a sacred manner, and placing them in Churches, that they held it unlawful to make any kind of Image *. Some of them con-
demned even all Pictures, and all Painting and Carving: which is more than they need have done. But those Good Men did it out of a pious Design, namely,
left the making of Images or Pictures should be the Occasion of Idolatry. And those who did not hold it absolutely sinful to paint or engrave, yet abstained from it, that they might not seem to favour or abet the Superstition of the Heathens.

* Tertul-
lian. de
Idolol.
cap. 3.
Clem. A-
lex. Str. 5.
Orig. con.
Cell. lib. 4.
Chryso-
st. Hom. 49.
in Matth.

And as for other Christians, tho' they were not against the Civil Use of Pictures and Images, yet the Use of them in Churches was disallowed by them. From Justin Martyr and Eusebius 'tis plain that the Primitive Christians permitted them not to be brought into any of their Places of Worship. We have an illustri-
ous Instance of this in Epiphanius's Behaviour, in the fourth Century, as we find it in an † Epistle of his to John the Patriarch of Jerusalem: he tells us, that he finding a Veil or Curtain in the Church of the Village of Anablatha in Palestine, whereon was painted the Image of Christ, or some Saint, he out of Christian Zeal cut it down with his own Hands, and tore it in pieces, and declared that the Christian Religion did not approve of any such thing, and strictly order'd, that for the future no such thing should ever be brought into the Church. This was the Sense of that Primitive Age, and of the good Bishops of those Times. It was held unlawful to have the Image of Christ, or any Saint, in their Churches: how greatly then was the Veneration of such Images abhor'd in those pure Times of Christianity?

† Transla-
ted by St.
Jerom,
and inser-
ted into
his Works.

This appears not only from single Fathers, but whole Councils, and more espe-
cially from the 36th Canon of that of Eliviris, that is, the Council of Elvira in Spain, A.D. 305. where it was decreed by the Orthodox Fathers, that Pictures ought not to be set up in Churches, lest by that means People should take occasion to worship them. A great while afterwards, at the End of the Seventh Century, worshiping of Images was solemnly condemned by a Council held at Constantinople under Leo Isaurus. His Son who succeeded him, commonly call'd Constantine Copronymus, convened another in the same Place, which consisted of 338 Bishops, who all of them unanimously condemned the Use of Images in Churches, and excommunicated the chief Defenders and Maintainers of Image-Worship, among whom was John Damascene, whose Works favour of this Idolatry. Leo the 3d, the Son and Successor of the forenamed Constantine, was a great Opposer of this sort of idolatrous Worship, and made Laws against it. Thus it was in the East, but it was otherwise in the West, for about this time the Worship of Images was approv'd of by Gregory the 2d, and Gregory the 3d, Bishops of Rome, and those who were against it were treated very roughly. Yea, not long after this, A.D. 755. Image-Worship was received in the East; for the second General Nicene Council, under Constantine the 5th, and his Mother Irene, declared for it, and anathematized the Opposers.

But this Cause did not long prosper, for the Emperor Charles the Great assem-
bled another Council at Frankfort, A.D. 794. which rescinded the Canons of the Nicene Council, and condemned worshiping of Images. The Fathers of whom this Council consisted, were called from all the Provinces under Charles the Great, France, Germany, Italy, and other Places, and the Emperor caused an excellent Book to be written by them against Image-Worship: which Work, called the Capitular, he sent to Adrian, who was then Pope, who fondly attempted to confute it. The short of all that hath been said is, that tho' through the Corruption of the Times an undue Veneration was sometimes paid to Images, yet this Practice did not generally prevail, but we are ascertained that Fathers and Councils con-
demned it, and (as † Cassander confesses in express Terms) the Christians of old detested the Veneration of Images. Yea, we see that at first the Christians would not permit that any Pictures or Images should be so much as brought into Churches: so far were they from thinking it lawful to worship them. This is a true Account of the Matter, and thence we may conclude that the Testimony of Anti-
quity, which the Roman Church is wont to plead in favour of Images, is of no value. And truly some of the Popish Writers themselves were ashamed of this

* Consul-
tat. Artic.
21.

* Gerson
de negli-
gentia
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rum.
Ludovic.
Vives in
lib. 8.
cap. 27.
S. Augu-
stini de
C. D.

† Homily
of the Peril
of Idola-
try, 2d
Part.

Plea, and professed as much : yea * two excellent Persons of that Communion wished that Images were removed out of Churches, because they are so like the Idols of the Pagans.

As for the Image or Picture of Christ, the Records of the New Testament are wholly silent concerning his Features, as if it were on purpose to discourage any Persons from drawing his Picture, or making his Image. And it was the Sense of the antient Christians, that nothing of this should be done. See what Eusebius said to Constantia the Empress, who desired to have the Image of Christ sent to her. Hear what the Church of England saith in her Homilies : she there applauds the Practice of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, who took down and tore a Picture of Christ or some Saint, which he saw hanging on the Walls of a Church : on which Action our Church hath these following Words, † He rejected not only carved, graven and molded Images, but also painted Images, out of Christ's Church : and again, He regarded not whether it were the Image of Christ, or any other Saint ; but being an Image, he would not suffer it in the Church. Further, in the third Part of the Homily against Idolatry, our Church speaks this, No Image can be made of Christ, but a lying Image (as the Scripture peculiarly calls Images Lies) for Christ is God and Man : seeing therefore that for the Godhead, which is the most excellent Part, no Image can be made, it is falsely called the Image of Christ. Wherefore Images of Christ are not only Defects, but also Lies. Our Church argues further in this manner, No true Image can be made of Christ's Body, for it is unknown now of what Form and Countenance he was. And there be at Greece, and in Rome, and in other Places, divers Images of Christ, and none of them like to other, and yet every of them affirmeth that theirs is the true and lively Image of Christ, which cannot possibly be. Wherefore as soon as an Image of Christ is made, by and by is a Lie made of him, which by God's Word is forbidden. Which also is true of the Images of any Saints of Antiquity, for that it is unknown of what Form and Countenance they were. Afterwards, If it should be admitted and granted that an Image of Christ could truly be made, yet it is unlawful that it should be made, yea, or that the Image of any Saint should be made, specially to be set up in Temples. It is shewed that this is expressly against the Word of God, which forbids making of Images, or any Similitude of any thing, &c. Lev. 26. Deut. 5. The Opinion of Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 24. is alleged to this purpose, and the Judgment of the Old Doctors and Primitive Church, and the Practice of Epiphanius, who rent a painted Cloth, wherein was the Picture of Christ, or of some Saint. And our Church adds hereunto the Suffrage of Lactantius, Augustine, and of the Councils in Constantinople and Spain, which condemned the making of the Images of Christ or the Saints to be set up in Churches. Presently after, to that Allegation, that Images are Laymens Books, 'tis answered, that they teach nothing of our Saviour Christ and of his Saints but Lies and Errors : wherefore either they be no Books, or if they be, they be false and lying ones, the Teachers of all Error. And whereas it is objected that Images may be set up, tho' not worshipped, there are these Reasons produced to the contrary, 1. The Images of Christ and the Saints, that have heretofore been set up, have actually been worshipped. 2. They are worshipped in sundry Places now in our Time. 3. 'Tis impossible that Images of Christ or Saints can be suffered any while or space without worshipping them.

* Bp Be-
veridge,
Serm. 3.
Vol. 2.

This is the Doctrine and Sentiment of our Church : and this is the Sense and Perswasion of one of the Fathers of our Church, * [It is, saith he, no ways necessary to use any material or visible Representation of Christ's Crucifixion, as they commonly do in the Church of Rome, to the great Scandal and Reproach of the Christian Religion : but rather it is necessary that we do not use them, for as much as such sensible Objects are apt to keep our Minds fixed and terminated upon themselves ; and at the best, they can represent no more than a Man's Body hanging on a Cross, which contributes nothing toward our apprehending aright the Son of God dying there for the Sins of Men, but rather impedes and hinders it.] Thus this Learned Prelate speaks according to the Mind of the Church of England, and if we will shew our selves Sons of this Church, we ought to regard what she requires of us, that we make no Pictures or Images of our Blessed Saviour, or of the Saints, on a religious account : and herein we shall follow the Example of the first and purest Ages of the Christian Church. And there is good Reason for this, for it can easily be proved that the Idolatry of the Gentile World, and of the Eastern Churches, commenced first from their fond Affectation of Pictures and such like Representations ; and therefore we should be very cautious here,

here, and not approve of the common Practice in these Days, that is, stuffing our Bibles and Common Prayer Books with the Effigies of Saints, and with Crucifixes, or Pictures of *Christ* on the Cross. These in time may come out of the Books into the Churches, and the Purity of Worship will be marr'd by this, and Idolatry will make its way by degrees, and we shall be approaching to the Practice of the *Papists* in prostrating themselves before the Images of Saints, which is directly forbidden by this *Second Commandment*.

And so are the other Parts of *Idolatry* which we find allowed of and practised in that Church, as the doing Divine Honour to the consecrated Bread in the Eucharist, the Devotion paid to the Cross, the adoring of *Angels* by praying to them, the invoking of the *Saints*, but especially the *Virgin Mary*, who is a Great Goddess among them, and hath more Altars erected to her than our Saviour. These things to unprejudiced Minds are convincing Arguments that the *Papal Constitution* is that Image of the Beast, i. e. the *Pagan Beast*, which is spoken of in *Rev. 13. 14.* Popery is Gentilism transcribed. The *Popish Idolatry* succeeds in the place of the *Heathen* one. We read that Pope *Boniface* the 4th dedicated the Temple *Pantheon* at *Rome*, where all the *Pagan Gods* and *Goddesses* had been worshipped, to the *Virgin Mary* and all the *Saints*. Still the same Idolatry is kept up, because there is still a giving Divine Worship to a Creature. Therefore some of the *Roman Communion* have been so ingenuous (which is what I observed before) as to acknowledge, that as to the Opinion and Practice of many in the Church of *Rome*, they see no difference between their invoking and worshipping the *Saints*, and the *Gentiles* doing so to their Gods. Yea, *Popish Idolatry* is worse than the *Pagan*, and we may safely say, that the *Missionary Jesuits*, who are dispersed abroad to convert barbarous Nations, make some of them seven times worse the Children of the Devil than they were before, as our Saviour said of the *Pharisees*: they convert them from one Idolatry to another, they root out one kind of it to plant another, and that of a much more heinous Nature. For tho' it is of somewhat a finer Turn than that of the *Pagans*, yet on some accounts it is more pernicious. And the Head of this Constitution is a God among them. Another God upon Earth, was a Compliment given to the Pope in the second Council of *Lateran*. But 'tis seriously given him in their own * *Canon Law*. And the Stile of *Domitian's* Secretaries fits those of the *Roman Pontifs* very well, *Deus & Dominus noster sic fieri jubet.* vag. Joan. 22. Tit. 14. c. 4. in Glossa. And who can deny that they bestow a kind of Divinity on him, who they say cannot Err, and to whom nothing is impossible, as some of the Writers of their Church have averred? for to be *Infallible* and *Omnipotent* are Marks of the Deity. They ascribe to him all Power in Heaven and in Earth, they elevate him above the Condition of a Man, they magnify him above a Creature.

Next I come to speak of the *Pagan Idolatry* strictly and properly so called. And it was with respect to this (as I have said before) that this *Second Commandment* was given. The World was generally addicted to the making and worshipping of other Gods besides the True one. *Eusebius* rightly calls it † the Error and Seduction concerning many Gods, which all Nations were infected with. Idolatry was their chief and reigning Vice, and is the very essential Character of *Paganism*. Thence it was that this particular Prohibition in this Commandment became absolutely necessary. In prosecution of this Subject I will first shew that the *Pagans* were guilty of the Sin of Idolatry or *Polytheism*. Secondly, I will particularly insist on the several Kinds of it: and under this latter Head I will all along detect the Vanity and Folly, the Unreasonableness and Impiety of this Practice.

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 in the Church, which is looked on in the same Place of the
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 as the Practice of Idolatry. We find that the Pope himself, the Pope himself, as
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 and to whom worship is ascribed, as some of the Writers of their Church
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 and to him all Power is ascribed and in Earth, they elevate him above the Con-
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A
DISCOURSE
OF
IDOLATRY,
OR THE
POLYTHEISM
OF THE
Gentile World.

Wherein is offer'd an Account of the *Nature* and *Kinds* of the
PAGAN DEITIES, so far as it is serviceable to give Light
to several Passages in Antient Authors, but more especially
in the *Sacred Scriptures* (where there is particular Mention
of the Antientest HEATHEN GODS, and the Manner of
Worship performed to them): and so far as it is service-
able to evince the *Folly* and *Madness* of Idolatrous Practises.

DISCOURSE
OF
IDOLATRY
OR THE
POLYTHEISM
OF THE
Gentile World.

This is offered as Account of the Idolatry and Polytheism of the Gentile World, in a Discourse, which is intended to be a faithful and impartial History of the same, as far as it is possible to ascertain the Truth from the various Accounts of the same, which are to be found in the various Authors, who have written of this Subject.

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A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
Idolatry or Polytheism
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GENTILE WORLD.

I JOIN Idolatry and Polytheism together, because this latter is expressive and explicatory of the former; for I take the common Idolatry of the Heathens to have been a Worshipping of a Multiplicity of Gods; though I know this is questioned by some, and by others flatly denied: But if we will impartially scan the Matter, we shall find that there is no Reason for either. I grant indeed, that one self-existent Deity was acknowledged by some of the more understanding Pagans, by some of the Philosophers and wise Men among them. Socrates, who was voted the wisest Head of all Greece, used to cite that Verse of Homer,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἴς κοίραν' ἔστι,

against the infinite Number of the Gods. He thought there must be a Monarchy in Heaven as well as on Earth. It is well known, that this was Part of his Impeachment, that he broke the Athenian Laws, in denying those to be Gods whom the City of Athens acknowledged to be such, and that he introduced other new Gods, or rather one new God; which manifests that he lost his Life for disowning the Multitude of Gods among the Gentiles; insomuch that he may be truly called the Deities Protomartyr. And if he died in this Opinion, it is not likely that his Followers, the Academicks, lived in any other; but it is probable they disbelieved a Plurality of Gods.

And it appears that Plato, the Founder of another Sect, was of this Judgment: for in an Epistle of his to Dionysius, one of the Kings of Sicily, he tells him that * Plat. he may know whether he writes to him seriously or no by this, * When I am in Epist. 43. earnest (saith he) I begin my Letter with one God; but when I am otherwise, I begin it ad Dionys. in the Name of many Gods. And Maximus the Tyrian, a professed Platonist, declares that there is but || "One Nature of God, though it hath different Denominations: for such is our Ignorance and the Weakness of our Understandings, that we are wont to give him diverse Names from the several Advantages we receive from him. We name One God severally, as we call one part of the Sea the Aegean Sea, another the Ionick Sea, &c. though indeed it be the very same Ocean; but it hath different Appellations because it beats on different Shores.

And not only the Platonick but Stoick Sect were of this Opinion, as the Learned Commentator on Virgil's Aeneids hath represented it, in Words to this Effect, † They hold that the Divine Nature or Power is one and the same, but hath different Titles according to the different Relations which we have

|| Μία μὲν ἡ φύσις, πολλὰ δ' ἃ τὰ ὀνόματα, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀμαθίας αὐτῶν τὰς ἀφελείας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστοις ἐπονομάζοντες. Ἄλλοις ἄλλη κλήσις θεῶ, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς θαλάττης, &c. Dissert. 23.

† Stoici dicunt non esse nisi unum Deum, & unam eandemque esse potestatem, &c. Servius in Aen. 4.

* Tot Appellationes ejus
possunt esse quot munera—
Omnia ejusdem Dei nomina
sunt variè utentis suà potestate.
De Benefic. l. 4. c. 7.

† Εἷς ὁ ὢν, πολυώνυμος ὅτι,
καλονομαζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς πα-
σιν ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἑοχμεῖ. *De*
Mundo.

|| *Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 7.*

Divine Nature, and lets us know that the Pagan Philosophers, and the wisest of their Poets intended One God, when they express him by various Names and Titles. * *Lactantius* observes that the Gentiles, when they were very serious (which was but seldom) mention God, not Gods; and when they swore or curst, or prayed and wished any thing heartily, their Fashion was to name God, and not the Gods.

* *Lib. 2. cap. 1.*

All this is granted, but it is to be understood of the wise and intelligent, and but of some of those only; for I shall afterwards make it evident that some of this sort (as well as the vulgar) were rank Polytheists. It is true, there were those that under divers Names and Representations adored but One God, for they held that there is nothing in the World but is a Manifestation of the Presence and Attributes of this One Deity, and that the Appearances of him are every where; whence they worshipped One Divinity as it shined through all the Creatures:

† Quid? usque adeone majores nostros insipientes & cecos fuisse credendum est, ut Bacchum & Cererem Deos putarent? Imò unum Deum credabant, cujus illa munera, illae functiones essent. *Augustin. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 24.*

Which made an ancient Writer of the Church say, † "What shall we believe that our Fore-fathers were so foolish and blind as to take Bacchus and Ceres for Gods? Rather they believed one God with several Offices and Functions, which are expressed by Bacchus and Ceres, and such like Names. Which is spoken of the Sentiment and Persuasion of those that were thoughtful and considerate among the Gentiles. So when *Jupiter* was named by the Greek Poet *Aratus*, some think that the supreme Being of all was intended by him, as *St. Paul's* ap-

plying of those Words, *Τὸ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν*, for we are also his Offspring, *Acts 17. 28.* seems to intimate: And the Apostle had before owned, that the Athenians worshipped that God who made the World, *Ver. 23, 24.* though truly, to speak freely in the Matter, I do not see any Ground for such Assertions, for the Apostle only in a fair and insinuating Way is willing to suppose that the Poet and the Athenians meant the true God, but we cannot say that he positively affirms it. Yea, it is not probable that the latter worshipped the true God, that is, one under the Notion of the Almighty Creator, and Lord of all; for he was ἄγνωστος unknown to them, as they acknowledged themselves in the Inscription of that Altar which they erected, *Ver. 23.* And when the Apostle in the same Place tells them, that they ignorantly worshipped God, it is as much as if he had said, they did not know that he was the true God, and consequently they knew not that there was but one true God. But notwithstanding this, I am not unwilling to assent to this, that many wise Men in all Ages believed and asserted but one supreme Deity, called by several Names with respect to the divers Benefits Men received from it.

But then to infer hence that there was no such thing as Polytheism, is very irrational and groundless. Yet this hath been the Over-sight of some learned Persons, who, because they took Notice that some Philosophical Men among the Gentiles asserted the Unity of the Godhead, thence conclude that the Pagans did not at all believe or worship a Multitude of Gods: This Opinion is taken up and nourished by the learned Author of the *Intellectual System*, and some others of the like Latitude. So that in this Age, which makes so many Pretences to New Discoveries, we must go to work and prove that the Heathens worshipped a Plurality of Gods, that is, we must prove that the Heathens were Heathens. So kind and obliging are these modern Gentlemen to the old Pagan Idolaters, that they will by no Means be prevailed with to think that they cast off the Worship of the true God. Thus a late Writer, in his *Essay of Transmigration*, is positive that the Heathen Idolatry consisted not in worshipping many Gods, but in mingling Creature-Worship with the Worship of the Creator; though truly I see not how this

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the other interfere. This ingenious and fanciful Gentleman perswades himself that they called this and that Creature (being excellent things) Gods, but never worshipped them. And he tells us that by Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and all the other Heathen Gods, they meant the Operations of Nature only; Things, not Persons, are to be understood. I am not backward to grant that this was partly the Judgment of the wiser sort of Pagans, who (as hath been said) worshipped but One God, tho' under different Names; but the Vulgar had not such refined Thoughts, but took all those to be Gods, who were commonly so called. This was the Apprehension of the Generality of the Gentile World; of the Truth of which any Man may be convinced out of the most authentick Writings in the World, viz. the Bible.

In the Old Testament how positively, how expressly is the worshipping of Diversity of Gods recorded? How frequently are the particular Gods and Idols, belonging to several Nations, mentioned? The particular Manner and distinct Circumstances of their adoring them are described; which is utterly inconsistent with the Notion above-mentioned. This further is manifest from the sarcastick way of Treatment which the Idolaters met with from the Prophets of the Old Testament. There we find that they derided them as foolish and senseless Worshippers of the very Statues and Idols themselves, *Isa. 41. 7, &c. Ch. 44. 9, 10, 20. 45. 20. 46. 6, 7. Hab. 2. 18, 19.* They strove to jeer them out of this foolish Practise; which shews plainly that the People whom they directed themselves to, made Images their Gods, and that their Gods generally were thought by them not to be Things but Persons; contrary to what the foresaid Writer asserts. But any Man of an unprejudiced and castigate Mind, must needs discern the Folly and Groundlessness of such a Conceit.

And how weak is that which is alleged by him, that they were reputed Gods, but were not worshipped? Whereas it is agreed upon by all Men of sober Thoughts, that Divinity is the Basis of Adoration; and therefore if they attributed the former to them, they would certainly pay them the latter: Besides, it is plain and evident, that they actually gave this Honour to them, as both sacred and prophane Records assure us, and therefore it is vain and idle to pretend that they were not worshipped. Now, if they were, can any Man of sedate and composed Thoughts, imagine that such a formal Devotion and Service as were given to those that they called Gods, were given only to Operations and Effects of Nature? Is it likely that such Devoir and Homage as they yielded to them, would have been paid them, if they had thought they were meer natural Qualities or Operations? I leave this to any considerate Person to judge of.

Then in the New Testament we read that the Pagan Idolaters called Paul Jupiter, and Barnabas Mercury, and were ready to worship them; for 'tis expressly said, *They would have done Sacrifice, Acts 14. 13.* whence it is clear that they looked upon their Gods as Persons, and that they really adored them; for they were going about this Work as fast as they could, and had actually performed it, if the Apostles had not hindered them. The former of these Apostles understood the Nature of the Gentile Idolatry sufficiently, for he had conversed often with the Persons that were addicted to it; and hear what he saith, viz. that they really made Gods of the things they called so, and that they worshipped them as such: yea, that though there was a vast Number of them, yet they held them all to be Gods, and adorable. His Words are these, in *1 Cor. 8. 5, 6. Tho' there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, (as there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but One God.* Where the Apostle shews the different Sentiments of the Pagans and of the Christians; the former held a Multitude of Deities, but the latter hold but one God. *There be that are called Gods,* that is, are so reputed and owned by the Heathens, and accordingly are worshipped as such. And the Apostle particularly acquaints us who these Gods were in those Words, *Whether in Heaven or in Earth;* the Gods which the Heathens feign'd to be in Heaven are the Angels, the Sun, Moon and Stars: Those in the Earth are Princes and Great Men, and other living Creatures, and even inanimate and senseless things. Thus they have Gods many, and Lords many, to whom they direct their Worship: And the Apostle very fitly calls them not only Gods but Lords; because Baalim (Lords) was the usual Name for the Syrian Deities. Thus Polytheism is clearly proved from these Words of St. Paul. Again, he puts it out of all Doubt, that the Heathens held that there are more Gods than one, in the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where he

designedly speaks of the Pagan Idolatry, and the Practisers of it, *They changed the Glory of the uncorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things: — and worshipped and served the Creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Ver. 23, 25.* Instead of true Conceptions concerning God, they entertained false ones concerning him, and worshipped corruptible Creatures in the Place of the incorruptible Creator. All sorts of created Beings, even those that were most contemptible, had the same Veneration paid to them that was due to the glorious Majesty of Heaven; yea they were worshipped by them more than God himself. Whence it is manifest, that they distinguished between the *Creatures* and the *Creator*, and yet gave such Worship to the former as was proper only to the latter; nay, they exceeded in their Acts of Worship to the one, above what they did to the other. Or *Dei* may be rendered *beside*, as well as *more than*, (for I had observed before that it hath a double Signification) and then it is evident that the Pagans worshipped the *true God*, and the *false Gods* too. Though some of them were perswaded of the Existence of one supreme Being, whom in some sort they revered and adored; yet besides him they worshipped other Beings, they set up a vast Number of other Gods who were meer Creatures: This Text then absolutely proves that there was *Polytheism* properly so called among the Pagans. If worshipping a thing be deifying it (as most certain it is, according to that right Notion of it given by the † Poet,

† Mart.
Epigr. 1.8.

Qui colit, ille facit,)

then *Birds*, and *four-footed Beasts*, and *Reptiles* were their Gods in a proper Sense, for they paid divine Honour to them. We have the Apostle's express Word for it, *They worshipped and served the Creature.* A single Deity would not content them, and therefore the God of the *Jews* and *Christians* was in a jeering Manner called by them *Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus.* A good round Company of Gods was thought most commendable, and accordingly they multiplied them as fast as they were able. It is no wonder therefore that the Apostle saith of the *Ephesians*, that whilst they were *Gentiles*, they were without God, Eph. 2. 12. which a learned Expositor interprets thus; || *They were either ignorant of the true God, the Maker of the World, or they did not worship him, but in his Place they worshipped Gods made by Men.* And I could observe that this Writer in † his *Description of Paganism*, briefly recites the different Ways of Pagan Idolatry, and the Multitude of their Deities, and undertakes to confute them; which he would not have done, if they had not been reputed *real Things* by those deluded Persons.

† Grot.
in locum.

† De
Ver. Rel.
Christ.
lib. 4.

* Legat.
pro Chri-
stianis.

To Scripture I shall annex the most eminent *Writers* and *Fathers* of the Church: Look into all the Ancient *Apologists* for Christianity against the Pagans, and you will find that they take it for granted that the Pagans were *Polytheists* in good earnest, and were very serious in their Profession of Idolatry; and accordingly these Writers, who undertake to confute and convince them, set before them the Vanity and Absurdity of such a Practice, and by all sorts of Arguments endeavour to dissuade them from it; which they would not have done, if they had not been perswaded that the Pagans really thought that there was a Plurality of Gods, and that they ought to be worshipped by them. It is observed by * *Athenagoras*, that the *Athenians* worshipped such and such particular Gods, the *Lacedemonians* others, and the *Trojans*, *Samians*, *Cilicians*, *Sicilians*, *Carthaginians*, had their peculiar Deities that they sacrificed to; which it had been idle and foolish to mention, and much more to blame those Nations for, if they did not take these to be Gods, and adore them as such. *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, in his Defence of Christianity against the Pagans, tells *Autolycus*, who was of that Number, that they not only saluted

* Πιστεύει τὰ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων
χινώματα ἀγάλματα θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ
ἀρετὰς ποιεῖν. Lib. 1.

† Ταῦτα θεῶς καλεῖτε, τὰ-
τοις δαδ' ἐτε, τὰτοις περὶ σκωπεί-
τε διὰ τοῦτο μισοῦτε Χριστιανούς, ὅτι
τάτους ἐχ' ἡγνῆται θεούς. Ad
Diognet. Epist.

their false Deities and Idols by the Name of Gods, but gave divine Worship to them; yea, and he upbraids them with * *their believing the Images to be real Gods, and able to work Wonders.* *Justin* the Philosopher and Christian, who had been a Pagan himself, and who writ to one who was then a Pagan, mentions the Images and Idols of all sorts among the Gentiles, and tells them plainly, † that they not only called these Gods, but served and worshipped them as such, and that they hated the Christians because they were of another Opinion.

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Some think to evade this by saying, that * the Gentile Theology did not set up Images as final Objects of Worship, or Gods in themselves: It only set them up as Places of divine Residence, wherein the *Genii* or *Dæmons* were thought to dwell. But though it is not to be denied that the Heathens by certain Rites and Ceremonies used to consecrate Images, and then thought the Deities entered into them, and animated them; for they were reckoned to be (as † *St. Augustine* saith) the *Bodies of their Gods*, yet it is not agreeable to Truth to assert that the Images were only set up to be Receptacles of the Gods or Dæmons: For it is evident from these fore-named Authors, who are of unquestionable Repute and Authority, that the Gentiles attributed Divine Honour to the Images themselves, and adored them under the Notion of Gods, and called them by that Name. And can we think that these excellent Men before cited would have spoken as they do, unless they had been thoroughly convinced that a *Plurality of Gods* was the very Principle of Paganism? Had not *Tertullian* been fully perswaded of this, he would not have told the Roman Emperor and Senate with open Face, that || the Gods whom they worshipped, were not Gods; he would not have particularly insisted on some of their reputed Gods, and then have proved that * there is but one God, and after that have peremptorily told them that † they worshipped any thing but the true God. And at another time, addressing himself to the President of Africa, set over that Country by the Roman Emperor, he saith, * the Pagans thought these to be Gods, whom the Christians knew to be Devils, which he would not have uttered, if he had not been assured of this Truth that I am now treating.

* Dr. Terson of Idolatry, Chap. 5. Part 8.

† De Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 23.

|| Apologet. c. 10.

* Cap. 17.

† Apud

vos quod-

vis cole-

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rum De-

um, cap.

24.

* Ad Sca-

pul. cap. 2.

This is confirmed by *Clement of Alexandria*, in his Exhortation to the Gentiles, where he hath these Words concerning the first Invention of the Heathen Deities; "Some (saith he) contemplating the Stars, and admiring their Courses, made Gods of them; so the *Indians* worshipped the Sun, the *Phrygians* the Moon; and others collecting with Delight the Fruits of the Earth, deified Corn, which they call *Ceres*; and the Vine, which they call *Bacchus*. Others being afraid of Punishments, Distresses and Calamities, found out particular Deities, whom either they thought to be the Means of sending them upon Mankind, or of diverting them from them. Some Philosophers following the Fancy of the Poets, made Gods of the Passions, as Love, Hope, Joy; and others put the Vertues into the Number of the Gods, representing them by outward Shapes.—Lastly, the common People have made Gods of those from whom they received any considerable Advantage and Benefit. Here this great Man, who had been educated at first in Paganism, and therefore was well acquainted with what was contained in it, lets us know that the Philosophers and Wise Men, as well as the common People (which is more than I'm asserting at present) agreed in setting up a Multiplicity of Gods. And this is irrefragably made good from the Writings of others, who have defended Christianity against the Religion of the Pagans; yea, they certify us that the very Images of their Gods were thought to be Divine Beings. One that knew very well their Sentiments and Perswasions, assures us of this, whilst he objects this very thing to them, * *Deos esse* * *Arnob.* *Sigillaria ipsa censetis*, for by these *Sigillaria* he means those ludicrous Images and Puppets which they fell down to, and to which they ascribed a divine Vertue and Power.

* *Arnob.* *adv. Gent.* lib. 6.

But because we are put upon this Task, to prove that the Heathens were Polytheists (which none ever denied till of late, and none would have done it now, if they had considered the Matter a-right) I will produce the Testimony of the Gentiles themselves, who freely acknowledged that which some Christian Writers now disown. When *Plato* exposes the *Græcian Numens* as fabulous, and argues against them, he all along supposes them to be believed by the People, nay, by others, to be true Gods, and he expressly asserts as much in his *Epinomis*, and in the second Book of his *Common-wealth*. And in another Place he tells us, that † the first Inhabitants of Greece thought the Sun, Moon, Earth, Stars and Heaven, to be the only Deities, as the barbarous Nations at this Day think. This is a very remarkable Attestation of what I have asserted, and of what I shall farther advance afterwards. Not only the rude Barbarians, but the civilized and cultivated Greeks worshipped the Heavenly and Earthly Bodies as Gods, yea, and they worshipped them as the only Gods, not taking Notice of any

† Φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὗτοι ἢ Ἕλλησά τε τέρας μόνες θεὸς ἠγείων, ὡς περ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ αἴθερα καὶ ἄερα νοῦν. In *Cratylus*.

* Euseb. other supreme Being. It is frankly confessed by * Porphyrus, that some of the
Præp. E- Gentiles verily believed Wood and Stones to be Gods, and esteemed them as such.
vang. l. 3. And tho' we should grant that the Pagans at first worshipped One God under several
s. 7. Names, yet it is plain that afterwards they worshipped the very Creatures themselves; yea, and that at length they worshipped them so as to exclude the true

† Τοῖς θεῶν ὀνόμασι τὰ
θεῶν δῶρα καὶ ποιήματα κα-
λεῖν ἐκ ἐφεξῶς, τιμητὲς ὑπὸ
χρεῖας καὶ σεμνυνούτες, &c. Plut.
de Iside & Osir.

God, the Creator: Which I find acknowledged by a very understanding Man among the Pagans, and himself a Pagan Priest. "† At first, saith he, they bestowed the Name of
" Gods on the Gifts and Works of the Gods, adoring them
" for the Use and Advantage they had of them, as he that
" buys Menander's or Plato's Works, is said to buy Plato or Me-
" nander; but afterward Men understood not this Way of Speaking, and mistook
" the Creatures for Gods, because they were called so.

And lastly, from the whole Account which the Pagan Writers themselves give of their Worship, it is clear that those lie under a gross Mistake, who think there was no such thing as worshipping many Gods; for we find them giving a particular Narrative of the distinct Rites and Ceremonies which were proper to the respective Gods and Goddeffes; and those which were suitable to one, were disagreeable to the rest. Now, I ask, Is it reasonable to think that the various Rites and Services done to the particular Deities, were all meant to that one supreme, eternal, spiritual Being, who is the Cause and Disposer of all things? If you do not say this, you say nothing; but if you do say it, you contradict your Reason; for those Rites and Ceremonies were appropriated to such and such peculiar Deities, and no other; and therefore One God only is not supposed to be worshipped.

† Quæ est enim causa, ut ille tauris deus, hædis alius honoretur aut ovibus, hic lactantibus porculis, alter intonsis agnis: hic virginibus bubulis, ille stirilibus vacculis; hic alibentibus, ille atris: alter feminei generis, alter verò animantibus Masculinis. Lib. 7. adv. Gent.

* Τῶ μάλα αὐτῶ ἀρέσκοντι
Ἰσοπ. Plat. de Leg. l. 7.

† Præp. Evang. l. 4. c. 3.

‖ Quæ cuique Divo decoræ gratæque sint hostiæ providento. Cic. de Leg. lib. 2.

This is clear and evident from what Arnobius saith, † What else (saith he) is the Reason that one God is honoured and worshipped by the Sacrificing of Bulls, another by offering of young Goats or Sheep, &c. Every God will be worshipped in that Manner which is most acceptable to him, saith Socrates. Of the different Sacrifices and Rites which were peculiar to such and such distinct Gods, Porphyrus hath a particular Discourse, quoted by † Eusebius. The old Roman Law was, ‖ Let there be provided for every God such Sacrifices as are suitable and acceptable to them. Thus the Difference of Oblations and Ways of Worship shews that there were different and distinct Gods. So that it is wonderful to see how many Persons can be so far prejudiced as to maintain the contrary; whereas nothing is plainer than the Practise of Polytheism. Say that one

God was believed by some of the Gentiles, yet many were worshipped by the most. This was the prevailing Idolatry of the Pagan World. Though Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and other refined Philosophers understood the true God, when they said, One only is to be worshipped: Though Maximus of Tyre, Porphyrus, and Plotinus never believed but one eternal Spirit, yet others had not that Meaning, but understood only some such one God as the Sun, or the like, or with the true God they worshipped false ones.

How then had they but One God? Not so as to excuse them from Idolatry, nay not from Polytheism, if you rightly consider the Matter; for they were Idolaters in the literal Sense, because they worshipped the true God by Idols or Images; and they were down-right Polytheists, because they worshipped more Gods than One.

Nay, whatever some fancy, the very wisest of the Pagans were guilty here; which I have partly suggested before, but now I will offer a full Proof of it, and for ever stop the Mouths of those Persons who deny the Multiplicity of Gods among the Heathens, but especially among those of them that were of considerable Parts and Learning. I will produce a Place out of the sacred Writings, part of which I had occasion to allege before, when I proved from St. Paul's Words, that the Heathens really paid Divine Homage to the Creatures, for the Apostle is express that they changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things, and worshipped and served the Creature more than the Creator. But that which I observe now is this, that these Words are spoken concerning the Practise of the wisest and learnedst Men among

“elephant’s Bones, and worshipped smooth Stones and wooden Statues; he court-
 “ted an Image as a God, he spake to it, he requested Favours of it, tho’ it was
 “sensible of nothing. And if the Gentiles, yea some of the *most knowing* of them,
 worshipped Images, ’tis not to be questioned that they allowed of the Worship of
 the Gods themselves, who were represented by those Images: And this is that
 which I have been proving.

And as for those few Philosophers and learned Men among the Heathens, who
 verily thought that there were not many Gods, but one God truly, yet they may
 justly be said to be guilty of *Polytheism*, because they countenanced this Worship
 in others. *Demonius* is advised by *Isocrates*, the famous Moralist, to worship the
 God of the Place where-ever he came. And others consented to the Peoples wor-
 shipping of the false Gods; yea, and as to outward Shew adored them in their own
 Persons; for they boggled not at being present at their Sacrifices, and in their
 Temples, and at performing the Solemnities to those feigned *Numens*. So that
 they were greater Idolaters than the *Vulgar*, because they knew and believed they
 were no Gods, and yet worshipped them. They grossly dissembled with the Peo-
 ple, as is to be gathered from what was said before, namely, that *Plato* made this
 the Mark of his Epistles which were written seriously, that they began with God,
 not the Gods. Nay, *Socrates*, the Philosophick Martyr, who was put to Death for
 disparaging the Pagan Deities, basely complied with this Idolatry; for in the time
 of his Confinement in Prison, before his Death he composed * a Hymn in praise of
Apollo: And a little before he expired, he prayed to the Gods, and he ordered his
 Friends to sacrifice a Cock to *Aesculapius* for him, perhaps with some Hopes that
 he should recover of his Poison; unless you will say he spoke in Jest, but that
 was not a time for it, when he was dying. *Aristotle* practised Idolatry according to
 the peculiar Mode of his Country, as is manifest from his † last Will and Testa-
 ment. Though *Varro* (as † *St. Augustine* testifies from his Writings) confessed the
 Vanity of *Polytheism*, yet he allowed the vulgar Practise of it. *Tully*, who knew
 well enough (as † *Lactantius* observes) that the Gods which were commonly ado-
 red, were false and vain, yet declares that * this is not to be publicly called in Que-
 stion, lest the received Worship and Religion should thereby be extinguished. And after-
 wards he adds, that though this great Man knew that these were Vanities and Lies,
 yet he did the very same things which they do, whom he confesses to be the most foolish Peo-
 ple in the World. *Seneca*’s Words are remarkable, † “All that ig-
 noble Rabble of the Gods which long Superstition by length
 of time hath amassed together, should be so worshipped by us,
 that we should remember that the worshipping of them is more
 from Custom than the Reason of the thing it self. But a wise
 Man will comply with all this, as it is commanded by the
 Laws, not as it is acceptable to the Gods. Thus tho’ these
 great Masters of Philosophy were of Opinion that it was most
 reasonable to believe and assert but One true God, yet they
 did not in their Practice conform to this Perswasion. Which clearly proves what
 I undertook, that some of the best and wisest Heathens were *Polytheists*. Though
 they did not in their Consciences believe that *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the whole
 Company of Pagan Deities were real Gods, yet all or most of them in Word and
 Practice complied with the People, who were really perswaded that all these were
 true Gods, and worshipped them accordingly.

† Omnem istam ignobilem
 Deorum turbam, quam longo
 ævo longa superstitio congestit,
 sic adorabimus, ut memineri-
 mus cultum eum magis ad mo-
 rem quam ad rem pertinere.
 Hæc omnia sapiens observabit
 tanquam legibus iussa, non
 tanquam Diis grata.

This will be a sufficient Answer to what a learned Writer hath lately advanced,
 who, * to do the Heathens Justice, (he saith) and not to make them worse than really
 they were, thinks not that it can be proved that the Generality, or at least the wisest and most
 thinking part of them, did ever own a Plurality of Gods; but on the contrary, a large Volume
 of Testimonies might be produced both from Heathens and Christians, to evidence that they be-
 lieved but only One Eternal, Supreme, Unbegotten and Independant Being, from whom all their
 other inferiour Divinities, vulgarly also called Gods, derived their Original and Essence. And
 then he goes on, As for the Heathen Writers, an Infinity of Testimonies might be cited from
Plutarch, &c. who have all asserted that the Pagans received but One Supreme, Infinite,
 and Self-existent God, &c. But such Expressions as these are silenced by what I have
 premised, namely, that some of the wisest of the Heathens own’d a Multiplicity
 of Gods, and even those that asserted the Unity of the Godhead, and embraced it
 as a rational Notion, confuted it by their Practice, and some of them by their

* History of the A-
 postle’s Creed,
 Ch. 20.
 P. 57, 58.

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very Words. This I have made good from the Testimony of *Christians*, and of *Pagans* themselves.

Nor is their Polytheism excused, much less taken off by what this Learned Author and some others have urged, that tho' some *inferior secondary Deities* were held by the Pagan Philosophers, yet they asserted that there is but one *Supreme and Infinite Being*: Which the Reader may find often repeated by *Dr. Cudworth* in his ** Intellectual System*. He, and before him *Steuchus Eugubinus*, and before both of ** Book I. Chap. 4.* them *Justin Martyr*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Cybil*, *Eusebius*, and other antient Fathers, have amassed together abundance of Pagan Poets and Philosophers, to attest that the Pagan Theologers held one Supreme Being that was the chief Deity, and all the rest inferior in respect of Him. But this makes nothing at all for the purpose of this Learned Writer; for if these Theologers held (as they did) that the other *inferior Gods* were properly *Deities*, then from their asserting this we gather, that the Pagan Theology set up a *Plurality of Gods*: and so by this is confuted the Opinion which is pretended to be destroyed. Now that these inferior Gods were properly *Deities*, is plain enough; for the Heathens (as appears from both Greek and Roman Authors, who speak of the Divine Honours paid to the Gods) gave the same Worship to these as to him who is Supreme: and therefore notwithstanding their mentioning sometimes a Supreme and Highest God, we cannot excuse them from owning a Multiplicity of Gods. They made them all *Gods* by worshipping them: that is sufficient. And therefore 'tis in vain to distinguish nicely about *Supreme and Inferior Numens*.

And further, I will make it appear that this Distinction which is made use of by the foresaid Learned Writers, to prove that the Pagans held but one Deity, is not to be relied upon, and no stress is to be laid on it, because those *Inferior Gods* of the Pagans are sometimes represented and described by them as *Supreme Gods* and universal Monarchs, and as absolutely independent. Thus from a great number of Citations out of the Writings of *Aristotle*, *Pindar*, *Euripides*, *Martial*, *Ovid*, and divers other Pagan Authors, it might be shewed that *Saturn*, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, *Liber Pater*, *Apollo*, *Urania* or *Venus*, *Hercules*, *Janus*, *Pan*, are sometimes looked upon and worshipped as *Supreme Deities*, as if every one of them singly were the only sovereign and independent Deity. These are described in those Writings as *Makers of the World*, as *Fathers or Parents of Mankind*, as *Preservers and Conservators of all things*, as *Divine Benefactors to the whole World*, as *Catholick Rulers and Governours*, and in a word, all of them are owned as uppermost and highest. *Father* is an Epithet given to all the Male Deities, as *Jupiter* himself at a Council of the Gods thus cajoles them:

** Ut nemo sit nostrum qui Pater Optimus Divum,
Ut Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus, Pater Mars,
Janus, Quirinus Pater, omnes dicamur ad unum.*

** Lucil.
Sat. 1.*

That the same Perfections are attributed to them all, that the same Benefits are ascribed to them in common; that Prayers are made to every one of them, and Thanks returned equally, is evident in the Pagan Writings: so that 'tis plain they made no distinction among them as to Worship. Wherefore they who so industriously labour to distinguish them, have not hit on the right way of interpreting the Authors before mentioned, nor have they a right Notion concerning the Matter that is now under Consideration; for it appears that the Distinction of *Supreme and inferior Gods*, (which the Learned *Dr. Cudworth* so insists upon) is of no use to them, because they were all *equal* as to *Worship*, they were all addressed and applied to as the living God, and the true Deity.

And whereas the Doctor hath taken a great deal of Pains (after some others) to prove that the several inferior Heathen Gods were but so many Names or Expressions of the one Supreme Deity, it is a mistaken Notion without doubt; for they were not looked upon by some of the *intelligent Heathens themselves* as mere Denominations, as is evident from what I have quoted before; and 'tis certain they were not esteemed as such by the *Vulgar*, as appears also from the Premises. This Writer then falls short of his Attempt, he hath not proved (tho' if any Man could have done it, he could) what he so often urges, that the *Pagan Polytheism* was in great part (he doth not venture to say, altogether) nothing but the Polyonymie of One God, that

that is, that the Heathens had but one God with several Names and Notions. This Learned Author strives to defend it, but with little Success: and truly at last he seems to give it up as untenable; for he expressly grants that all the Pagan Gods * were taken for supreme Deities. And if they were taken for such, the Controversy is at an end: for then 'tis not to be doubted they believed them to be more than Names, and accordingly the Worship that was given to them was the same that was paid to their Supreme God. But this Worship was inconsistent with that of the True God, which this Author denies also, he having not attended to what was said by the Wise and Godly Arabian, *Job 31. 26. If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in Brightness, and my Heart hath been secretly enticed, or my Mouth hath kissed my Hand; that is, if I have worshipped the Sun and Moon as Deities, this were an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge, for I should have denied the God that is above; that is, by worshipping other Gods I should have excluded the True One, yea, I should have denied him.* How then is this Denial reconcileable with the Worship of the One only True God? I think I need add no more towards the Confutation of what this very Learned Man hath been at so much pains to establish: it is manifest from the whole, that the Generality of Heathens, yea the wisest and most knowing of them, were direct Polytheists. The Worship of the One only True God was lost among the Pagans; for by giving Divinity to the False Gods, they took it away from the True One, and thence were deservedly stiled by one of the antient Christians † *Robbers of the Divinity.* In brief, the Idolatry of the Heathen World was worshipping a Multitude of Persons and Things which they took to be Gods, but were not.

† *Ansai*
Θεορυσ-
Tatian.

This is the Subject I am now engaged in, and it is in it self of very great Variety, and therefore will be very diverting and entertaining. Besides, the Advantage of it will be considerable on several accounts; for I shall here have occasion given me to explain and illustrate sundry Passages in the Holy Scriptures; for we must admit of this as a certain Truth, that a great part of these Sacred Records contain more antient Notices concerning the Diversity of Heathen Gods, and the different Names and Titles of them, than any Book extant in the World. Wherefore I hope I shall do right to these inspired Writings, by giving some satisfactory Account of the Nature of the particular false Gods and Idols mentioned there.

And there will be a great number of other Texts that will come in my way, which will stand in need of a Comment, and I will endeavour to supply that, by a faithful interpreting and expounding what I find obscure in those Places.

One chief thing I intend, is to enquire into the pretended Reasons or Occasions of the several Kinds of Idolatry, and to examine the Grounds which are alleged and made use of by Pagan Writers in defence of the Worship which is given to particular distinct Deities, and then all along to shew the Weakness and Invalidity of them.

And lastly, I hope this is such a Theme as will stir up in us all a thankful Acknowledgment of God's singular Goodness and Favour to us, in freeing us from that Evil and Mischief which is here displayed, in delivering us from that gross Idolatry to which our Forefathers, even in this Nation, were addicted.

Before I enter upon this Work, I will tell the Reader once for all, that I shall use a great Freedom of Speech whilst I am laying open the Folly of the Pagan Idolatry, which I hope will not offend any, when they remember that the Scripture it self delights to expose Idolatry in very free Terms. *Elijah* in a deriding manner bids the Priests of *Baal* cry aloud, for *their God was either talking, or pursuing, or in a Journey, or peradventure sleeping, and must be awaked,* 1 Kings 18. 27. for the Pagan Devotionists were so silly as to think, that their Gods slept and waked: and when they prayed to them, they cried aloud, that they might be roused out of their Sleep, and that they might hear them. The forty fourth Chapter of *Isaiab*, from the 9th to the 21st Verse, is a free and ingenious exposing of Idolatry and Idol-makers, in a way of innocent and harmless Raillery. The forty sixth Chapter, ver. 1, 2, 7. is a briefer sort of Sarcasm against them: and so is the tenth Chapter of *Jeremiab*, the 4th and 5th Verses especially. And I would have it observed by the Curious and Critical, that the Places dedicated to idolatrous Worship are called Places of Laughter in *Amos* 7. 9, 16. for what our Translators render there the High Places of *Isaac*, and the House of *Isaac*, I conceive may be rightly

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rightly Englished, the *High Places of Laughter*, and the *House of Laughter*. For though we read in the Writings of the Prophets, of the *High Places of Judah and Jerusalem*, and of the *House of Jacob and Israel*, yet we read not of the *House of Isaac*; this is not according to Scripture Stile. Wherefore I take the Hebrew Word *Isaac* here to be a Common, not a Proper Name, it signifies *Laughter* (and it is well known that is the true rendering of the Word) and not the *Patriarch Isaac*. And then the foregoing Words, the *High Places and House of Laughter*, are to be interpreted thus: As that Place which was originally named *Bethel*, is in a scoffing manner called *Beth-aven* by the Prophet *Hosea* (chap. 4. ver. 15.) because the *House of God* was turned into a *House of Vanity and Idolatry*; so here the *High Places of Judah and the House of Israel*, are called by the Prophet *Amos* the *High Places of Laughter*, and the *House of Laughter*, viz. because they were become the Receptacles of Pagan Idols, which are deservedly to be laughed at. The Vanity of Idolatrous Worship is not unfitly denoted here by the Word *Laughter*, for it is the Object of Derision.

The Author of the Book of *Wisdom* is very pleasant upon these *Idolaters*, and thinks it not below him to represent their extravagant Practices in a Jocular Stile, *Wisd. 13. 11.* to the End of the Chapter. It seems he did not interpret that Law in *Exod. 22. 28.* *Thou shalt not revile the Gods*, in that odd Sense which *Julian* the Apostate afterwards did, whose groundless Conceit it was (as **Mr. Selden* takes * *De jure* notice) that these Words forbid the reviling of the false Gods that other People hold to be true ones: though truly He, of all Men, had the least reason to make this Interpretation of that Law, he being so notorious a Reviler of the God and Religion of the Christians, both which he had formerly owned as true, but afterwards revolting from them, laugh at as false. But certain it is, that that fore-mentioned Text is to be understood of *Judges and Rulers* (who in other Places of Scripture are honoured with the Title of *Gods*) and not of *False Gods*; and it is as certain that the Fooleries and Absurdities of a false and Idolatrous Religion may lawfully be exposed.

This is evident from what hath been said already: but now I will further add, that this was the way of some of the most eminent Writers of the Christian Church: Thus that Learned and Pious Father *Clement of Alexandria*, in *Protrept.* wittily exposes the ridiculous Falshood and Vanity of the Mysteries and Rites, the Gods, and all things belonging to the Pagan Idolatry. *Origen* in his Books against *Celsus*, makes himself merry sometimes with that *Epicurean* Philosopher, and derides his fabulous Notions relating to the Heathen Deities. *Arnobius* pleasantly rallies the Pagans for their Idolatry, and with Derision mentions the Stories, Fables, Genealogies, Marriages, Amours and mad Pranks of the Gods and Goddesses. *Lactantius* performs this Part with a good Grace. *Octavius*, who represents the Christians Part in *Minutius Felix*, laughs at the Follies of the Gentile Worshippers. So that eminent Father † *St. Augustin* reckons up the several sorts of Heathen Polytheism with Contempt and Laughter. This may excuse some lighter Expressions used by me in this Discourse concerning the Pagan Deities. The Bible it self is my Pattern, and I am back'd by the Example of the most serious and religious Writers of the Primitive Church. And we may add to all that hath been said, that of the Jewish Doctors, || All Jeering is forbidden, excepting the Jeering of Idols. || Having premised this, I now enter upon the Detail of the particular Deities among the Pagans: And,

I. I will begin the Catalogue with the *Celestial Spirits* or *Angels*, the highest and noblest Rank of Creatures. The Adoring of these is taken notice of and cautioned against by the Apostle, *Col. 2. 18.* where the *Worshipping of Angels* and *Voluntary Humility* are joined together, to let us know the Source and Origin of that undue Service; it proceeded from an affected Humility, as if it were too much Boldness to go and apply to God immediately. Such humble Addresses are of Mens own inventing and devising, they are mere *Will-worship*, and so are expressly called, ver. 23. and therefore are not acceptable to Heaven: Yea, this invoking of *Angels*, (which is a mere Heathenish Usage) is a plain Rivaling of God, and therefore an Act of Idolatry. Mr. Mede thinks the *δαίμονια* in 1 *Tim. 4. 1.* are the *Angelical* Spirits that were wont to be worshipped, and that this Doctrine and Practice began to be entertained by some, that in those Days professed Christia-

nity; but there may be some Reason to doubt of this Interpretation of the Place, and therefore I shall not insist upon it. The old Hereticks known by the Name of *Gnosticks*, worshipped *Demons* or *Angels* under strange Kinds of Names or Titles, as well as the True God, as we may see in the Account of *Hereticks* given us by *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius*. It is certain that among *Prophane Writers* this *Angelical*

* Θεός ἐστι
παύλων
Βασίλειος
καὶ παύλος
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† Περὶ
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σμοῦ.

Worship is often mentioned, and allowed of. * There is, saith *Maximus* of *Tyr*, one God, King and Father of all: to this one are added many other Gods, who are Sons of this Supreme God, and are as it were Colleagues with him in the Empire. He means by these the *Angels*, called in Scripture the *Sons of God*: and they are called *Gods* too in those Sacred Writings. So † *Plutarch* tells us that there is a First and Chief God, whereby Divine things are well and wisely ordered; and there are *Δευτερι θεοὶ*, Secondary Gods, whereby Human Affairs are transacted and governed. It seems it was the Opinion of the Pagans, that one Deity was not sufficient for the managing of all things in the upper and the lower World, and therefore they had their *Δαίμονες* and their *Dii Medioximi*, a sort of Angelick Spirits, to share in the Government and Administration of the Universe. It was the received Notion among them (yea even among the best of them) that these were Agents and Mediators between the Sovereign Deity and mortal Creatures, and that they offered the Prayers and Addresses of these to the Supreme God.

And as they had their good *Demons* or *Angels* that administered in general, and to whom an universal Worship was given, so there were those that had a particular Charge of Persons, and these also were frequently deified by them, and revered as such. When *Plutarch* in the Place before mentioned was speaking of the *Δαίμονες*, he adds the *Δαίμονες* to them, as another Rank of inferior Deities, who are placed near the Earth, and are the Inspectors and Keepers of Mortals. These among the *Latins* were stiled *Genii*, whom we frequently find mentioned by *Varro*, *Censorinus*, and other grave Authors, as well as the Poets. The *Genius* was accounted the God of their Nativity, or the God with whom every one is begot and

* *Genius*
à gignen-
do.
† *Epist.* 2.
lib. 2.

born, whence he had his * Name. † *Horace* describes him thus:
natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ deus humana, mortalis in unum
Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus & ater.

Which may be thus paraphrased:

'Tis this Associate our Ascendant sways,
Our Horoscope both governs and allays.
Of Human Generation he's the Cause
And Source Divine. 'Tis he appoints the Laws
To every one of their approaching Death,
As well as of their passing Life and Breath.
He's of a different Aspect; sometimes bright,
Gay and auspicious; sometimes he's all Night.

* *Genium dicebant natura-
lem Deum uniuscujusque loci,
rei, aut hominis. In 1 Georg.*

* In At-
tic.
† *Sat.* 1.
& 6.
‖ *Carm.*
1. 3.

Nay, according to *Servius*, the Office of the *Genii* was not only to concern themselves with particular Persons, but every * *Place* and Thing had one of these Guardians to take care of it. The particular Devoirs and Homage paid to this sort of Heathen Gods, are described by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors. Especially the Images which were erected, and the Sacrifices which were offered to them, are spoken of by * *Pausanias*, † *Perkins*, ‖ and *Horace*. From whom and others we learn, that chiefly on the Birth-day of Persons, the Solemnities were performed to the *Genii*, and therefore it was called the *Genial Day*.

I need not be very industrious in shewing the Unreasonableness of this first Kind of Idolatry, namely, the worshipping of *Angels*, or (as the Heathen Writers stiled them) Good *Dæmons* or *Genii*. It is true, they pretended some ground for it, namely, because they are superior to us in Excellency, as being pure Spirits and immaterial Substances, without the allay of gross Matter; or at least it was the Notion of the *Platonists*, that they were of a middle Nature between God and

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Man, or * compounded as it were of both. But this is no true ground why they should give Adoration to them, for it must be the Supreme Being that is the Object of our Worship: for the reason why we worship God is, because he is in his own Nature exalted above us and all other Creatures, and hath those Perfections which are to be found in none else. Though Angels then be the brightest and most glorious sort of Creatures; yet when we remember that they are but Creatures, we cannot rationally think them to be the Objects of Divine Worship. They are of a Degree above us, but that exalts them not to the Nature of the Deity: they being created Spirits as well as our selves, we may as well adore our own Nature as theirs. Nor do the *Advantages* we reap by them entitle them to this; for, for the same Reason (if we may call it so) some of our own Kind may challenge Divine Honours, for they are very helpful and beneficial to us, and are our Guardians and Protectors. Nor doth their *Goodness* render them adorable, because Man's Nature is capable of that likewise. We are both finitely good, and therefore there is no Proportion between us and the Infinite Goodness of God. Besides, these Heavenly Creatures (as Glorious as they are) being but *Ministring Spirits*, are God's Officers and Servants, nay ours, and consequently they are not capable of Divine Adoration. In short, they that worship God are not to be worshipped themselves; but these celestial Spirits do so, according to that of the Psalmist, *Worship him, all ye Gods*, Psal. 97. 7. that is, all ye *Angels*, as is clear from *Heb. 1. 6.* where the Apostle quotes this Place. If they give Divine Honour to God, we may conclude that they are not to receive it themselves from others, their *Fellow-Creatures*, as they own themselves to be, *Rev. 22. 9.* and on that account, as well as others, refuse to be worshipped. Wherefore (as the Consequent of what hath been said) we cannot but condemn and explode this first sort of Pagan Deities, and the Worship that was given to them.

II. *Infernal Spirits* or *Evil Angels* are honoured by the Pagans, and received into the Number of their Gods. In *Hell* there were Deities, according to the Poets. *Pluto* (by the *Latins* called *Dis*) was the chief God of those infernal Regions, and *Proserpine* (his Wife) must be reckoned a Goddess. Here we must bring in the *Three Judges of Hell*; for these you must note were a sort of Gods, they being the Sons of *Jupiter*. *Charon* and *Cerberus* must not be omitted, the one reputed the *Ferry-man* of *Hell*, whose Business was to waft over deceased Souls; the other the *Porter* of that Place, whose Office was to give them admittance. And among the Infernal Deities, the *Parcae*, or *Three Fatal Sisters* are to be reckoned, two whereof are said to be employed in spinning the Thread of Life, and the other in cutting it off, so that properly one of them only is *Fatal*. And the *Three Furies* will also challenge a Place here, for they were all highly revered by the Pagan Rabble, who were set on by the Poetick Tribe. *Orcus* was an infernal God, as *Festus*, *Lampridius*, and *St. Augustine* out of *Varro* testify. The *Manes* were * reputed

* Τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος ἐπὶ μίσην θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων
Max. Tyr. Dissert. 26.

* Quos deos esse putabant ab inferis ad superiores emanantes.
Festus.

But we have a much surer ground to go upon than this: even the Sacred Writings inform us, without amusing us with fabulous Names, that the Hellish Fiends were revered and worshipped as Gods. This manifestly appears from *Lev. 17. 7.* *They shall no more offer their Sacrifices to Devils, after whom they have gone a whoring.* To Devils, or according to the *Hebrew* [*Shegnirim*] Goats, because they used to worship Devils in the shape of those Creatures. Which 'tis probable was learnt from the *Egyptians*, who, as * *Herodotus* attests, worshipped the evil Dæmons in that form: and *Diodorus Siculus* and several other Pagan Writers, are quoted by † *Bochart* for this purpose. So a || *Jewish* Author of very good Credit relates concerning the *Zabians* or *Chaldeans*, that they esteemed the Infernal Spirits as Gods, and thought they had the Shape of Goats; whence he thinks that in *Moses's* time they called them *Segnirim*. That is a plain Text, *Deut. 32. 17.* *They sacrificed unto Devils, not to God.* And that is another, *Psal. 106. 37.* *They sacrificed their Sons and Daughters unto Devils.* Which Places are spoken of the *Jews*; but they borrowed this hellish Practice from the *Pagans*, and particularly from the *Egyptians*. * *Theodoret* is positive in this, that the People of *Israel* were taught in *Egypt* to sacrifice to Devils. We read in *2 Chron. 11. 15.* that *Jeroboam* ordained Priests for the High Places, and for Devils. And to prove yet further that these Devils were accounted Gods, there is another Place that may be produced, which is not taken notice of, *1 Sam. 28. 13.* *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth*, that is, infernal Gods, Devils: they

* Lib. 2. cap. 46.
† Hierozoic. pars 1. lib. 2. cap. 53.
|| Maimonid. More Nevoch. l. 3. c. 46.
* Quæst. I. in Levitic.

they have this Name, because they were reputed by the Idolatrous Gentiles to be Gods, and were worshipped accordingly.

* Mr. Le Clerc in loc.

The New Testament likewise bears witness to this. There is some great Affinity between *Baalzebub the God of Ekron*, 2 Kings 1. 2. and *the Prince of the Devils*, Mat. 12. 24. or else this latter would not have had that Denomination. The Apostle's Testimony is very clear, 1 Cor. 10. 20. *The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, not to God*; tho' a * Modern Writer, who shews himself singular in this, as well as in many other things, will not have it to be interpreted of Evil Spirits. But without reason, for the Place from whence the Apostle took these Words, Deut. 32. 17. is understood of these Spirits; and the Scope and Design of the Apostle, which is to set forth the Unlawfulness of the Gentile Worship, proves this; for this worshipping of Devils is mentioned as an high Aggravation of the Idolatrous Worship of the Heathens, and the Opposition here in the 21st Verse, of *the Lord's Table* and *the Table of Devils*, and *the Cup of the Lord* and *the Cup of Devils*, evinces this: for by these are meant the Wine drank at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that which was drank at the Idol Feasts. So in Rev. 9. 20. the worshipping of Devils and of Idols is joined together.

* Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησι θεοὶ, δαίμονες ὄντες πορνεὶ τε καὶ μισάνθρωποι. Qu. & Resp. 99. ad Orthodox.
† Prap. Evang. lib. 4.

To Scripture let us add the Testimony of the antient Writers of the Church. * *The Gods worshipped by the Greeks*, saith Justin Martyr, *were wicked and inhuman Devils*. And in his *Second Apology* he tells the Gentiles, that their Deities were Apostate Spirits, impure and unclean Dæmons. And so † Eusebius shews that the Gods whom the Pagans worshipped were of this very Character, and that the Philosophers themselves did not deny this. Yea, some of the antient Writers in the Christian Church acquaint us, that this was acknowledged by the very *Fiends* themselves: for in those Primitive Times it was not unusual to compel those *Evil Spirits* to confess before their Worshipers, that they were *such*. See this confirmed by * Tertullian, † Cyprian, ‖ and Minutius Felix. And when in those Days they that were admitted to Baptism, promised to forsake the Devil, the meaning was, that they would forsake the worshipping of False Gods, some whereof were no other than Devils.

* Afol. cap. 22.
† De Vanit. Idol.
‖ P. 31.

It may be observed here on this occasion, that according to the Pagan Notion, every one had a Couple of *Genii*, one *Bad* and the other *Good*, as much as to say, a *Good Angel* and a *Devil*, to attend upon him, and they worshipped both of them by turns, or as there was occasion, as may be gathered from what Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Horace and others have delivered. I might mention here the *Cacodæmones* of the Grecians, and the *Vejevones* of the Latins, who were evil Spirits whom they crouched to, that they might do them no harm. So it might be observed that they had a way to pacify the *Lemures*, that they might not hurt their Houses.

* Θεὸς ἔστι δύο, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπων, ὁ καλὸς καὶ ὁ κακός. Plut. de II. & Osir.

† Τὰς δὲ καλαχθόνους οὐκ εὐσεβεῖ δαίμονας.

Under this Head it may be further observed, that it was the Sentiment of some of the Pagans of old, * that there are two Gods, the one the Cause of all Good, the other of all Evil. Plutarch fathers this Opinion upon Plato and other chief Greek Philosophers: And perhaps it came at first from Pythagoras's School; for I find some such Dross as this in his *Golden Verses*, † *Worship the infernal Dæmons*. For tho' Hierocles would persuade us, that by the καλαχθόνιοι δαίμονες are meant good and virtuous Men, yet one may see that this is a Mistake; for good Men upon Earth are not to be worshipped, even according to the Pythagoreans: wherefore 'tis plain that 'tis meant of the *Subterranean Dæmons*. This Notion of a Good God, and a Bad one was also held by the antient Persians; Oromasdes was their Good Deity, and Arimanius their Evil one. So the Egyptians had their Osiris, the Principle of Good, and Typho the Original of Evil. This, as I apprehend, is some proof of what I am now advancing, that it was common with the Pagans to worship even Devils; for as they had a Reverence for a Good Being, the Author of Good to them, so they gave Veneration to an Evil one, who they thought was able to inflict Evil upon them; but that he might not do so, they humbly prostrated themselves to him, and paid Homage to him. Our Forefathers the old Britains placed Devils in the Rank of Deities, if we may credit Gildas*, who tells us that the Pictures of them remained in his Days upon the broken Walls of their Cities: for they were wont to draw the Portraiture of these Dæmons in that ghastly and deformed Shape

* De Fecid. Britan.

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Shape in which they appeared to them. And the Modern Narratives which are extant concerning the Pagans in the *East* and *West Indies*, inform us, that some of them professedly worship the infernal Ghosts, who frequently appear to them, and by force extort a Devotion and Service from them. This is testified of the Inhabitants of *Japan*, and of some People of *America*, by * *Maffæus* and † *Horn*. * *Hist. Ind. pars*
We are told by late Travellers, that in *Chili*, an *American* Province, the People worship the Devil under the Name of *Eponamon*, that is, Strong or Powerful: and † *De Orig. Americ.*
in other Parts of that New World he is worshipped under the Title of *Monetto*. 1. 2.

Now, if we enquire into the *Occasion* and *Grounds* of this horrid Piece of Idolatry, we shall find that it proceeded first from the Pride and Ambition of these cursed Spirits, who aspired to be as Gods, which it is probable was the chief Cause of their Rebellion and Apostacy. And the Evangelical History acquaints us, that the Devil affected to assume Divinity, and would be worshipped as a God. *Fall down and worship me*, was his Language to our Saviour himself, *Mat. 4. 9*. It is likely these fallen Dæmons make this Pretence and Claim to Worship from the pristine Excellency of their Nature, as they are Angelick Spirits, and on that account are above Mankind. But nothing can be more irrational than to deify them on this Consideration; for if it be unreasonable to worship *Good Angels* (as I have shewed) it must needs be much more so to give that Honour to *Evil* ones. To adore the implacable Enemies of the Supreme Sovereign and Lord of Heaven and Earth, is unsufferable.

There is another plausible Ground which is made use of by the Worshippers of these Evil Spirits, and that is, their *Power* to hurt and injure us. But it is to be considered, that it is not the bare Sovereignty and transcendent Power of God himself that is the sole Foundation of our adoring him. There is a Concurrence of Attributes and Excellencies to render him adorable, namely, because he is in himself and his own Nature Eternal, Infinite, Omniscient, Almighty, perfectly Good, Holy, Wise, Just and True, and is the Author of our very Being, and the Upholder of it, and the bountiful Donor of all the good things we enjoy. On all these accounts, and many more, he challenges of us Divine Worship, Homage and Submission.

And besides, it must be a Power above all, that merits these from us, which is not that of the Infernal Spirits; for we are assured that they are all at the beck and command of the Divine Being. The infallible Oracles of the Holy Scripture afford us many particular Proofs of this. And seeing they are all at the absolute Disposal and Pleasure of the Omnipotent God, we cannot but be convinced that they have no Right to the Worship which is due to him. Consequently this shews the extreme Madness of the *Gentile Idolatry*.

III. The next Rank of *Deities* among the Pagans were *Men*, and that both *dead* and *alive*. First, it was the antient Practice of the Gentile World to worship departed Souls. Human Spirits separated from the Bodies were reckoned as *Gods* by them. These are sometimes called *Dæmons* by *Maximus Tyrius* and *Plutarch*: and among Latin Writers they have sometimes the Name of *Genii*; for 'tis certain that the Heathens had a different Notion of the *Genii*, as hath partly appeared already, and will further from what I shall have occasion to mention afterwards. An antient Geographer speaking of a certain People in *Africa* called *Augila*, saith they worshipped the Souls of Men: * *They think them, saith he, to be the only Gods, and they swear by them, and consult them as Oracles*. Another People in *Africa* were addicted to the same kind of Idolatry, that is, the worshipping of the *Manes* (for these by the Pagans are sometimes held to be *Devils*, and sometimes the Souls of dead Men) as *Herodotus* testifies in his *Melpomene*. And we find in * *Tully*, that this Practice was according to the old *Roman Laws*. We learn from another Author, that the Souls of Men after Death were deified.

* *Mela, lib. 1. cap. 8.*

* *Deorum Manium jura sancta sunt: hos letho datos Divos habento. De Legib. 1. 2.*

† *Hesiod.*

† *Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μὲν τὸτο γένος καὶ γὰρ κάλυψεν,*

τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μέδοντες διὰ βελάν,

ἑσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c.

The Substance of which is, that when the eminent Worthies of the first and Golden Age left this World, they were made Dæmons by *Jupiter*, and they are appointed to converse here on Earth, and to be the Guardians of Mankind, and to

† Com-
ment. in
Lib. 3.
Æn.

to do good Offices here for them. These were called *Animales Dii*, and † *Servi-*
us gives us the Reason of the Name, [*Labeo*, saith he, in his *Books of the Gods*,
whose Original is *Animal*, tells us that there are certain sacred Rites and Solem-
nities whereby human Souls are turned into Gods, who are called *Animal*, be-
cause they are made of *Anima*, the Souls of Men.] These are sometimes called
Divi and *Indigetes*, and sometimes *Penates* (tho' these at other Times are taken in
another Meaning, as we shall see afterwards) and the learned Mr. *Mede* is pleased
to call them *Soul-Gods*.

Now, among the Souls freed from Bodies, 1. Those of great Men and Princes,
2. Those of Persons that were eminent for their useful Inventions
or *Exploits*, were chiefly adored. First, Monarchs and Prin-
ces, when they were dead, * had Divine Honour paid to them.
A great Part of *Idolatry* rose hence; which may be gathered
from the Primitive Names of Heathen Gods and their Idols, as
first, that of *Baal* or *Bel*; secondly, that of *Moloch*.

* *Si omnes qui coluntur ut
Dii, homines fuerunt, & iidem
primi ac maximi Reges. La-
fant. de Ira Dei, cap. 11.*

First, the Hebrew Word *Bagnal* or *Baal*, *Dominus*, was the general Name of the
Gentile Gods. The *Phœnicians* contracting it called it *Bal*; and the *Assyrians* and
Chaldeans pronounced it *Bel*, as we find it in *Isa. 46. 1. Jer. 51. 44.* Still it hath
the same Signification, and is as much as *Lord*; whence I infer the Rise and Ori-
gine of the Pagan Deities, they were *Kings* and *Great Lords*, who when they died
were Deified by the People. And who was the first *Lord* or *King* that was wor-
shipped? This Name directs us to it; for *Nimrod* the Son of *Chush*, and Grand-
child of *Cham*, who flourished about the Year of the World 1716, is he who in
profane Authors is stiled *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*: He was the first *Bel*, i. e. *Lord*,
King, or *Sovereign*, as the sacred History testifies, and was by the People made a
God when he died; and was called by the Pagans *Belus*. Others think *Belus* was
Ninus, the Son and Successor of *Nimrod*, and consequently the second *Lord* or
King of *Babel*, and of the *Assyrians*. We need not dispute this Matter, for this and
the other Opinion amount to the same, viz. that the *Lords* or *Kings* were at first
deified after their Deaths. And perhaps St. *Jerom* in his *Comment* on *Ezekiel*, gives
us the truest Account, when he tells us that *Ninus*, the Son of *Nimrod* or *Belus*, e-
rected Altars and Images and a Temple to his Father, after he was dead,
which (saith he) was the Beginning of *Idolatry*. Thus you have the Primitive
Bel or *Lord*; and afterwards this Example was greedily followed; several Subjects
out of Flattery to their dead Princes, made them Gods, and honoured them with
the Name of *Baal*, *Bel*, and *Baalim*, for these were general Terms and Titles of
the Pagan Gods, *Hos. 2. 8. Jer. 50. 2. 1 Sam. 7. 4. Jer. 2. 23.* and signified as much
as *Lord* or *Lords*. On which Account (viz. because of the true and genuine Sig-
nification of the Word) the *Jews* very piously called the true God *Baal*, as appears
from *Hos. 2. 16.* he being the *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords*, might justly bear that
Name; and he did so till that Name became offensive, to wit, by the appropriating
of it to the *False Gods*; whereupon God forbade his People to call him by that Name,
as we read in the forementioned Place. By a general Usage it came to pass that
Baal was the Name of all the profane Deities that were worshipped by the Infidels,
who lived near the Land of *Israel*.

Here, by the way, it may be observed, that out of a special Veneration to that
Baal, or *Bel*, who was the first *King*, and the first *Heathen God*, some of the Great
ones in the East tacked this Name to theirs, as *Ethbal* King of the *Sidonians*, and
Jezabel who was that King's Daughter, *1 Kings 16. 31.* So some of King *Saul's*
Race had their Names compounded with *Baal*, as *Esh-baal* and *Merib-baal*, *1 Chron.*
8. 23, 24. The last King of the *Chaldean* Race had this Name prefixed to his, and
was called *Belshazzar*, as before we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* gave *Daniel* this Name
(only with a little Alteration, *Belteshazzar*) according to the Name of his God, *Dan. 4. 8.*
In other Countries it was added to their Names, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*, and *Heliogaba-
lus* contains *Baal* in it. *Belinus*, the Name of a God among the old *Galls*, *Germani*,
and *Britains*, was perhaps from *Bel*, or the same with *Bel*, and thence the Names of
Cassibelin and *Cunobelin*, *British Kings*. For it was usual to give themselves a Name
from the Gods, as we see in other Instances; *Diocletian* was sur-named *Jovius*, and
Maximian Hercules, because one had the greatest Veneration for *Jupiter*, and the
other for *Hercules*. And so *Mithridates* is from *Mithra*, the *Persian God*, which
Word is the same with *Dominus*, and so it answers to the Hebrew *Baal*, which
we have been speaking of, and is no other than *Lord*.

It will be worth our taking Notice of, in order to our better understanding some Places in sacred Writ, that the first *Baal* or *Bel* hath different Epithets annexed to him, according to the different Places where he was worshipped; for he had Adoration given him not only in *Assyria* (his native Country) but in other Parts of the World, especially in the neighbouring Regions. He had the Name of *Baal-Peor*, or *Bel-Phegor*, according to the LXX & Vulg. Latin, Num. 25. 3. Psal. 106. 28. Hof. 9. 19. from a Mountain called *Peor* in the Land of *Moab*, Numb. 22. 28. Deut. 34. 6. On the Top of which high Mountain *Balaam* was desired by *Balac* to curse *Israel*, the Temple of his God *Baal* being situated there, and there he was sacrificed to and worshipped; wherefore it was hoped that this God upon his own Ground would shew himself an Enemy to the holy People. *Suidas* agrees to this, that *Baal-Peor* was denominated from this particular † Place of his Worship: and so doth the learned * *Selden*, who thinks he was called so as *Jupiter* was named *Olympius*, because he was more especially worshipped in Mount *Olympus*. Unless we shall say that this *Baal-Peor* was some lewd and lascivious King or Governor of that Country, (and so the Signification of *Baal*, Lord, is still preserved) who was addicted to Obscenity, and famed for it, and after his Death cannonised and even worshipped by those of his Friends and Favourites that were of his lewd Temper; which agrees with the Jewish Notion concerning *Baal-Peor*, as you shall hear afterwards; but the former Account is plainest and most obvious.

|| St. *Jerom* is of Opinion, that *Chemosh* (mentioned in Judg. 11. 24. 1 Kings 11. 7. Jer. 48. 7.) is the same with *Baal-Peor*; and † Mr. *Selden* seems to be of the same Mind; and so is Mr. *Jurieu*. There have been many Conjectures about it, some thinking it to be the same with the God among the Greeks called *Kάμω* and *Καίμω*, the God of Banqueters, the same with *Bacchus*; so *Forster* in his *Lexicon*, and so *Vossius* and *Kircher*. *Montanus* and some others will have it to be the same with *Dæus Aërruncus*, tho' I do not see any Ground for such a Surmise. But this is the great and notorious Fault of Criticks generally, and of such as trade in Etymologies, to neglect the plain and simple Meaning of a Word, and to hunt after one that hath no Relation to it. So it is here, for I conceive the easy and true Account is this, that this Pagan God *Chemosh*, who was the peculiar Idol of the *Moabites*, took his Name (as *Baal-Peor* did) from a Place so called in the Country of the *Moabites*, Num. 21. 29. Jer. 48. 7. I take then *Chemosh* in the fore-cited Places, where it was mentioned as a God, to be as much as *Baal-Chemosh*, i. e. *Baal*, who was worshipped at *Chemosh*.

So it is likely *Baal-Zephon* is *Baal* that was revered as a God at *Zephon*, a Place which the *Israelites* lodged at in their Journey from *Egypt*, and which is called *Baal-Zephon* in Exod. 14. 1. and Num. 33. 17. for here it is not the Name of a God but of a Place. But seeing this City or Town had its Denomination from *Baal*, it is reasonable to infer thence that this God, i. e. the *Baal* whom I have been speaking of, was worshipped there. The *Rabbins* have a Conceit that it was an Egyptian Idol set up by *Pharaoh's* Magicians to stop the *Israelites* in their Journey from *Egypt*; but there is no Ground for this. That which is plainly implied in the fore-quoted Texts is, that *Baal* was worshipped by the People of this Place, the same *Baal* that was worshipped at *Peor* and at *Chemosh*, and not some other strange God, as is thought by some Writers, who have taken Pains to shew what kind of Pagan Deities *Peor*, and *Chemosh*, and *Zephon* were.

On this Occasion we may complain with the learned Author *De Dis Syris*, that some Criticks, and the Jewish *Rabbins* especially, have made more Gods than there are. Though if I may be impartial, I take this Writer himself to be guilty of this Fault; for he makes a City, (viz. *Sheshac*, spoken of in Jer. 25. 26. and 51. 41.) a God. If we consult the Places in *Jeremiah*, we shall be convinced that some great City in *Chaldea*, or even *Babylon* it self, is meant by *Sheshac*. The Context sufficiently proves it, and in the latter of these Places we read of the Taking of this City. The Hebrew Masters, whom this Author is not wont to despise, positively assert this. It might be further observed, that this great Antiquary increased the Number of the Gods, by making a Grammarian One; for *Orus*, whom † he reckons among the Egyptian Deities, was of the latter sort.

And to this first *Bel*, (*Nimrod*, or *Ninus*) may perhaps be referred other Names of this God, which are mentioned in Scripture, as *Rimmon* and *Nisroch*. The first

† Φεγωρ
ὁ τὸ πᾶν
ἐν ᾧ ἐτί-
ματο. In
verbo
Βεελφε-
γῶρ.
* De Dis
Syr. Syn-
tag. 1. c.
5.
|| In Esa.
15. 2.
† Ibid.

* Sefach
Numen
est apud
Jeremi-
am, cap.
25. Sel-
den de
Dis Syr.
Syntag. 2.
cap. 12.
† Syntag.
2. cap. 134

we

we meet with in 2 Kings 5. 18. and may be as much as *Baal-Rimmon*, i. e. *Baal* that was worshipped in a peculiar Manner at *Rimmon*, a Place often mentioned, *Jos. 15. 32. 1 Chron. 4. 32. and 6. 77. Zech. 14. 16.* This is a plain and obvious Account; whereas one will have him to be *Jupiter*, another *Venus*, another the *Sun*, to which *Mr. Selden* inclines. This is their Way, they ransack the Gods and Goddesses, and compare them with the Name before them; they look for the Sense of it a great way off, when it is near at hand. *Rimmon* was a certain City, and *Baal* had his Denomination from it. The second was the God of the *Assyrians*, and his Temple was in *Nineve*, the Metropolis of *Assyria*, 2 Kings 19. 32. *Isa. 37. 38.* Now it is well known who was the God of the *Assyrians*, viz. *Baal* or *Bel*, the same we have been discoursing of. I gather hence that *Nisroch* was *Baal*; and so the learned *Jurieu* acknowledges, embellishing it with this Notion, that *Nisroch* signifies an *Eagle*, a Bird of Prey or Chace, which agrees with *Belus* or *Nimrod's* being called a mighty Hunter in Scripture. And he adds further, that *Belus* was worshipped by the *Assyrians* in the Form of an *Eagle*. And I desire the Reader to observe, that it is said in the fore-cited Place, *Sennacherib* the King of *Assyria*, was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch* his God: And why is he called his God, but because he was the God of his Countrey, he was the *Assyrian* Deity? and who was that but *Baal* or *Bel*? This is the Apprehension I have of these two Names, *Rimmon* and *Nisroch*; but I submit my Thoughts to the Censure of the Judicious: Only to confirm this latter Notion, to wit, that *Nisroch* is the same with *Baal*, I desire it may be considered first, that in those early times they had not attained to such a vast Number of Gods, as afterwards; and secondly, that among the Heathen Nations, the same Gods and Goddesses had several Names and Titles, and it was reputed a great Honour to be invoked by them all. As Great Monarchs boast of the Multiplicity of their Titles, so the Pagan Deities are represented to do the same. *Mr. Selden*, in his excellent Book of the *Syrian* Gods, and other great Critics, have shewed that this multitude of Names was thought to be very delightful and acceptable to the Gods, as well as to their Worshipers. Wherefore we are not to wonder that there were many Names of one God, and particularly that *Nisroch*, and other Names (as you shall afterwards hear) were given to the same God *Baal*, the God that was worshipped in *Assyria*, and other Eastern Countries, and who was originally the King or Monarch of *Assyria*; for *Baal* or *Bel* is supreme Lord, and the common Name of all Kings and Sovereigns. These, when they were dead, were worshipped.

Again, that Kings and Great Potentates were the first Gods on Earth, is to be gathered from another known Title or Name of these Gods, viz. *Molech*, *Lev. 18. 21. 1 Kings 11. 7.* called *Molech*, *Amos 5. 26. Acts 7. 43.* and *Malcham*, *Zeph. 1. 11.* and *Milcom*, *1 Kings 11. 33.* all which are the same, and are no other than *Molech* a King, and accordingly are rendered *δελχων* and *βασιλεως* by the LXX. And *Adrammelech* and *Anamelech*, the Gods of *Sepharvaim*, are the same with *Molech* or *Melech*, as appears from the Burning of the Children in the Fire to them, 2 Kings 17. 31. There are great and fierce Disputes among the Learned, what particular sort of God is meant by *Molech*, *Molech*, &c. It was *Saturn*, think *Selden* and *Grotius* and *Jurieu*; he was *Mars* saith *Kircher*; *Arius Montanus* determines him to be *Mercury*: *Cyril* saith it was *Venus*; but all these Conjectures seem to be fanciful and precarious. I offer this as substantial (but not unless the Judicious will vote it such) that *Molech* was a dead King worshipped, and it is probable was the same with *Baal*, a deceased Lord. The great and mighty Monarch of the *Assyrians* was turned into a God by his People, when he was dead, and he carries his Character in his Names, *Baal* and *Molech* or *Melech*, i. e. Lord and King. In some Places of the East he was worshipped under the Name of *Baal* or *Bel*; (as was said before) in other Places under the Title of *Molech*, as among the *Ammonites* chiefly, whence *Molech* is said to be the God of the Children of *Ammon*, 1 Kings 11. 33.

There is one Place that fully evinces this, that *Baal* and *Molech* are the same, notwithstanding the great Opposition which is made against it by some very great Writers, *Jer. 19. 5.* They have built the high Places of *Baal*, to burn their Sons with Fire for Burnt-Offerings unto *Baal*, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my Mind. Now let this be compared with what is said in Chap. 7. Ver. 31. They have built the High Places of *Tophet*, which is in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, to burn their Sons and their Daughters in the Fire, which I commanded them not, neither came

it into my Heart; and who doubts (upon this comparing them together) that these are parallel Places, especially when in both this individual Doom immediately follows? Therefore behold, the Days come, saith the Lord, that this Place shall no more be called Tophet, &c. If we remember the Relation which Tophet, and the Valley of Hinnom have to Moloch, and what was the bloody and inhuman Sacrifice used in his Worship; and if we consider the other Expressions in both Texts, we must needs conclude that Baal and Moloch were Names of the same God. And this is the Acknowledgment, I find, of two of the most eminent * Criticks of our Days. The Reason of which Way of Speaking was this; Heathen Gods were first of all made of Kings; these when they died, were worshipped by the People; for that great Reverence which was paid to them when they were alive, was increased after their Funerals; for the People imagined that by Death they were made greater.

And here now by the way, I may fix the Date of Idolatry, which hath been a great Controversy among the Learned. † Joseph, the Jewish Historian, is of Opinion that Idolatry was long before Noah. Some of the Rabbins have thought that Cain was the first Idolater, that being banished from the Presence of the Lord, he fell a worshipping the Sun and Stars: But the Generality of the Rabbinical Men hold that Idolatry had its Beginning in the Time of Enos. * Maimonides, treating of the Original of Idolatrous Worship and Superstition, determines that it was before the Flood, and our † Selden follows this learned Jew. And Dr. Lightfoot † De Dis Syr. Prolegom. 3. treads in his Steps; for you must know that the Men of Jewish Learning hang together, and borrow from one another generally, as Mr. Mede and Dr. Bright (who well knew the Truth of this) have ingenuously confessed. But the Reverend Person before mentioned seems to renounce his former Sentiment, when he expressly tells us that || Heathenism began at Babel, at the Confusion of Tongues. And shall we not reckon Idolatry a Part of Heathenism? If so, this and the former Account cannot agree, that is, Idolatry had not its Rise in the Family of Cain, or in Enos's time.

Indeed if we enquire into the Matter without Prejudice, we shall not find any Ground for what these Great Men say; for some of them found their Opinion on Gen. 6. 11. The Earth was corrupt before God; where they say Corruption signifies Idolatry; but first they should have proved it, before they peremptorily asserted any such thing. Though the Word in some other Places of Scripture be applied, it is true, to Idolatrous Practices, yet it is most probable that here it denotes only the general Depravation of those Evil Times. But the great Text which R. D. Kimchi, Maimonides, and other Hebrew Doctors, and Mr. Selden, insist upon for Proof of what they say, is Gen. 4. 26. Then Men prophaned, by calling on the Name of the Lord; for so they read the Words, and thence infer, that the Sinners of those Days, viz. the Days of Seth and Enos, called others besides the true God, by that Name, and accordingly worshipped them. * Maimonides is very confident from this Place, that now they first of all gave the Name of God to Creatures, and particularly that the first Idolatry was worshipping the heavenly Bodies. Enos and others, saith he, thought the Sun, Moon, and Stars were God's Ministers in the Government of the World, and therefore were to have the same Honour that God himself hath. Being perswaded of the Truth of this, they built Temples to them, they bowed down to them, they offered Sacrifices to them, they extolled and celebrated them.

But all this is grounded on their Mistake of that Text, which speaks not of Idolatry, but of the true Worship of God, and is rightly rendered by our Translators, who exactly follow the Original, [Then Men began to call on the Name of the Lord] i. e. Now in pious Seth's Days, the Church became truly visible and illustrious; the religious Worship of God was restored, increased, encouraged, and was made more publick and solemn by this Means. Whereas the Family of wicked Cain had corrupted Religion, and prophaned God's Name and Worship: now under the Conduct of this holy Man Religion began to flourish, and the Name of God to be called upon in a most devout and pious Manner. Here is nothing of calling the Creatures by the Name of Gods, but the Words expressly inform us that they called on the Name of the Lord, the Great Jehovah, the true God. It is not to be doubted then but that the Mistake arose from the Ambiguity of the Word Huchal, which coming from the Verb Chalah, which signifies both to begin and

and *prophane*, they understood it in the latter Sense. But they should have remembered that the Verb *Chalal* in the Conjugation wherein it is here used, is never taken for *Prophaning* but *beginning*. It is somewhat wonderful that * one who renders not the Word *Huchal*, *they prophaned*, but *they began*, yet interprets the Place concerning the Beginning of *Idolatrous* Worship in those Days; but that which may be said with Truth concerning this Interpreter is, that he was much addicted to the *Hebrew Rabbies*, who date *Idolatry* from *Seth's* time, and make use of this Text for that Purpose, and thence he was inclined to make it serviceable to that End, tho' in a different Way from that of the *Jewish* Writers. But if we impartially, and without any such Prepossession interpret this Place, we must needs acknowledge, that it cannot be proved hence that *Idolatry* was before the Flood.

* Ainsworth in loc.

* Errant qui deorum cultus ab exordio rerum fuisse contendunt. Institut. l. 2. c. 14.

Nay, there is great Reason to induce us to a Belief of the contrary; for if those before the Flood had been guilty of *Idolatry*, it would have been reckoned as their Crime by *Moses*, in that Place where he speaks of the Sinfulness that caused the sending of the Flood; but there is not the least Mention there of this particular Enormity; and yet their other Sins, as the Godly's Mixing with the Ungodly, their Lust and Wantonness, their Rapine and Violence (which are not so great and heinous Transgressions as *Idolatry*) are particularly mentioned. This, if I mistake not, hath Weight in it, and no Man of good Sense can (or will desire to) avoid the Force of it. And further, upon the true Reason of the Thing, it seems most probable that there was no *Idolatry* before the Flood, because first the Memory of the Creation was then fresh, and the constant and uninterrupted Tradition of Divinity, in the Families which were instructed by *Adam*, was sufficient to exclude *Idolatry*. Again, there were in those times frequent Apparitions of GOD, and of Angels, which reminded them of their Duty, and effectually diverted them from any such Practice. Besides, the Purity of Religion was kept up by the Sons of God, whom we particularly read of. And lastly, the long Lives of the Antediluvian Patriarchs contributed toward this; for they were able, by that Means, to propagate Religion, and the true Worship of God more effectually, and consequently to exclude *Idolatry*. For these Reasons, and it may be others, the Ancient Fathers and Writers of the Christian Church, were perswaded that *Idolatry* began not till after the Universal Deluge. * They are in an Error, saith *Lactantius*, who maintain the contrary Opinion. And *Irenaeus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Epiphanius*, *Austin*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, and others, were of the same Perswasion.

But when then did *Idolatry* first appear in the World? From what I have before laid down, it is probable that *Idolatry* began first with worshipping of *Belus*, whom the Scripture calls *Nimrod*, the first King of *Assyria* after the Flood. He reigned at *Babylon*, which he in part built, and after his Death was worshipped as a God. I confess there is no express Record of this in Scripture, but I have only argued from the Use and Meaning of the Words *Baal* and *Molech*, among the *Babylonians* and others, and from such presumptive Reasons and Arguments as depend upon this, and these are thought sufficient by learned Men, in such a Case as this.

But if you would know the Date of *Idolatry*, as it is recorded in Scripture, then we must consult those express Texts where it is first mentioned; and there we shall find that the first Notice we have of it is in *Abraham's* Kindred, *Gen. 31. 19*. *Rachel stole the Images which were her Father's, viz. Laban's*, who dwelt in *Chaldea*, or in *Mesopotamia*, which appertained to it. To this I suppose those Words in *Jos. 24. 2*. refer, *Your Fathers dwelt on the other side of the Flood* (i.e. *Euphrates*) *in old time, even Terah the Father of Abraham, and the Father of Nachor, and they served other Gods*. *Idolatry* then had its first Original in *Chaldea*, and the neighbouring Countries, which is according to that very Account which I have given of it before. And *Maimonides*, and other *Jewish* Doctors give their Suffrage here, partly telling us that the *Zabians* (who were the same with the *Chaldeans*, and other Neighbours of the East) were the first Idolaters, (they mean, after the Flood) and that many of *Moses's* Rites and Ceremonies were instituted on purpose to antidote against them. This is the first mention we have of *Idolatry* in Scripture, and of the Place where it was; and therefore *Abraham* was commanded to come out thence and to go into *Canaan*. But behold, there you read of it next, when *Jacob* built an Altar at *Bethel*, and enjoined his Household to put away their strange Gods, *Gen. 35. 2*. There were some Remains of the *Chaldean* *Idolatry* among some of that Family

still.
12. Sons they of the Com mina latri Exod. expla the C those same Worl Word not to 17. T mile, Baalin And S the Fe gated but th turn fr Thi Red w domine and Id were b Worsh ed the improv and bre ar as I King's from h ure) v who w Comm Business And iginal shew th of the C worship not the given a there w was he ed or lo lead; o nians, w among l the Hur The true n that c cription inity. So Jan el of wh old Deit

still. Next we find it in *Egypt*, for there is mention of the *Gods of Egypt*, *Exod. 12. 12. Num. 33. 4.* And the Idolatry of the *Israelites* (for now we may call the *Sons of Jacob Israelites*) began in *Egypt*, as we may gather from *Jos. 24. 14.* where they are bid to put away the *Gods which their Fathers served*, not only on the other side of the *Flood* (when they were in *Chaldea*) but in *Egypt*. And in *Ezek. 23. 3, 8.* the Complaint against them is, that in the former Days they did not cast away the *Abominations of their Eyes*, neither did they forsake the *Idols of Egypt*. They brought Idolatry with them out of *Egypt* into the *Deserts of Arabia*, witness the *Golden Calf*, *Exod. 32. 5.* and the joining themselves to *Baal-Peor*, *Num. 25. 3.* (which perhaps is explained in *Psal. 106. 28.* by eating the *Sacrifices of the Dead*, to let us know that the *Gods* they worshipped were *dead Men*, to whom, according to the Idolatry of those times, they offered *Sacrifices*) and to *Moloch*, and other *Gods*, or rather the same false *Gods*, with different Names, *Amos 5. 6, 25.* And to their idolatrous Worshipping whilst they were in the *Wilderness*, or sojourning thereabouts, those Words refer, *They provoked him to Jealousy with strange Gods, they sacrificed unto Devils, not to God; to Gods whom they knew not, to new Gods that came newly up*, *Deut. 32. 16, 17.* They carried their Idolatry back with them into *Canaan*, the *Land of Promise*, and when they came thither, they chose new *Gods*, *Judg. 5. 8.* They served *Baalim*, *Judg. 10. 10.* They served other *Gods*, *Ver. 13.* called *strange Gods*, *Ver. 16.* And so in the other *Historical Books* of the *Old Testament*, we read how prone the *Jews* were to this wicked Practice; we read how it was increased and propagated among all the *Tribes*; and nothing could cure them of this evil Distemper but their Captivity in *Babylon*, (the first Seat and Source of Idolatry) after their return from which, they were never any more addicted to it.

This is a brief Account of the *Jewish Idolatry* chiefly, which they first were infected with from the *Gentiles*, who were the prime Inventers and Practicers of this Abomination. The *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* were the People that first of all set up *Gods* and *Idols*. They were followed by the *Egyptians* and *Jews* (though these latter were but partial Idolaters, and at certain Times, they being for the most Part Worshippers, yea the only Worshippers of the true God). The *Grecians* borrowed their *Gods* from the *Egyptians*, and added many more to them. The *Romans* improved these Deities, and raised up the Number of them to many Thousands, and brought in new Kinds and Species of Worship. But the first Kind of all (so far as I can observe) was the adoring of *dead Men*, and particularly of *deceased Kings* and *Princes*. I doubt not but the *Images* or *Teraphim*, which *Rachel* stole from her Father (which is the first Instance of Idolatry we meet with in Scripture) were in Imitation of the *Images* which represented some *Great Assyrian Kings*, who were the first *Heathen Gods*. This I apprehend to be the true Account of the Commencement of Idolatry, and consequently some learned Writers are beside the Business, who give us other Dates of it.

And so now, having said as much as is sufficient concerning the *Epocha* and *Original* of Idolatry, I proceed to what I was insisting on before, and I will further shew that the *Gods* of the first Idolaters were *Kings* and *Lords*, and the chief Men of the Countries where they lived. These, for their Greatness and Power, were worshipped as *Gods* after they left the World. Such a one was *Jupiter*, I mean not the oldest *Jupiter* (who was *Cain*, the eldest Son of *Adam*, of which I have given an Account in * another Place) but there were other later *Jupiters*, (and there were three Hundred of that Name, saith *Varro*) the most eminent of which was he of *Crete*, now called *Candia*. He was King of that Place, and so much feared or loved by the Inhabitants, that they honoured him as a *God* when he was dead; or, if *Pausanias* in his *Atticks* saith right, *Cecrops*, the first King of the *Athenians*, was the first that decreed this *Jupiter* to be called a *God*. Famous he was among his own People, and among others it seems, and therefore, according to the Humour of those Times, he was translated into the Number of the *Gods*. The true Account of him is, that he was King and Ruler over the *Cretians*, and in that Country he died and was buried, and there is his Sepulcher with an Inscription upon it (as you shall hear afterwards) that altogether spoils his Divinity.

So *Janus*, not the ancientest of all of that Name, (for he was *Noah*, the Parallel of which two may be seen in *Vossius* and *Huetius*) but another *Janus*, was an old Deity among the *Italians*, and was made so by his People over whom he ruled,

* Truth
and Au-
thority of
Scripture,
P. 208.

and was their first King, as *Festus*, *Pliny*, *Macrobius*, *Arnobius*, testify, no less than the Poets. What if I should derive his Name from the Eastern Word *Jan* or *Chan*, which signifies a King or Prince? Thence *Prestor Jan* or *Chan*, the Emperor of the *Abissines*, hath his Name, saith *Ludolphus* in his *Ethiopick History*. The *Italians*, out of that Respect which they bore their King when he was alive, gave Divine Worship to him when deceased. They represent him with *Two Faces*, with relation perhaps to the Time past and to come in the Year, over which he presides, for he was thought to be the Person that found out the Modelling of it, and so may be reckoned also among the *Inventors* that are deified, of whom afterwards. Or it may be he looks backward and forward, with respect to two sorts of People he ruled over in *Italy*: or rather we may think, that the Meaning of his double Aspect is, that he was a Wise and Prudent Prince, who knew things past, and foresaw future Events. *Numa* built to him a Temple at *Rome*, which in the Time of War stood open, in Peace was shut.

There were other Kings in other Places, who being admired and honoured by the People in their Lives, received Divine Homage from them after they were taken from them. Thus the God *Remphan*, *Acts* 7. 43. was a King of *Egypt*; for that I conclude to be the likeliest Opinion, after all that hath been said either by the peremptory or the despairing Criticks, of the latter sort of which is *Mr. Selden*, who in his Book *De Dis Syris* utterly renounces all Hopes of finding who this *Remphan* is. It seems to me very probable that he is the same with that *Egyptian King Remphis* mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1. (and as to the Termination of the Word we need not be scrupulous, because this varies in other Names very commonly) of whom the Learned *Capellus* briefly treats in his Critical Annotations on *Acts* 7. 43. The Prophet *Amos* calls him *Chim*, chap. 5. ver. 26. but *St. Stephen* in compliance with the *LXX* uses the Word *Remphan*; for those Interpreters thought fit to turn the *Persian* or *Arabick* Word into the *Egyptian* one for the same Pagan God. We may easily conceive the Occasion of this, without attending to the wild Criticisms of some Writers; for the *Jews* were Neighbours to the *Egyptians*, and the Posterity of *Jacob* lived many Years in *Egypt*, so that there could not but be some Correspondence and Communication in their Languages: and besides, we must remember that those *Seventy Interpreters* were at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* when they made this *Greek Version*, and were set on work by the *Egyptian King* that then reigned, which might be one Reason of their compliance in this Translation, to render it more intelligible to him that employed them; and that it might be seen that an *Egyptian King* (one of his Royal Predecessors) was here meant, who was made a God by the People after the fashion of those Days, and placed among the Stars; which gives an account of the Star of the God *Remphan*, for it was usual to translate their Kings and Heroes to the Stars, and then to worship them. This is obvious in History, and it agrees with what the Great *Salmasius* saith, that *Remphan* or *Rephan* is the *Egyptian* Word for the Planet *Saturn*.

Apis or *Serapis*, or *Osiris* (Three Names for the same Person, as is common both in Sacred and prophane Story) was an *Egyptian King*, and according to the Mode of those Days, dignified with the Title of God. And if we thoroughly scan the whole Matter, it will appear that he was no other than *Joseph*, the famous Vice-roy of *Egypt*, and second to *Pharaoh* in the Land: the Reasons of which Opinion I have assigned upon * another Occasion. And it is probable that *Tammuz* (*Ezek.* 8. 14.) is the same; for though *St. Jerom* and the *Vulgar Latin* understand it of *Adonis*, a beautiful Youth who was *Venus's* Darling, and because of his untimely Death honoured yearly with a solemn Mourning; yet there is Reason to believe that that Practice mentioned in *Ezekiel*, *There sat Women weeping for Tammuz*, was a Piece of Idolatry that the *Jews* borrowed from the *Egyptians* their Neighbours, (as they did from all other Idolatrous Nations) who used yearly to lament the Loss and Death of *Apis* or *Osiris* their King, who was called *Ammuz* by the *Egyptians*, say *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*, corruptly for *Tammuz*. He was so famous a Prince, that he was worshipped by that People after his Death, and an annual Mourning was appointed for him in the fourth Month, called by the *Jews* *Tammuz*, the same with our *June*. This was, I say (if we attend to the first Original of things) in commemoration of the Patriarch *Joseph*, who by After-ages was taken for an *Egyptian King*; and he well might, seeing he was advanced by *Pharaoh* to the Regency of the Kingdom of *Egypt*. And so it confirms the Notion I am upon,

* The Truth and Authority of Scripture, p. 214, &c.

upon, that *Kings, Great Men and Rulers, were honoured as Gods.*

Let me strengthen this further: it is no groundless Thought, that the *Tyndaridae*, that is, *Castor and Pollux* were placed in Heaven, and esteemed as Gods, as they had once been *Great Men and Kings*, and it is likely had reigned alternately: for the Word *Avaxes*, which is attributed to them, seems to be a Mistake for *Avaxēs, Kings*. * *They who were called Avaxes attained to Divine Honour, saith Plutarch.* And they have this Name given them by † *Theodoret*, and by ‖ *Tully*, who saith they were so called by the *Greeks*. Now, it is probable, as I conceive, that this is a Corruption of *Avaxēs*, because they were *Princes and mighty Men*. This may be confirmed by what we meet with in *Pindar*, an antient Writer, and well acquainted with the true Names and Qualities of Persons, who calls *Pollux*, one of the *Dioscuri* *, * *Pythio-Avaxla, a King*. And that is a remarkable Passage in another antient Author, which I am perswaded will put the thing beyond all doubt; he tells us that the *Dioscuri* were noted for their Valour and for their Clemency, and † *on that account it was that the Athenians admired them, and called them Kings, or Gods, and Saviours*. Accordingly the *Greeks*, especially the *Spartans and Athenians*, paid Divine Worship to these *Dioscuri*, and the latter honoured them with a Temple, as *Pausanias* relates.

From the *Greeks* we may pass to the *Trojans*, and then to the *Romans*, and find Instances among them of this kind of *Apotheosis*. That *Hector* after his Death was called a God, and adored by the *Trojans*, is expressly said by * one who knew it well, and had occasion to be acquainted with the Practices of the Pagans. The same we find attested by † *Clement the Roman*. We read that *Romulus*, the first King, as well as Founder of *Rome*, who was said to be hurried away in a Whirlwind, was presently made a God by the People. To which *Julius Proculus* conferred not a little, when he ‖ told them that *Romulus* had appeared to him after his Death, and that he signified it to be his Pleasure that he would be worshipped by the People of *Rome*, and that he would have a Temple built to him. And as the first King, so the first Emperor of *Rome*, *Julius Caesar*, was honoured with Divine Consecration. So was *Tiberius*, and the rest of the *Roman Emperors*. After their Deaths they were made Gods of course. Which *Vespasian* referred to when he was dying, *Ut puto, Deus fio*, said he in an Ironical way. This is sufficient to shew that Divinity of old was ingrafted on Kingship, that Crowned Heads were the first Gods in the World among Pagans; Lordship and Dominion gave them Divine Honour. Kingship was deified, and that was the leading Idolatry among the Heathens.

But Others, besides Kings and Princes, were made Gods by them after their Death for something that was very excellent in them, and commended them to the World. * There were those that (as *Aristotle* observes) were taken into the number of the Gods for the Eminency of their Virtues. And others take notice that the † Founders of Nations or Cities, such as were famous for their Valour and Prowess, those that were admired for their Chastity and Continence, were worshipped with the highest Veneration. These were ‖ the Deities whose Merits placed them in Heaven, as the *Roman Orator* saith; and he reckons *Bacchus, Esculapius, Hercules*, and others, in this number. Nothing was more usual among the Gentiles than to deify Persons for their Moral Endowments and Accomplishments, and for any Actions that were exceeding Laudable and Remarkable. I will bring them all under these two Heads: 1. Ingenious Inventors of Arts and Sciences, or of such things as were very useful in the Life of Man, 2. Those that were eminent for their Adventures and Exploits.

First, The most celebrated Authors of eminent and useful Inventions were put into the List of their Gods. Thus *Saturn* is a known Heathen Deity, and there's no need of citing Authors to prove it. He was the oldest of their Gods (for they had Gods of different Ages, but this was Senior to them all) and who should he be but *Adam*, the first and oldest Man of the World? The Character given to Sa-

* Τιμάς ἰσοθέως ἔσχον Ἀνακτες περὶ σαφοῦς θεῶν. In The-
seo.

† De curand. Græc. affect.
lib. 8.

‖ De Nat. Deor. lib. 3.

* Pythio-
nic. 2 E-
pod. ult.

† Διὸς καὶ θαυμάσαντες αὐτοὺς
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀνακτας ἡτοῖ θεῶς
καὶ σωτήρας ἐκάλουν. Tzetzes in
Lycophron.

* Athe-
nag. Le-
gat. pro
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† Recog-
nit. lib.

‖ Lactant.
Instit. l. 1.

* Εἰς ἀνθρώπων γίνονθ' θεοὺς
δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολῆν. Eth. lib.
7. c. 1.

† Singuli populi gentis aut
urbis sue conditores, five viri
fortitudine insignes erant, seu
femina castitate mirabiles,
summa coluerunt veneratione.
Lactant. de falsa Relig. c. 15.

‖ Quos in columen merita vo-
carent. De Leg. lib. 2.

turn agrees exactly to him; for he was truly the Son of *Cælus* and *Tellus*, under whom was the *Golden Age*; and he was deprived of his *Dominion* and *Happy State*, and applied himself to *Husbandry*, as the Sacred Records acquaint us. Besides, it was no improper and impertinent Fancy, that he that was taken out of the Earth, should be said to be well skilled in *manuring* it. Though he was not worshipped in the first and earliest Times of the World, yet as soon as Men began to make Gods, and for that purpose enquired into former Ages to know who were the most eminent and useful Men in their Generations, he must needs come into their Thoughts. Any considerate Man would think, that when they turned Men into Gods, the *First Man* of all would not escape deifying.

And if they translated the *First Man* into the Number of the Gods, then surely they would, out of complaisance to the other Sex, honour the *First Woman* with a Deityship. Accordingly *Eve* is *Minerva*, who is a Goddess deservedly mentioned by the Masters of antient Poetry, for they thought themselves beholden to her for all their witty Inventions. Her Image is described by *Pausanias*, *Phurnutus*, and *Pliny*. She found out Spinning and Weaving, and (which is very high) was * the Goddess and Mistress of all Arts and Sciences. This I take to be the Representation of *Eve*, the Mother of all Mankind, who questionless was induced from Heaven with Skill to find out those useful Arts of *Weaving* and *Spinning*, and making of *Cloth*, which the Antients attributed to *Minerva*. Who but one of that Sex should be thought to be Inventor of these? (as indeed it might be proved out of the antientest Writers, that even *Weaving*, which is now generally the Employment of Men, was the proper Work of that Sex) who more like than the First Female? But I have spoken more largely of this and the last foregoing Head in another place.

* Mille
Dea est
operum.
Ovid.

† Authori-
ty of Scrip-
p. 204, &c.

* Meta-
morph.
l. 5.

Ceres was another known Deity among the Poets, and her Sacrifices and Images are commemorated not only by them, but by *Pausanias*, *Phurnutus*, *Macrobius*, *Tully*, *Arnobius*. She was the Goddess of the Fruits of the Earth, and of *Plowing* and *Sowing*, and the like Works of Husbandry; nay, she was the first Inventor of Laws. Which * *Ovid* thus expresses,

*Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro,
Prima dedit fruges, alimenta que mitia terris,
Prima dedit leges, Ceresis sunt omnia munus.*

Paraphrased thus:

*Ceres had first the Honour to invent
The Plough, with which the stubborn Earth is rent,
She gave us Corn, with Fruits she blest the Field,
More generous than the Food which Acorns yield.
And Laws (a nobler Nourishment) she gave;
So bountiful was Ceres, and so brave.*

But why was this Gentle Woman represented as a Lawgiver? It is likely for this Reason, that when Men began to be Owners of Fields, and to betake themselves to Agriculture, they laid aside their former Averseness to Society and Converse, and enter'd into friendly Leagues, and agreed upon certain Laws and Compacts: their Manners were cultivated as well as their Grounds, and that by the more particular Directions and Influence of this witty Lady. But who was she? It may be the same whom I last mentioned, our Great Parent *Eve*; for 'tis well known that out of one Person, the Poets were wont to make a Couple of Deities, sometimes more; and therefore it is not strange that *Eve* is meant by *Ceres* as well as by *Minerva*. That she is so, is evident from the known Titles *Minerva Mater*, which were given to *Ceres*, by which are plainly signified our Great Mother *Eve*, the Source of all Mankind. And when *Adam* made use of this Help, which was meet for him in the wise managing of the Fruits of the Earth, in teaching the first Inhabitants of the World how to dispose of their Corn, how to make Bread, she might well be said to preside over Husbandry, and to give Laws concerning it. And if we consider that happy and Golden Age of the World, when Right, Just and Lawful took place among Men, it will not be difficult to give an ac-

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count of the Title *Θεοποιός* and *Legifera*, the one given by the *Greeks*, the other by the *Latins* to *Ceres*, that is, in the true and original Meaning of it, to our Mother *Eve*.

Or if you understand by *Ceres* some other eminent Person of an after-date, yet still what I am advancing is thereby confirmed, namely, that Men and Women had the repute of *Deities*, because they were beneficial to the World, and found out some considerable thing for its Use. So *Ceres* (whence 'tis likely is *Cerevisia*, made of Barly turned into Malt) was the first in *Greece* that taught the Art of Husbandry, and particularly of sowing Barly and such like Grain. In *Egypt* *Osiris* was the first that taught the People of that Country to sow and manage Corn, as * *Plutarch* and others tell us; and for this he was deified, saith † *Diodorus Siculus*. But in *Italy* *Saturn* was the first Inventor of Corn and Husbandry, and for that he † had divine Respects paid to him by order of *Janus* the King of that Country. And *Janus* himself, who was the first that taught the Use of Wine there, especially in Sacrifices, had the same Honour given to him. † Lib. 1. † Obser-

As *Bread* was found out by the first Woman of the old World, so *Wine* by the first Man of the new one. It hath been proved by the best Criticks and Mythologists that *Janus* or *Bacchus* was *Noah*, who (as we read *Gen. 9. 20.*) was the first that planted a Vineyard, and made Wine. † Lib. 1. † Obser-

And not only those useful Inventions which have reference to *Food* and *Drink*, but those also that had respect to *Handy-work*, gave occasion to the Pagans, who looked about every where for *Gods*, to increase the Number of them. Thus a *Blacksmith* was made a *God* by the Pagans, and his Shop, his Forge, his Hammers make a great Noise among the Poets. And under *Smiths Work* are comprehended all mechanical and artificial Operations for the use of Human Life; so that according to this, the first *Mechanicks* were soon taken into the Catalogue of the Pagan *Deities*. As for the most antient *Vulcan*, it is not to be doubted that he was *Tubal-Cain*, an Artificer in Brass and Iron, *Gen. 4. 22.* † Lib. 1. † Obser-

And those that were extraordinarily useful at *Sea*, as well as on *Land*, were godded by the Gentiles, as we see in the Instance of *Neptune*, who questionless was a Man famous for Sea-Affairs, and found out Navigation. It is probable this was *Noah*, whose *Ark* (the first Vessel in the World that swam upon the Waters) might entitle him to that Name among the Pagans. And that this Invention of Navigation was not known before, is evident from this, that he was laught at for making the *Ark*. Some are rather enclined to side with *Monsieur Bochart*, who hath made it probable that *Japhet*, one of *Noah's* Sons (to whom the *Isles* were allotted, and therefore he must go to them by the help of *Shipping*) was *Neptune*. And indeed both Names, *Neptune* and *Japhet*, may be derived from the same Root *נפח*, only from different Conjugations.

The primitive *Apollo* was perhaps *Jubal*, the Inventor of Musick, the Father of all such as handle the Harp and Organ, *Gen. 4. 21.* But whoever he was, the first Idolaters thought his Invention to be of so great Worth and Excellency, that they rewarded him with Divine Honours. *Esculapius* found out and improved *Physick*, and therefore by all means must have those Honours bestowed on him. First he was voted the *God* of Medicks among the *Peloponnesians*, and especially the *Epidaurians*, and afterwards at *Rome*, and in all the *Roman Territories*: (And truly we may say, if the Pagan Bigotry lead them to worship *Diseases* (of which afterwards) we are not to think it strange that they worshipped the *Physician*.) He had a Temple consecrated to him at *Rome*, and Sacrifices solemnly offered, as we learn from * *Plato*, † *Tully*, † *Lactantius*. And the middlemost of these Authors tells us, that he was deified for his Skill in giving a * *Purge*. What Stoick cannot be moved at this *Cathartick* Godship? Who can contain from deriding an *Apotheosis* received from the Posteriors? † De Leg. 1. 2. † De falsa Relig. c. 10. † * De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

We have not any one mentioned in the Sacred History, to whom we may refer this *Numen* of the Physicians. But it is not to be doubted that the next I shall mention, viz. *Mercury*, is one who is recorded in those inspired Writings, and that under the Name of *Moses*. This will appear very evident, if we briefly recount what the Heathen Writers say of their *God Mercury*. They cry him up for the Herald and Messenger of the Gods, and tell us this was his particular Office. Which plainly represents to us the Character of *Moses*, who had the especial Honour to be sent of *God*. † *Maimonides* takes notice, that no Man ever before him had the like † *Khevē* † *ἄγγελος* † *θεῶν* † *Phurnut.* † *de Nat. Deor.* † *More Nevoch.* † *p. 1. c. 39.*

* De Isid. & Osir.

† Lib. 1.

† Obser-

vari eum

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Macrob.

Saturn.

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† * De Nat.

Deor. 1. 3.

† *Khevē*

† *ἄγγελος*

† *θεῶν*

† *Phurnut.*

† *de Nat.*

† *Deor.*

† *More*

† *Nevoch.*

† *p. 1. c. 39.*

like Authority and Delegation. It is no where said concerning any of the Patriarchs or Prophets, that God sent them in his Name, that God commanded them to carry a Message to others. This is peculiar to Moses: *I will send thee unto Pharaoh*, Exod. 3. 10. *I will send thee into Egypt*, Acts 7. 34. So this sending is mentioned in Exod. 3. 13, 14. and again Exod. 5. 22. He may therefore justly be stiled the Messenger, the Ambassador, the Nuntio of God. And this most probably is the Meaning of Exod. 7. 1. *I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*, that is, I make thee my Ambassador to deliver my Message to him, and in my Name: and so he is said to be a God. Where by the by I would observe, that *this very Expression*, it may be, gave the occasion of Moses's being accounted and called a God: for (as I have proved elsewhere) the Pagans founded several of their Notions and Traditions upon particular Words and Passages in the Old Testament. Jehovah made Moses a God; Jove made Mercury such: Is it not likely that this latter might be derived from the former?

Besides, Mercurius had the Name of *Hermes*, because he was supposed to be the Interpreter of the Gods; and this very Name, as well as that of *Mercurius*, was given to Moses by the Egyptians, saith *Justin Martyr*. The Import of this Title may be discerned in Exod. 4. 16. where Moses is said to be *le Elohim*, instead of God, i. e. not only to be a Messenger (according to what was suggested before) between God and Aaron with the People, but to enquire of God's Will, and to interpret and declare it to them. And Moses was the true *Hermes*, because he was the first that by Writing interpreted the Will and Pleasure of God to Mankind. Further, Mercury was deified for his Art and Skill in Speaking; which is grounded on what was said of Moses, that though according to his natural Disposition he was not eloquent, but of a slow Speech, Exod. 4. 10. that is, he was no good, no graceful Pronouncer, no fluent Orator; yet God was with his Mouth, and taught him what he should say, Ver. 12. And then we need not wonder at what St. Stephen said concerning him, that he was mighty in Words, Acts 7. 22. Is it not a reasonable Thought that Mercury's Caduceus or Wand, with which he is said to have done such great Feats, hath reference to Moses's Rod, which he was commanded to take into his Hand, and to do Signs with it? Exod. 4. 17. and accordingly we read what strange Signs and Wonders he wrought. And were not the Serpents which are twisted about Mercury's Staff borrowed from Moses's Rod being turned into a Serpent? Exod. 4. 3. Mercury's taking care of * Shepherds may allude to Moses's Pastoral Life forty Years.

* Pausan. in Corinth.

Lastly, Mercury arrived to divine Honour for the Skill he had in the Ways and Paths, of which therefore they make him President: and they represent him as standing in the publick Ways, and directing Travellers in their Journeys. Which is exactly applicable to Moses, who was the Leader and Guide of the Israelites in their Passage from Egypt to the Red Sea, and afterward in their several Journeys and Stages in the Arabian Deserts, which are particularly and distinctly set down, that we may take special notice of them, and acknowledge him to be the real Mercurius, the ὁδὸς, ὁδηγός, ὁδονόμος, ἡγεμόν, (as Phurnutus saith he was called) who took care of those Travellers in their Ways, who shewed them the Paths wherein they were to go, and who safely conducted them in them. Some of these Particulars, besides others, are more largely insisted upon by a late * Learned Writer, who may be consulted.

* Huet. Demonst. Evang.

The Invention almost of every thing that was New, entituled Men to Divinity among the Pagans. The first that coupled Horses, and taught them to draw together, was *Erichthonius*, and for that he was placed among the Gods, as we learn from † *Pliny* and ‖ *Manilius*. The Man among the Greeks that had the good hap of shewing the way of setting of Beans, had a Temple built to his Name, as *Pausanias* of old testifies, and Mr. *Spon* of late in his *Itinerarium* of Greece.

† Hist. Nat. 1. 7. c. 96. ‖ Astron. lib. 1.

And so we might instance in several others of the Pagan Divinities that were made so, because they were in some high degree serviceable to the World, because on some account or other they were extremely beneficial to Mankind. The Sum is, the first Inventors of useful things were enrolled among the Gods.

But to proceed to the next thing I mentioned (which I will soon dispatch) those that were eminent for their Adventures, those that undertook and suffered very great and notable things, were enter'd into the Bead-roll of the Pagan Gods, after they left the World. These were called *Heroes*; for though most commonly the

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the Word signified among the *Gentiles* Brave Men that were alive, yet at other times the *Heroes* were the *Souls* of those departed Worthies. It was peculiar to them that they were born of some Women impregnated by a God, as *Achilles*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Aeneas*, and *Romulus*, were said to be; or of a Goddess and a Man, as *Hercules*. Generally indeed if any that proved to be *Gallant Men*, were found to be born out of Wedlock, and were of uncertain Parentage, they were said to be sprung of the Gods. Any *By-blow* that was very famous, had the Privilege to pretend to be of *Divine Race*: so scandalous was the Practice of *Deifying* in those Days. But these Bastard-Gods were the briskest of all the Pack; these made it their Business to relieve the Distressed and Forlorn, to clear the Countries of noxious Beasts, to scour the World of Monsters, Giants, and whatever was hurtful and oppressing. *Hercules* was the chief of this Order; but 'tis thought that he who was the first and antientest that gave occasion to the *Poets* to tell prodigious Stories of such strong and mighty Men, was *Joshua* or *Samson*, or both; for though those fabulous Writers disguised [things after a strange rate, yet we may find the Footsteps of Sacred Truth among those fictitious Circumstances which they have added.

It is probable that *Mars* was some very valiant Man, and had signalized himself by Feats of Arms. *Pallas* was some warlike Female, who had made her self famous among the People of *Attica* by her Military Exploits. They had a great Opinion of the *Athletæ*, who were cried up for their Skill in Combating, as we learn from * *Eusebius*, who inveighs with some Earnestness (as he well might) against some of the Antients, who were so sottish as to enter some of that Profession into the List of the Gods. * Præp. Evang. l. 5.

This then is clear and plain from those Pagan Writers that I have quoted, and those whom I will now further produce, that a great part of the *Heathen Gods* and Goddesses were Men and Women deceased: but they were not of the Vulgar sort, but were Princes, and Benefactors, and eminent Persons, and such as did some very considerable thing when they were alive. The Title of God was a Recognizance of Mens good Deserts. They worshipped the Dead for the worthy Acts of their Lives. This obtained mightily among the *Egyptians*, who had such a grateful Respect for those that had exceedingly obliged them, that * they attributed Divinity to them, as *Clement of Alexandria* bears witness. This has been attested likewise by *Diodore of Sicily*, whose Words are these, † "The *Egyptians* report that there are Terrestrial Gods, namely, such as had been mortal Men; but for their Wisdom and Prudence, and their publick Beneficence to Mankind, attained to Immortality, of which sort some of the Kings of *Egypt* are. The *Greeks* and *Romans* imitated this People, and a great part of their Idolatry consisted in giving Divine Respect to Worthy Men that were deceased. This is that which || *Arnobius* proves from several Inscriptions on the Pagan Temples. And *Eusebius* hath a whole Chapter of this, where, according to the ||| Title of it, he shews that the Buildings which were then called the Temples of the Gods, were the Sepulchers and Monuments of their departed Heroes. Which *Prudentius* delivers thus:

* Et tot Templâ Deum Romæ quot in urbe Sepulchra
Heroum numerare licet.

And *Tully* observes, || that it was grown into a settled Custom, that those who excelled in doing good to the World, should be exalted to Divine Honour. Another goes further, and holds †† a God unto Man is he that helpeth him, and thence those that were Benefactors and useful to the World, were deified, and there are no other Gods but these. This seems to be *Pliny's* Divinity: and accordingly, tho' he laughed at the Pagan Gods, yet to flatter *Vespasian*, he makes him one. We are told by a credible Historian that * *Orpheus*, because he had been an excellent Person, was worshipped by the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, and he esteemed others (as *Abraham*, *Christ*, *Apollonius*)

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* Θεολόγησαν. Strom. lib. 1.

†

† Ἐπιτεῖς γινέσθαι φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητοῖς, διὰ δὲ συνέσει καὶ κοίνῃ ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τελευτηκότας δὲ ἀθανασίας. lib. 1.

|| Adv. Gentes, lib. 6.

||| Περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἡ τὰς τὰ καλέμενα αὐτῶν ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν, Præp. Evang. l. 2. c. 5.

* Contra Symmach. lib. 1.

|| Suscepit vita hominum consuetudo; communis ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cælum tollerent. De Nat. Deor.

†† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 7.

* In larario suo Divos Principes, sed optimos, electos, & animas sanctiores, in quibus & Apollonium, & quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, & Orpheum, & hujusmodi Deos habebat. El. Lamprid.

as in the Rank of Gods, because of the great and eminent things which he had heard related concerning them. Thus I have done with the *Deities made of deceased Men*; for they must *Die* to be made *Immortal Gods*. Whence I conceive, the Gentile Gods are called *Methim, the Dead*, Psal. 106. 28.

As *Dead Men*, so *Living ones* were made *Gods* among the Pagans. At first the *Mortality* of Kings made way for their *Divinity*; they were not worshipped till they left the World; but at length they came to have that Honour whilst they were upon Earth, and amongst their People. *Holofernes* destroyed all the Gods of other Nations where-ever he went, *that they might all worship Nebuchadnezzar only, and that all Tongues and Tribes should call on him as God*, Judith 3. 8. This great Monarch affected not only to be a God, but the Catholick God of all the People of the World. And so others of the *Chaldean* and *Persian* Kings aspired to *Divinity* whilst they were alive. This vain Affectation possessed the Mind of *Alexander the Great*, and he would needs be reputed * a God, the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. The *Roman Emperors* especially were guilty of this; the very first of them had Altars and Images consecrated to him by some of his Admirers. His Successor not only accepted the Title of *Sebasds, August* or *Venerable*, (which afterwards was appropriated to the *Roman Emperors*) but he was desirous of *Divine Honour* and *Worship*. He that would not be called *Lord*, refused not to be a *God*, Yea, the vilest of them would have this Title, as *Caligula* and *Domitian*; the former boldly † usurped the Name of *God*, and called *Jupiter* his *Brother*. He erected a Temple to himself, and appointed Priests to officiate, and ordered peculiar *Sacrifices* to be offered by them to his Honour. The latter had taught his Courtiers this Stile, || *Deus & Dominus noster sic fieri jubet*; and afterwards he enjoined all Persons, both in their Discourses and Writings, to give him those Appellations. *Diocletian* allowed himself to be called after the same Manner, and to be * addressed unto as a *God*. Yea, the Emperor *Justinian* affected something of this sort, assuming *Divine Honour* to himself. *Numen nostrum*, and such like Titles, he uses in his Constitutions. But as to the *Roman Pagan Emperours*, we learn from *Tertullian* that it was the universal Fashion of the *Romans* to adore them, nay, † with greater Devotion than the *Olympian Jove*, whom they looked upon as the chief Deity, and several of the *Christians* were put to Death, because they refused to sacrifice to these Emperors, and to own them as Gods.

* Plut. in Alexandr.

† Suet. in Vit. Calig.

|| Idem in Vit. Domitiani.

* Victor. de Dioclet.

† Majore formidine & calliditate Cæsarem obfervatis quam ipsum de Olympo Jovem.

And not only *Kings*, but others of an inferior Rank (such was the universal Madness in those Times) had this Honour given to them before their Death. We read that the Inhabitants of *Melita* would make *St. Paul* a God, because he shook off the Viper from his Hand into the Fire, without receiving any Harm, *Acts* 28. 6. Both *Paul* and *Barnabas* (who abhorred such Deference as this) were reputed Gods by the Men of *Lystra*, *Acts* 14. 11. The latter was taken for *Jupiter*, because he was Majestick and Reserved, and said but little, (though by the way, if it had not been *Barnabas*, but *Boanerges, a Son of Thunder*, it would have sounded more like *Jupiter*): The former was stiled *Mercury*, because he was the chief Speaker, and was thought to be the Interpreter of the Gods. Though truly they had another Reason to stile him so, since (as the History there acquaints us) he was so powerful a Speaker, that he could perswade the *Lame* to walk, nay to leap, as if the God *Mercury* had lent the Cripple his winged Feet. But unto both of them they would needs have done *Sacrifice*, and *Oxen* and *Garlands* were prepared on purpose, *Ver.* 13.

Simon the Sorcerer, who is mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, had a Statue erected to him at *Rome*, with this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, as some of the *Christian Fathers*, whom I shall cite afterwards, have assured us; which shews that others, besides *Kings* and *Princes*, were reputed to be Gods. I know that some late Criticks think this is a Mistake, and that the true Inscription is, *Semoni Sango Deo*, because there was a Statue with such an Inscription dug out of some old Rubbish in the last Age, in the *Tyberine Island*, and is still extant at this Day. Thence they conclude the *Fathers* were under a Mistake. But this bare Conclusion is not sufficient to invalidate the Credit of that other Inscription, and of the Statue it self, especially if we weigh these following things, 1. *Justin Martyr*, who is the chief Person that relates this, was *Simon Magus's* Country-man, a *Samaritan*, and therefore it is highly probable that he was able to inform himself the better concerning this *Simon of Samaria*. 2. This Author particularly men-

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tions *Simon* to be of the Town of *Gitton* in *Samaria*, which signally determines who this *Simon* was, so that we cannot with any Reason think that one *Sangus* was meant. 3. *Justin* was a very sober and learned Person, and would not entertain any thing on slight Reports. 4. He lived in *Rome* some time, as *Eusebius* testifies, and there could fully satisfy himself about this Matter. 5. It is to be remembered that his *Second Apology*, in which this Passage concerning *Simon* is found, was addressed to the *Roman Emperor* and the *Senate*, and therefore he would be very cautious in what he said to them. He tells them that this *Simon* was

* esteemed as a God in their City, and was honoured with a Statue as a God. Now we cannot imagine that he would offer a Fable, a Falsity, to these Persons, who could easily confute him. 6. He adds further, that the greatest Part of the *Samaritans*, and some in the Countries, † acknowledged him as the chief God, and worshipped him as such. 7. Others of good Note and Credit, report the same, as || *Tertullian*, *† *Irenæus*, †|| *Eusebius*, †† *Augustine*, |||| *Nicephorus*, †† *Theodoret*. 8. This is conformable to what is said in *Acts* 8. 10. This Man is the great Power of God, which is as much as, The God of great Power: This was the Character which he had from all the People of *Samaria*, which shews that they made him a God, yea the * supreme God, and then it is no wonder that a Statue was erected to him, and that such an Inscription as was before mentioned, was found upon it. Lastly, There might be a *Sangus* who had a Statue set up to his Honour with that Inscription, *Simoni*, &c. but I don't see how it follows thence that the Relation concerning this

of *Simon* the Sorcerer, ought to be rejected. He that without Prejudice weighs all these things, will find that he hath little Reason to question the Truth and Authority of that Passage in the Writings of the Fathers, though it hath been disbelieved, and attempted to be confuted by some nice Men of late.

Now it remains that I look into the Pretences and Occasions of this Part of Idolatry, namely, the Worshipping of Men, and shew the Unreasonableness of it thence. This was a Notion infused into our first Parents by Satan, *Ye shall be as Gods*, and thence their Posterity are enclined to worship some of their own kind. This was the first and early Temptation, and 'tis not to be doubted that the Tempter knew its Force. And ever since, there hath been this undue Ambition in the Sons of Men. How desirous they are to be thought to be Gods, may be seen in two or three notable Instances. One || *Psaphon* of *Libya* brought up a Company of young Birds, and taught them the articular Pronunciation of these Words, *Great is the God Psaphon*: When they had the Lesson perfect, he let them fly abroad, and other Birds learnt of them to pronounce the same Words; which the Inhabitants of the Country hearing, thought it was from Heaven, and thence concluded him to be a God, and accordingly he was worshipped by them. The same Author tells us of another, who succeeded not so well in the like Design; for though he bought him Birds that were capable of human Voice, and secretly bred them up, and taught them one Tone always, viz. *Annon* (for that was his Name) is a God, and then sent them abroad, and let them go into diverse Places, thinking this their Note concerning him would be heard and observed; yet when they had their Liberty, they forgot their Lesson, and returned to their natural and usual Modulation, and sung Fare-well to *Annon's* Tune. But the Invention of a third Man, one *Empedocles*, a freakish Philosopher and Poet of *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*, was a very fatal one to himself, besides that it proved not successful as to the Design he had in it. He had a great Mind, it seems, to be accounted a God, and in order to that, threw himself into *Aetna*; for he reckoned with himself that when it should not be known by any one what was become of him, they would conclude he was taken up to Heaven, and was made a God. A very goodly Plot! And the same * Writers who tell us this, add that this Man used to wear *Pattens* on his Feet, by which he was well known and distinguished from others: These *Pattens* he carried with him into *Aetna*, but they were thrown up again by the violent Irruptions of that Place, and thereby the Manner of his Death was discovered, and his Project of being *Goddied* was quite lost. But these Examples, and the others

* Εν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδραγαθὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τέλειται.

† Ὡς * πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκείνον ὁμολογῶντες προσκυνῶσι. Apol. eadem.

|| Simonem Magum Cinædum statuâ & inscriptione Sancti Dei inauguratis. Apol. cap. 13.

*† Adv. Gent. l. 1. c. 20.

†|| Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 14.

||† De Hæresib.

|||| Lib. 2. c. 14.

†† Hæret. fab. l. 1. c. 1.

* Hic ausus est summam se dicere virtutem, id est, summum Deum. Tertull. Præscript. adv. Gent. cap. 46.

|| *Ælian*.
Var. Hist.
l. 14. c. 30.

* *Tatian*.
Orat. contra Græcos. Tertullian. de Pallio, c. 4. & de anima c. 3. Laert. in Empedocle.

before-mentioned, shew how ambitious *Men* are of *Divine Honour*. And at the same time we may be convinced how *unreasonable* and how *dangerous* this first Suggestion was; for it was one Spring of all the Misery that befell those who listened to it, and of the irwhole Race afterwards.

Again, As to *Kings* and *Princes* especially, the too great *Admiring* of them (which was industriously promoted by them) was the true Original of their being Deified. The *Assyrian* Monarchs, and first *Kings* (as * one rightly observes) to imprint an extraordinary Character of their Persons on the Minds of the People, always affected *Reservedness*, and kept up close in their Palaces, and were seldom seen but by the nearest of their Attendants. So the *Persians* used to hide and lock up their *Kings* from vulgar View, and would not let them be seen but very rarely. By this Means, (as that Author observes) they inspired the common People with the Thoughts that their *Kings* were in some Degrees above the Human Race. Modern Writers relate that the Emperor of *Japan* is never looked upon in the Face, and when they speak of him, they stoop and look down to the Earth. It is told us by some good Authors, that the Subjects of the *Cham* of *Tartary* never speak unto him Face to Face, but fall down upon their Knees, with their Faces towards the Ground. This is a kind of *Adoration*, and he reckons it as such, and accordingly frames undue Thoughts of himself; for he looks upon himself as the Monarch of the whole World, and upon that vain Opinion causes his Trumpets to sound every Day after Dinner, pretending thereby to give Leave to all other *Kings* and *Princes* of the Earth to Dine.

* Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of, &c.

And as some *Princes* have thought to conciliate to themselves an extraordinary Esteem and Reverence by being reserved, and keeping from the Sight of the vulgar, so others have endeavoured to procure themselves as great a Veneration, by publickly appearing abroad in great Pomp and State, and extraordinary Magnificence, and with all the glittering Ensigns of Authority and Grandeur. For the Vulgar are astonished at these, and think the Persons who appear in this splendid Figure are something more than human; and so fall from *Admiring* to *Worshipping*. They are dazzled with the Lustre of the Shew, and this betrays them to unbecoming Thoughts and Apprehensions, as we read that *Herod Agrippa* purchased the Name of * *God* among the Rabble, for his brave shining Garment he wore, and the mighty Splendor he appeared in. Thus we see what was an other Occasion of Idolizing of *Kings*.

* Acts 12. 22. Joseph Antiq. l. 19. c. 7.

Then as to other *Men*, the common Plea for making Gods of them was, that they were eminent for their *Worth*; the World was beholden to them for their great and noble Actions; but this is very vainly said, because it is not their *Worth* that can justly raise them to divine Honours. For it is the infinite and eternal Being alone that is independent, and receives nothing from any, but gives to all. Wherefore it excludes them from all Pretences to Divinity, that they have their Power and Ability from him to do what is great and worthy. They are beholden to him that made the World, that they can be serviceable to it. Be their Moral Virtues and Accomplishments never so great and bright, they cannot challenge what is due to God alone, viz. Divine Worship; but their Virtue should rather teach them to adore the only true God.

Besides, the Plea of *Worth* and *Virtue* cannot take Place, because 'tis well known that the chieftest of those who were made Gods by the Pagans, had been very bad *Men*. Some of those who were exalted to Divinity, had banished from them all that was human. Some were placed by them in Heaven who were not fit to live upon the Earth. Divinity was first founded in Tyranny and Usurpation. *Nimrod*, the first that erected a despotic and absolute Government, leads the Van of the Pagan Gods; and afterwards, Great *Men* gained their Empire by invading the Peoples Rights and Properties, and by Blood and Rapine, and then were made Gods for getting their Greatness by those Methods. This is a plain Proof of the strange Degeneracy of human kind, that they entituled the vilest *Men* to the heavenly Mansions, and that the wickedest Rulers were deified. What Folly and Madness was it to burn Incense and offer Sacrifices to Tyrants and Murderers, to the lewd and prophane? Their very *Jupiter*, their capital Deity, was a wanton Spark; *Juno*, a principal Goddess, is represented as one of ill Fame, besides that she was a notorious Scold. She, it seems, could sometimes thunder as well as *Jove*.

Mars

Mars and *Venus* were scandalous Companions, and *Ganymede* was *Jupiter's* Cata-mite. Whether *Hercules* deserved to be inserted into the Number of the Gods, you may guess from what *Lactantius* saith: * What Divinity could there be in him who was a Slave to his Vices, and infamously and flagitiously treated Persons of both Sexes, against all Laws? The Hatred and Revenge, the Theft and Rapine, the Luxury and Debauchery, the Falseness and Perfidiousness of several of their Gods and Goddeesses, are commonly mentioned by the Pagans themselves; and there is no Baseness and Villany which they have not fastened upon some of them, as is observed by the same Author. The disorderly Actions and extravagant and wicked Exploits of the Heathen Gods are recounted by † *Justin Martyr*. What filthy and tragical things are reported and believed concerning those Deities, is related by || *Tertullian*? Which shews how besotted the Idolaters were, and gave themselves no time to consider that Divinity is entire and perfect, and hath no Allays and Blemishes.

* Quid tandem potuit in eo esse divini, qui suis ipse viciis mancipatus, &c. De falsa Rel. c. 11. † Paræn. ad Græc. || Apolog. c. 14, 15.

And then as to Skill in Arts and Sciences, and finding out useful Things for the World; this cannot with any Shew of Reason be mentioned as any tolerable Ground for the Deifying of any Persons; for this would be the Way to make and multiply Deities where-ever there are found Men famous in any Faculty; the Absurdity of which no rational Man can but blush at. After this rate of setting up of Gods, if *Hippocrates* or *Galen*, who were as famous for Medicks as *Æsculapius*, had lived in his time, they might have been Rivals with him for the Physick-Deity. Had not the Folly of making of Gods quite spent it self before *Columbus* and *Americus Vespasius's* Days, who found out the Western World, they would certainly have been worshipped; and *Drake* and *Carvendish*, who were such Improvers of Navigation, would have put in for petty *Neptunes*. Had *Gutenberg* lived and found out Printing in those antient Ages, he would have been voted a God. And *Bartholomew Swart*, who found out the Use of Gun-powder and Guns, would have deserved as much. If for inventing any useful things we may make Gods, the Man who first invented the Way of Pickling of Herrings might have been advanced to that Honour; and the Emperor *Charles V.* who † went to see his Tomb, in Acknowledgment of the Service he had done his Country, might have worshipped at his Shrine. *Paracelsus* and *Helmont* would have been no inconsiderable Numens for their Inventions in Chymistry; and our *Harvey* for his Circulation of the Blood would have bid fair for another. Had the Honourable Mr. *Boyle* flourished in the Deifying Age, he would have been offered such another Honour, for his New Engines and Instruments, and his curious Discoveries in Natural Philosophy.

† In the Year 1547.

In a Word, if new Inventions could set up for Deities, the Royal Society would afford us Plenty of them, and *Gresham College* would be a Pantheon. Thus we have looked into the Occasions of this kind of Idolatry, and have seen how vain they are.

I will further shew that the making Gods of Men proceeded from Perverseness and Infatuation; for they could easily trace their Gods, and find their Country, Parents, and Birth. *Jupiter's* Cradle was kept at *Crete*, and on the Mountain *Ida* in that Island he was said to be born and brought up. And his Tomb likewise was to be seen in the same Place, with this plain Inscription, * Here lies *Jupiter*. On which Occasion a Christian Writer whom I have often quoted, saith well, † How is it possible that a God can be alive in one Place and dead in another; in one Place have a Temple, in another a Sepulcher? Another excellent Writer displays the Original of the Heathen Gods, and thence infers how ridiculous it is that they should be begot and born, and then die after the manner of Men. And yet these Pagans (as he takes Notice) had the Face to object to the Christians the || Adoring of a Man that was born. Other Christian Writers who set forth the Absurdity of the Pagan Idolatry, have observed that the Roman Emperor could not alone make a God: He was not able to do any thing in this Nature himself, but with the Consent of the Senate he could do it (thence * *Christ* was refused, because *Tiberius* did not ask the Senate soon enough for their Suffrage): On which *Tertullian* remarks how poor a God-head that is which depends on an Edict. † The Divinity, saith he, is at human Disposol; and unless Man pleases, there shall be no God.

* Εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἦν ἡ γένεσις. || Nati hominis cultum. Ar. nob. lib. r.

* Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Hægesip. in Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 2. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

† Apud vos de humano arbitratu Divinitas pensatur, nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit. Apol. cap. 5.

And

And particularly as to placing their *Kings* in Heaven, there is as little Reason for that as for placing *others* there; for their being *superiour* to their Subjects doth not make them *Gods*. Regal and Lordly Power doth not entail Divinity upon them. The greatest Monarch, though he be above all his People, yet he is inferiour to the Divine Majesty. The Scripture that gives Rulers the Title of *Gods*, tells them that *they shall die like Men*. They are of frail and mortal Condition, they are but Men, and therefore are not to have the Homage which is due to God. It was rightly said by that ancient Christian Philosopher, apologizing for the Christians against the Pagan Idolaters; || You will say, saith he, *Why do ye not adore Cæsar?* I answer, because he was not made to be adored, but to be honoured with that Honour which is lawful and befitting him. Tho' he be a King, yet he is not elevated above the Pitch of Humanity, and therefore ought not to be deified. Certainly nothing runs crosser to the rational Dictates of a Man's Mind than this, that he being a Creature should require Divine Worship, or that he should presume to give such Homage to a created Being.

|| Εἰς τὸν νοῦν μου διὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπων
κωλύει τὴν βασιλείαν; ὅτι ἐκ εἰς τὸ
θεοσκωπεύει γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς
τὸ τιμᾶν τὴν νομίμην τιμῇ.
Theophil. ad Autolyc.

IV. They worshipped not only the *Departed*, and the *Living*, but the *Images* of both. When the *Romans* were so besotted as to adore their Emperours, they likewise paid the same Veneration to their *Statues* and *Effigies*, which were set up in Honour of them. Among the first Essays and Occasions of Idolatry, this is assigned as one by the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*, Chap. 14. Ver. 17, &c. *Whom Men could not honour in Presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the Counterfeit of his Visage from far, and made an express Image of a King whom they honoured, to the End that by this their Forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present. Also the singular Diligence of the Artificer did help to set forward the Ignorant to more Superstition; for he peradventure willing to please one in Authority, forced all his Skill to make the Resemblance of the best Fashion. And so the Multitude allured by the Grace of the Work, took him now for a God, who a little before was but honoured as a Man. And this was an Occasion to deceive the World; for Men serving either Calamity or Tyranny, did ascribe unto Stones and Stocks the incommunicable Name, that is, of God. But they were the Images of the Deceased, that chiefly made up this Part of Idolatry, which consisted in Image-Worship. And of the Rise of this likewise, the foresaid Apocryphal Writer gives us this Account; A Father afflicted with untimely Mourning, when he hath made an Image of his Children soon taken away, now honoured him as a God, who was then a dead Man, &c. Ver. 15. The same Rise of Images and Idols is assigned by † others, namely, that Parents, upon the Death of their Children, would needs have their Pictures and Images drawn; and on the other hand, Children and Relations took the Resemblances of their deceased Parents and Friends, and transmitted them to others. And particularly with relation to deceased Princes, † Minutius Felix tells us that this Part of Idolatry was founded on the Desire Men had to preserve the Remembrance of them, and to solace themselves by retaining their Statues and Effigies, which ended at last in Divine Worship, though it began in meer Intentions of comforting themselves. This is owned by several of the wise Men among the Pagans, and more particularly by Tully and Varro. Lactantius likewise tells us that Ninus erected Statues and Images in Remembrance of his Father Belus, (called by the Pagans Jupiter Belus) and ever afterwards they solemnly repaired to these and worshipped them. Thus in process of Time an ungodly Custom grown strong was kept as a Law, as we read in the fore-cited Chapter, Ver. 16. and the Prostrating themselves before Idols and Images became a very fashionable Piece of Devotion.*

† Majores nostri dum reges suos colunt religiosè, dum defunctos eos defiderant in imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in Statuis detinere, sacra facta sunt, quæ fuerant assumpta solatia.

* Nabah.

The Idol Bel (Isa. 46. 1.) was the Grand Capital Image which was adored by the *Assyrians*, *Persians*, and *Babylonians*, and was verily thought to eat and drink. It is also called *Nebo* in the foresaid Place, from a * Word that signifies to prophesy, because the Priests who pretended to a Prophetick Spirit, first consulted this Idol, which was the *Assyrian Oracle*. Some would give us another Account of *Nebo*, but they have no good Ground for what they say. I take this and *Bel* to be the usual Titles given to the Images of *Baal* or *Belus*, the First and great Monarch of the *Assyrians*, and dignified with divine Honours by the Eastern People; of which

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Image of *Belus*, and the magnificent Temple wherein it was erected, we read in *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. Not but that they had other *Idols* (as well as other *Gods*) of an inferior Nature; for that they would not be content with a single Image, may partly be gathered from *Jer. 50. 38. It is the Land of graven Images, and they are mad upon their Idols.*

The Image or Figure of a *Dove* was held sacred and venerable by the *Babylonians*; or rather *Semiramis*, the famed *Assyrian* Queen, who finished the Building of *Babylon*, was worshipped in the Shape of a *Dove*: Whence the *Assyrians* bare that Animal in their Banners and Ensigns, which is referred to by *Jeremiah*, Chap. 25. Ver. 38. & 46. 16.

There were a sort of *Syrian* or *Assyrian* Images called *Teraphim*; for that in the Original is the Word to express the Images of *Laban* the *Syrian*, *Gen. 31. 19, 34.* They were (saith * *Kircher*) the same Idol with the *Egyptian Serapis*, i.e. an Image * *Oedip. Egypt.* like a little Child wrapt up without Hands and Feet. The *Jewish* Rabbins agree with him thus far, that they were Images of human Shape; but they add further, that they were *Telestematical* Images, made by *Astrologers* to be capable of celestial Influence. *Gaffarel* is of Opinion that the first *Gods* of the *Latins*, which they called *Averrunci*, and *Dii Tutelares*, were no other; for (saith he) they made some of those *Gods* under certain Constellations and Configurations of the heavenly Bodies, which is the way of making *Telestes*. But whether this Notion be true or no, it is not to be doubted that the Magical Images which the *Arabians* called *Talisman*, (stiled by † *Eusebius* *καὶ μαγείαν τῶν τοι*, and by || *Origen*, *συμβολικαὶ δαίμονων μορφαὶ*) had their Original from the *Teraphim* of the *Syrians*. And to this our * great Antiquary gives his Suffrage. But most certain it is that these Images were counted *Gods*, as is manifest from *Laban's* Words to *Jacob*, *Wherefore hast thou stolen my Gods?* *Gen. 31. 30.* They were of great Use in *Divination*, and on that Account were in great Esteem, but chiefly (as I conceive) because the Heathens consecrated their *Idols*, into which, by certain Invocations and Spells they believed they could draw down the *Deity*: So they looked upon them not as bare Images, but as if they had real Divinity in them. We meet with these *Teraphim* again in *Micah's* House, together with a graven Image, and a molten Image, *Judg. 18. 14.* And afterwards the *Israelites* were much addicted to this Pagan Idolatry, as may be gathered from *1 Kings 14. 23. 2 Kings 3. 2. & 10. 27. 2 Chron. 23. 17. & 33. 7. & 34. 3, 4.* and many other Places; in some of which the Images of *Baal* are expressly mentioned, and it is likely that the rest are to be understood generally of the same, i.e. of a Man made a God, by the Idolatrous Metamorphosis of the Heathens.

Of this Image Worship the *2 Kings 17. 30, 31.* is to be understood, according to my Apprehension of that Place. The first Idol there mentioned is *Succoth Benoth*, i.e. the Tabernacle or Image of *Venus*, say some, who affirm that *Benoth* is *Venus*, this Name being derived from that by turning *B* into *V*, because of their Affinity, and by altering the Termination, which is usual. But this is ingenious rather than solid; for *Succoth* here is not an Appellative, and consequently signifies not a *Tabernacle* or *Tabernacles*, as it doth in other Places, but is a proper Name, as we may satisfy our selves from the *Septuagint's* Translation, who render it not *σκηνη*, as they do in * *Amos*, but *Σουχὼθ*, which shews that they took *Succoth* to be the Name of the Image, or of the Person whose Image it was; and without doubt it was so called from the Place so named, of which there is frequent Mention in Scripture, it being set up there first by the Inhabitants. And as for *Benoth*, it is an *Hebrew* Word, and signifies *Daughters* or *young Maids*: So that the most probable Account I can give of this Idol is, that it was erected and worshipped first at *Succoth*, and was the Representation of some young Female Goddesses.

The next Idol here mentioned is *Nergal*, which the *Talmudists* read *Tarnegol*, i.e. *Gallus*, and thence *Kimchi* fancies they worshipped a wild Cock or Hen; but there's no Ground at all for it: Nor for what Mr. *Jurieu* suggests, that 'tis the same with the *Sun*, he endeavouring to derive it from two *Hebrew* Words, *Nir* and *Galal*, which together denote a moving Torch.

A third Idol is *Asima*, but what it was, I know not, saith the Great *Selden*. But *Jurieu* ventures at it, and saith it is the *Sun*, and he thinks 'tis a compound Word, and signifies the *Fire of Heaven*; but it seems to be a very lame Derivation. The *Jews* represent it in the Form of a Goat. Here is mention next of *Nibhaz*, which

† *Præp. Evang. l. 5. c. 7.*
|| *Cont. Cels. l. 4.*
* *De Dis Syr. Syntag. l. c. 2.*

* *Ch. 5. Ver. 26.*

is the *Sun*; according to the fore-named Author, from a Word that signifies *rapid* or *swift*, but with little Probability, and much Straining. The last is *Tartac*, which is represented by the *Jews* in the Figure of an *Ass*, perhaps out of Revenge to the Heathens, who reported that the *Jews* worshipped an *Ass*. To return this Obloquy they said the *Pagans* worshipped this Animal. *Jurieu* makes it the *Sun*, or the Chariot of the *Sun*, from *Rathac*, which signifies a Chariot. A very forced Etymology. But it may be observed, that this Writer runs altogether in this Strain: He makes all the *Heathen Deities* to be *Suns*. In Mr. *Selden's* Judgment there is nothing certain concerning *Nibbaz* and *Tartac*. Only there seems to be a Certainty of this, that they are *Idols* or *Images*, (which is the Matter I am now upon) as appears from what is said, *Ver. 29. They put them into the Houses of the High Places*, that is, after they had made and shaped these Images, they set them up in the several distinct Houses or Apartments appointed for them. Nay, they are positively called *graven Images*, in *Ver. 41*. And besides, it is observable that they are all expressed in the *Feminine Gender* by the *Greek Interpreters*, because *εικων* is understood. But they were *Idols* or *Images* of a *Male*, viz. *Baal*, the great oriental God, who yet was represented sometimes as *Male*, and sometimes as *Female*; and he was figured like several sorts of Animals at other times, and according to the Difference of Nations and Countries, was named *Benoth*, *Nergal*, &c. yet so as the different Modes of Worship, and the different Rites performed to him, according to the Diversity of the Places and People, did in a Manner make a Diversity of Gods in those Places, and among those People.

In another Place, viz. *Amos 5. 26*. we read of the *Images* of *Moloch* and *Chim*, which (according to the Version of the *LXX.*) are called *τύποι Figures*, in *Acts 7. 43*. And to this belongs the *Tabernacle* of *Moloch*, in the same Place; for those some take *Succoth* (for that is the *Hebrew Word* which is rendered here *Tabernacle*) for a Litter or Bed, or Cabin, as * *Ludovicus de Dieu* interprets it; yet † *Dr. Spencer* (who had enquired farther into the Word) reckons it to be a Tent or *Tabernacle* carried up and down, having in it the Image of *Moloch*. And other Gods had these moveable and portable Temples, in which they were conveyed from Place to Place, as the learned Author last mentioned hath proved. And || other great Criticks before him had shewed from several remarkable Quotations, that the *Tabernacle* of *Moloch*, and so the *συναγωγὴ* and *συναγωγία* of other Pagan Gods, were small Proportions of a Temple, wherein the Image or Effigies of the respective Gods were carried. The *Silver Shrines* of *Diana*, *Acts 19. 24*. were of this sort; that is, they were little Chappels wherein the Image of that Goddess was deposited.

As to the *Romans*, it was a considerable Time from the Founding of *Rome* to the Prevailing of this sort of Idolatry, which may suggest to us by the by, that this was so gross and vile a Practice, that this People would not easily be prevailed with to admit of it. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*, tells us, that there was no Imagery in the religious Worship among the old *Romans* for the first 160 Years;

* Strom. lib. 1.
† *Idolum aliquandiu retro non erat: priusquam hujus monstri artifices ebullissent, sola templa & vacuæ ædes erant.*
De Idol. cap. 3.

|| *Præp. Evang. lib. 8. c. 6.*
‡ *De Civ. Dei, lib. 4. c. 31.*

not for the first 170 Years saith * *Clement* of *Alexandria*. † *Tertullian* relates that their Temples were a long time free from this Piece of Idolatry. || *Eusebius* and ‡ *St. Augustine*, out of *Varro* relate the same. But tho' Images were not introduced among the *Romans* till a long time after they were in Use among the *Chaldeans*, and other Eastern People, yet when the People of that Country, together with the *Græcians*, had once set up this Way of Idolatrous Worship, they improved it apace, and in a short Time out-did all the Image Worshipers of the East. They changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, not only into an Image made like unto corruptible Man, but (as the Apostle writing to the *Romans* reminds them) to Birds, and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things, *Rom. 1. 23*. The gross Idolatry of the common People was such, that they really worshipped these Images, and thought them to be Gods, as appears from *Acts 17. 29*. for when the Apostle speaking of the Idolatrous Gentiles, saith there, *We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto Gold, or Silver, or Stone, graven by Art and Man's Device*, it is implied, that the Gentiles thought that the God-head was like unto these things, and accordingly he calls these the Times of this Ignorance, *Ver. 30*. this gross and horrid Ignorance, whereby these deluded Wretches were induced to take these Materials to be God, and Objects of Worship. For though Images at first were designed to be the Similitude

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and Representation of those they worshipped, yet at last they made the Images themselves Gods.

But what might be the Cause and Motive of this sort of Idolatry? It is probable it proceeded from the Grossness of their Minds and Apprehensions. They were sunk so low into Matter and Sense, that they were not able to conceive of the Divine Being as immaterial and invisible. They were persuaded of nothing but what they saw or felt, or had Cognisance of by some bodily Sense; and therefore their Thoughts could not reach to the incorporeal Nature of God. *Cæcilias*, who personates the Pagan in *Minutius Felix*, thinks it a sufficient Disparagement to the God of the Christians, that * *they cannot shew him, and they cannot see him.* The Gentile World was wholly for a visible God, a sensible Deity, a *Numen* that they could behold or feel. Thence *Origen* tells us that the Sun and Moon were called by the old Grecian Worshippers || *conspicuous and sensible Gods.* But a God that was wholly invisible was very strange to them. This very Conceit put the Jews, who had been brought up among the Egyptian Pagans, upon making a molten Calf, *Exod.* i. 1. Such a God as would go before them, such a Deity as would be visibly present with them. So the Hebrew Masters understood these Words of the Israelites to *Aaron*; it is as if they had said, † *The Egyptians magnify their Gods, and rejoice and sing before them, because they see them with their Eyes; therefore make us such Gods as these are, that we may behold them before our Eyes.* They were led wholly by bodily Sense, and they must have a God that would be ever in their Sight. This false and absurd Conception set up Gentilism at first, and caused the Pagan Worshippers to make Statues and Images of Wood and Stone, and other Materials, to represent their Gods, that they might see what they worshipped.

But nothing can excuse so absurd a Practice; for we may and do believe the Existence of many things which we never saw, and are not capable of seeing. Besides, to represent the Deity as a sensible Object, is to Ungod him. It is impossible to make an Image of a Being that is spiritual and infinite. *To whom will ye liken God, or what Likeness will ye compare unto him?* *Isa.* 40. 18. As much as to say, No Similitude can be made to represent God; whence we infer the Folly of attempting any such thing, as was done among the Pagans. Herein was their Absurdity further discovered, that they must see their Gods, though these could not see them, nor hear them, nor be any Ways sensible of what they said or did. The Roman Capitol was furnished with Gods of all sorts, but the Geese that were awake preserved it, when the Gods slept and were careless. The Pagan Gods could not save their Worshippers, but were saved themselves by them from Fire and Spoil. Thus at the Siege of *Troy* *Aeneas* packed up his Gods, and rescued them from the Flames. They could not stir out of the Places where they were set, nor could they defend themselves (much less their Adorers) from any Assault and Violence, from being carried away and disposed of. *Rachel* stole her Fathers God's, *Gen.* 31. 9. *Micah* was robbed of his, *Judg.* 18. 24. and very fitly, for he stole the Silver that made them, *Judg.* 17. 2.

But what sorry Gods were these that were made of Earth and Clay and Stone, of Lead, and Iron, and Brass, yea and of Wood chiefly? And indeed most of their Images were such. Consecrating of Groves to Idols was an ancient Superstition, and at last the very Trees grew to be Idols. Those Places which were the chief Seats and Schools of Idolatry furnished them (and that very properly) with Idols. A Forest was a Nursery of Gods, and Stocks became Deities, when the senseless Adorers were no other. Of the Timber they took to make a God, one Part was devoted to the Chimney, the other to the Chapel, as the Prophet in a sarcastick way represents the Folly of Idolaters, *Isa.* 44. 16, 17. It is true, these wooden Gods were hewed out, carved, and finely trimmed up, as if this could make a Tree a God. One would think they should rather worship the Carpenters, the Painters, the Gravers, the Goldsmiths and Silver-Smiths, than the dull Materials and Stuff which they used. I cannot but think what it was that might first give Rise to *Lucian* to deride the Heathen Gods; for we read that he was put out Apprentice to his Uncle, an Engraver or Statuary, great Part of whose Trade was to make Gods, and accordingly he afterwards liberally jeered these and all the other Pagan Deities. This scoffing Wit could not but lay hold on this Handle that was given him, when he saw that the People little regarded the Artificers and Workmen, but adored the Work of their Hands; and even the greatest Men, and those

who lorded it over others, humbly fell down before a Stone or the Trunk of a Tree, which the Artists had tricked up with some Ornament and Finery. Which Sottishness is thus admirably expressed by the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*, ch. 13. ver. 17, &c. *To this Image the Man makes a Prayer for his Wife and Children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no Life. For Health he calleth upon that which is weak: for Life prayeth to that which is dead: for Aid humbly beseecheth that which hath least Means to help: and for a good Journey he asketh of that which cannot set a Foot forward: and for gaining and getting, and for good Success of his Hands, asketh Ability to do of him that is most unable to do any thing.* Tho' the Idol Gods, when they were gnawn by Mice and Rats, felt it not; tho' the most despicable Creatures trampled upon them; tho' Spiders covered them with their Cobwebs, and Birds built their Nests in their Mouths (as the antient Apologists were wont to deride them;) tho' they were not sensible of any Indignity and Affront put upon them, and consequently not of any Honour done to them; yet such was the gross Blindness and Stupidity of the Gentile Devotionists, that they paid a Divine Respect to them. And this is the strict and proper Denotation of Idolatry, it is a worshipping of Idols, i. e. those Images which represent their Gods. Thus far we have seen how the Pagans worshipped Angels Good and Bad, Men dead and alive, and even moveless and senseless Images.

V. Now next I proceed to treat of those Pagan Deities which were bred from the Faculties and Endowments of the Soul, from the Accidents of Life, and the States and Conditions of Men.

First, the Soul and its Faculties and Operations afforded Matter for Idolatry,

* Var. Hist. 1. 8. c. ult.

† Hist. 1. 2.

|| De Nat. Deor. 1. 2.

** De fortuna Roman.

†† Fast. lib. 6.

To the Soul or Mind an Altar was erected, saith * *Ælian*. *Attilius* the Prætor devoted a Temple to it, saith † *Livy*: and both || *Tully* and ** *Plutarch* acquaint us that they paid their Devotions to it in the Capitol. And †† *Ovid* also lets us know that it was deified by the Romans,

Mens quoque Numen habet, Mentis delubra videmus Vota.

And by the Mind they meant these three things, the Passions, the Virtues, the Vices of the Soul: and accordingly I will shew that these Three were distinctly worshipped.

I. All the Passions and Commotions of the Mind which they felt within them, were Matter of their Veneration and Devotion. Love was one of the first Gods, if you will believe * *Hesiod*; and it is one of the best and fairest of them, saith the same Writer,

* *Εἶς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.*

* In Attic. † In Laconic.

* Lib. 1. † Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem coluit.

|| De Civ. Dei, 1. 4. c. 18.

** Quid de hoc dicam, nisi dignum fuisse qui semper deos suos (sicut optari solet) præfentes habeat? *De falsa Relig. cap. 20.*

†† *Plutarch*. in *Theseo*.

||| In Corinthiac.

*† Τιμῶσι δὲ τὸ φόβον, τὸ πόνον, ἀνέχον, μέλιστα σωέχοντες φόβον νομίζοντες. In *Agide & Cleomene*.

Shame had Altars erected to it at Athens, saith * *Pausanias*, and among the Lacedemonians, saith the same † Author.

Fear was worshipped by the Romans, as * *Livy*, † *Minutius Felix*, and || *St. Austin* testify. *Lactantius* hath this ingenious Reflection on *Tullus Hostilius*'s setting up and worshipping the Images of Fearfulness and Paleness, ** "I cannot but say, saith " he, that he deserved to have his Gods always present, as is " the common Wish and Prayer with respect to the Gods. †† *Theseus* offered a Sacrifice to it the Day before he was to engage in Battle, that it might not seize upon his Army: and *Alexander* the Great did so sometimes. The Corinthians looked upon it as a God, saith ||| *Pausanias*. And *Plutarch* saith the same of the Lacedemonians, and giveth the Reason why, viz. *† because they thought the Commonwealth best preserved by it.

There are good Authors that say the same of Hope, which was also honoured as a certain * Goddess. She was pictured in a green Gown, and represented as fresh, and always flourishing: whence perhaps her Temple (as † *Livy* tells us) was in the Herb Market at Rome.

* *Plin. N.*

H. 1. 2. c. 7.

† *Dec. 3.*

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And the Affection of Joy or Mirth was respected after the same manner; for * Plut. in
 * *Lycurgus*, as grave a Lawgiver as he was, set up a little Image of *Laughter* to be
 worshipped by the *Lacedemonians*. *Pausanias* mentions the same jolly *Numen*, and
 so doth *Apuleius*. † One tells us that *Deus Ridiculus*'s Temple was situated near the
Appian Way, occasioned by some strange and portentous *Laughter* which was heard
 by *Hannibal* when his Army lay encamped there. † Ol. Bor- rich. An- tiq. Rom. c. 3.

2. *Virtues* and *Graces* were made Deities. *Virtue* it self was a Goddess among
 the *Romans*, to whom *M. Marcellus* when he was Consul, dedicated a Temple, as
Valerius Maximus, *Plutarch*, and others relate. * *Tully* makes mention of her, and * De Leg. 1. 2.
 allows of her Worship.

Truth is represented as a kind of Goddess by † *Philostratus*,
 and she is said to be the * Mother of *Virtue*, and the || Daugh-
 ter of *Time*. We read that *Anaxagoras*, a private Person,
 ||† set up an Altar to her. But it may be observed that this
Virtue, which is highly commended by the Pagans, yet was never publicly wor-
 shipped: neither *Greeks* nor *Romans*, nor any other Nation, made it a Goddess.
 No Temples, no Altars were built to it, altho' most mental Accomplishments
 were accounted and worshipped as Goddesses. I say, not any other Nation, unless
 you except *Egypt*, because we read of the * Image of *Truth* and
 the † Gates of *Truth*, the one perhaps intimating her to be some
 Goddess, the other to have had a Temple rear'd to her. Tho'
 truly as to the former, if we will be exact, it was not so much
 the Image of *Truth*, as an Image called *Truth*. † In Amphiar. * Idem in Heroic. || Plut. Quæst. Rom. ||† Ælian. Var. Hist. 1. 8. c. ult.

Faith was revered as a Deity: her Temple was in the Capitol, saith * *Pliny*; * N. Hist. 1. 35. c. 10.
 and it stood next to *Jupiter*, saith † *Tully*. I believe 'tis the same with *Deus Fidius*, † De Nat. Deor. 1. 2.
 spoken of by *Dionysius Halicarn.* by *Livy*, by *Ovid*, and others. Their way of
 swearing by him was thus, *Medius Fidius*, that is, *me Dins Fidius juvet*, to which
 the French *Ma Foi* answers.

Mercy or *Compassion* had Sacrifices offered to her at *Athens*, as is recorded by
 || *Pausanias*: and other Authors make mention of its Temple at *Rome*, which was || In Attic:
 also an *Asylum*.

Piety was consecrated, as * *Valerius Maximus* reports: its Image and Chapel are * Lib. 5:
 taken notice of by † *Livy* and || *Pliny*. She is represented as a Woman suckling
 an aged Man, saith *Valerius Maximus*; an aged Woman, saith *Pliny*. † Dec. 4. 1. 10.

Astræa or *Justice* was reckoned a Divine Creature, and adorable; and so was || N. Hist. 1. 7. c. 36.
Themis, who dictated to Men what was lawful and just, and was thought to pre-
 side in Courts of Judicature, and to influence at the making of Contracts and
 Bargains, because Equity and honest Dealing were more especially required
 there. See her Pedigree drawn by *Hesiod* in *Theog.* and *Pindar* in *Olymp.* To
 these two Goddesses was joined a third, viz. *Nemesis*, mentioned by *Plato*, *Am-
 mianus Marcellinus*, *Proclus*, as well as the Masters of Poetry. *Adrastia* is the same
 (from King *Adrastus*, who first of all erected a Temple to her): and so is *Rham-
 nusia* (from *Rhamnus*, a City in *Greece*, where this Goddess of Indignation was wor-
 shipped.) She is said not only to teach Justice, but to punish the Transgressors of
 it, and therefore was stiled the Goddess of Revenge. And as she revenged the
 Wickedness of Bad Men, so she rewarded the Piety of the Good. Briefly, these
 three Deities were designed for the same thing, viz. to teach the World Right,
 Law, and Justice.

Chastity was honoured with Temples and Altars at *Rome*, according to * *Livy*; * Lib. 10.
 and none had the Privilege to perform Rites and Sacrifices there, but those that
 were noted for their chaste Conversation. To this we may annex *Verticordia*,
 who was supposed to turn the Hearts of Men and Women from Lust to Chastity:
 from † *Valerius Maximus* we learn that she was in great honour among the *Romans*, † Lib. 8. c. 16.
 and had her particular Temple.

Viriaplaca was thought to be a very useful Goddess, and was accordingly re-
 spected, saith the same || Author, and was much frequented by the married Folks || Lib. 2.
 when they fell out. *Harmony* was the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, say the Poets. c. 1.

Concord was a more general Goddess, and had Altars dedi-
 cated to her, as * *Cicero*, † *Livy*, || *Plutarch*, and ||| *Dion* attest. * Pro domo sua, † Lib. 9. & 2.

Silence was a known Deity, called by the old *Romans* ** *An-
 gerona*, represented with her Finger on her Mouth, as *Solinus*, ** Ab angendo ore. Var. Fest. Macrob.

† Plutarch, in Numà.
‡ Idem de If. & Osir.

Pliny, Macrobius tell us. *Tacita* was another Name of it, or rather another Image of *Silence*, † erected by *Numa Pompilius*. The same among the *Egyptians* was || *Harpocrates* the God of *Silence*, of whom *Ovid*,

Quique premit vocem, digitoque Silentia suadet.

Aius or *Aius Loquius* was a Roman God, the God of *Speaking* or *Discourse*, so called *ab aiendo, loquendo*: *Tully*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *A. Gellius* make mention of him.

There was *Agerona* (*ab Agendo*) the Goddess of *Industry* and *Diligence*, that put Men upon *Action*.

And lastly, there were the *Charites*, the *Graces*, which were the Goddesses of *Courtesy*, *Bounty*, and *Thankfulness*.

But any Man of correct Thoughts, cannot but see how unreasonable and improper it is, to put either the *Affections* or the *Virtues* of the Mind into the Number of Gods or Goddesses; for tho' they are worthily valued, and are useful and necessary in the Life and Actions of Men, and are the greatest Embellishments and Accomplishments of Human Beings; yet they are by no means to be exalted to that pitch; for they are but finite and imperfect Excellencies, and therefore are short of the Divine Nature. By them, and them alone we are capable of worshipping God, but therefore it is egregious Folly and Nonsense to worship them as Gods. Besides, if they be the Gifts of God (as certainly they are) they cannot themselves be Gods. Lastly, if Men are not adorable, as hath been shewed before, then we cannot imagine that their *Endowments*, whereby they are such, are worthy of that transcendent Honour. It is therefore an Argument of the extravagant Spirit of the Pagans, that they set up Deities in Mens Minds.

3. Not only *Virtues*, but *Vices* were consecrated, which is yet more intolerable.

* Nec ulla vitiorum sacra
solemnia obeunto. Cic. de Leg.
l. 2.

† Quid mirum si ab hac gente
universa flagitia manarunt,
apud quam ipsa Vitia religiosa
sunt? De falsa Relig. c. 20.

To do the old Romans right, this was forbidden by a Law; the hallowing of *Vices* was condemned by the * *Twelve Tables*: but this was not observed by them, as appears from sundry Examples; and other Nations, especially the *Greeks*, were guilty of the same Disorder. Whence that of *Lactantius*, † "It is no wonder that all kinds of Wickedness, saith he, proceed from those People among whom Vices themselves are counted religious and venerable. I will mention both these

and the Romans promiscuously.

Impudence was worshipped at *Athens*, as those that have writ of the *Attick* Customs and Practices tell us: and thence the * *Greek* Proverb *Θεός η' Αυαΐδεια*. Nay *Contumely*, as well as this, had Temples at *Athens* by the Advice of *Epimenides* the *Cretian*: and † *Pausanias* and || *Tully* bear witness that they were worshipped both together by the People of that Place.

** *Venus* Lust and Concupiscence were deified under the Name of *Venus*, that ** *Coming Goddess*, according to that Derivation of her Name which some approve of. A Great Critick is of opinion, that the *Hecate* of the Witches was no other than *Venus*, and that they consulted her in the Amours of Persons, and prevailed with her to bewitch fond Lovers, as if they were not enough so without her.

Cupid was *Venus's* Brat, but he as well as the Mother, was dubb'd a Deity. This God of Love and Carnal Pleasure is celebrated by the whole Poetick Tribe, who have presented us with the Image and Pourtraiture of him, which well expresses the Properties of his Votaries. He is winged, because the Minds of such are airy, light, changeable, always flitting and wandering. His Arrows signify the Wounds given and received in this amorous War. He is blind, because he makes his Votaries such: they seldom have the right use of their Understandings, no nor of their bodily Eyes; for this fond Deity frequently makes even the Deformed seem fair. As loving and kind a *Numen* as he is, he is voted to be the * *Tyrant* of Gods and Men. This single Deity, as they represent him, is too hard for all the Gods and Goddesses besides. *Jove's* Thunderbolts submit to *Cupid's* Darts: The Flames of the latter are more powerful than the Fulmination and all the Artillery of the former. In short, he is sole Commander, and *Jove*. This is the prophane and lewd Theology of the Pagan Poets.

* Σὺ δ' ὦ θεῶν τὸ
καρπὸν καὶ
ἀνθρώπων
ἔργων. Eu-
ripid.

Besides

Besides *Venus* and *Cupid*, they were so besotted as to make *Priapus* pass for a Deity, and they were not ashamed to expose to view his lewd and obscene Image.

To which that of *Baal-Peor* answers, say the *Jews*, that filthy Idol of the *Moabites*: and this is the Perswasion of * *Origen*, † *Ferome*, and ‖ *Isidore*. But of this I have given my Opinion before. It is probable that this is the Idol which Queen *Maa-chab*, King *Asa's* lewd Mother, set up, and is called *Mipbletzerth*, 2 *Chron.* 19. 16. because of the horrible and abominable Filthiness of it. This and all the other vile Practices of the Hea-

thens, tho' they may seem to be unworthy of the Pen of a Christian Writer, yet they are particularly mentioned by St. *Augustin*, one of the most serious and pious Fathers of the Christian Church, who thought it convenient and useful to acquaint his Readers with these Pagan Follies, thereby to expose the Vanity of the Heathen Idolatry, and to excite Christian Men to abhor it, and highly to prize the Christian Religion, and the Blessed Author of it, who came to destroy these Works of the Devil. And not only that godly Bishop, but several others of great Gravity and Piety, thought fit to take publick notice of those impure Deities before named: This was done by *Cyprian* in his Treatise of the *Vanity of Idols*, and by those famous Lights of the Christian Church, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Athanasius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostom*, and other Holy Men, who have presented us with a particular Account of the extravagant Notions and Inventions of the Pagan Idolaters concerning their *Venus*, and other Goddesses and Gods, whom they had set up to be worshipped. It was the Judgment of these Religious and Pious Writers, that this would be serviceable not only to stop the Mouths of Idolaters, but to commend the Christian Religion to all Men, it being that holy Institution which teaches us the Abhorrence of all such Impurities. And this I hope will be in some degree the Fruit of this my present Undertaking.

To proceed; in *Sicily* there was a Temple built to *Voracity* or *Gluttony*, as *Ælian* relates. *Bel* is represented in the Apocryphal Writings as a Gluttonous God; and it is authorized by Canonical Scripture, *Jer.* 51. 44.

Drunkenness was revered under the Name of *Bacchus*, and *Wrath* and *Passion* under that of *Mars*. *Envy* was a Poetick Goddess, described to the life by *Ovid* in his *Metamorph.* l. 2. *Contention* (*Eris*) is one of *Hesiod's* Goddesses, and *Fraud* (*Πονηρία*) is another.

Mercury was the God of Cheats and Trapanners, of Robbers and Highway-men, and Pirates. * *Laverna* was the Goddess of Thieves and Felons, by whom, when they went about their Work, this Deity was invoked. These were the Divinities of those dark Times: so that it seems if *Captain Hide*, or *John du Bart*, or the *German Princess*, had been alive then, they would have gone near to have been filed among the Pagan Godships.

Lastly, I must not forget *Momus*, the Carping God, whose Business was to deride and jeer all the other Gods. So it is, the Heathen Deities must, like Great Princes, have their Jester, and this Office was perform'd by *Momus*, the *Archee* of the Gods, the Court Buffoon of *Olympus*, whose Place was to find Faults there, and then to ridicule his Brethren Deities.

What a horrid Degeneracy of Mankind was this, to dream of such Gods? To what a height of Immorality and Wickedness were they arriv'd, that they could fancy such Deities? They indulged themselves in Lust, Drunkenness, and all other Acts of Debauchery, and thence they were desirous to have Patrons for these Vices, and so they framed their Vices and Enormities into personal Deities: that under that Umbrage they might partly disguise their Villanies, that they might be thought to do well, and to act like the Gods, when they were the most exorbitant in their Doings.

In the next place, the various Accidents of Human Life, and the several States and Conditions of Mankind in the World (for I shall join both these together) were abused after the foresaid manner, that is, they were made serviceable to Idolatry. *Occasion* or *Opportunity* was a Goddess among the *Romans*; for they finding that of *Solomon* to be true, *To every thing there is a Season, and a Time for every Purpose under the Heaven*, *Eccl.* 3. 1. and they observing that a fit Time or Season for Actions is of great use in the Life of Man, and that the missing of it is very dangerous, they were so superstitious as to give it a Place among their Deities.

And

* Homil. 20. in Num.

† *Phegor* in lingua Ebraea *Priapus* appellatur. In 4 Hof. & lib. 1. cont. hæres. Jovin. cap. 12.

‖ Orig. lib. 8.

* Varro de Ling. Lat. Horat. Ep. 1.

And the like Honour was given by them to *Fortune* or *Chance*; there were erected to her Temples, Chapels, Images; and Sacrifices offered, as is abundantly made good by very credible * Authors. She was either *Good*

* Liv. lib. 27. Plutarch. Qu. Rom. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 28. Suet. in Domit. c. 15. August. de civ. D. l. 4. c. 18. † Quæst. Rom.

or *Bad*; for † Plutarch informs us, that both were worshipped by the Romans. Some have thought that the former of them is meant by *Bagad*, Gen. 30. 11. which the Seventy render *ἐν τύχῃ*, and is as much as if *Leah* there gave Words of good Omen to *Zilpah's* new-born Child, as the Custom (it is likely)

was, and is now with us on the like Occasion: but there is some Reason to que-

* N. Hist. 1. 2. c. 7. strion this Interpretation, and therefore I shall not urge it. * Pliny mentions a Chapel dedicated to *Bad Fortune* on one of the Hills of Rome. It may seem to be the same with *Fortuna Respiciens*, turning her Back on Persons, to which there was built a Temple in that Place: but we may rather think that *Fortune looking back* signifies her casting an Eye of Pity on the Distressed: and so perhaps it was the same with *Fortune Propitious*, which was erected at Rome near the Temple of *Jupiter Victor*.

† De Nat. Deor. Providence (as † Cicero represents it) was supposed to be that Goddess which was the great Governess of the World, and with Care and Wisdom administers all Affairs in it.

* In Attic. Fame was enter'd into the Number of the Deities, as we are informed by * Pau- sanias and † Plutarch.

† In Camil. Pitbo or *Suada*, the Goddess of Persuasion, had a Temple erected to it among the *Sicyonii*, a People of an Inland in the *Egean* Sea, saith * Pausanias.

* In Corinthiac. Opinion was deified, if we may give credit to † Philostratus. And so was *Felicity*, and had an Image and a Temple consecrated to it, as † Pliny and † Dion ac- quaint us.

† N. Hist. 1. 35. Riches were worshipped under the Name of *Plutus*, who is represented blind and lame by * Hesiod and other Poets; the former, because he blindly and promiscuously confers his Gifts on the Bad as well as the Good: the latter perhaps with reference to the Debilities and Weaknesses of Body which are bred from Abundance and Exuberance, and more particularly to the limping *Arthritis* which seizes some of *Plutus's* Friends, whence among some it hath the Epithet of *Rich*.

* In Theogonia. Money was enshrined by the Name of *Dea Pecunia*, and worshipped under that Title by the Romans, as * St. Augustin relates. *Juno Moneta* was set up at Rome, and Images and Temples built to her, if we may believe † Valerius Maximus, † Livy, Macrobius, and several other Writers who mention it. † * Tully inclines to think that the Name was given à *Monendo*; but †† Suidas (upon consulting of other Authors) gives this account of it, that *Juno* was called by that Name, because when the Roman Army in a great Streight prayed to her to furnish them with Money, she kindly heard them, and answered their Request. And it is thought that afterwards the Roman Money was coined in her Temple. That Money was a Goddess may be gathered from some old Medals with this Inscription, *Divæ Monetæ*. The Money-Numen was also stiled *Æsculanus* and *Æs*; and that the Romans worshipped it by this Name, is affirmed by a * Writer whom I have often quoted, who likewise tells us, that when that Metall was changed for the better, he was known by the Name of *Argentinus*. The short is, this was the God who, as they imagined, furnished them with Cash, and thence it was that they worshipped him, for it was the Pagan Fashion to pay this Respect to every thing that was extremely beneficial to them. Whence the famous * Platonick Philosopher resolves the Pagan Polytheism into this, that there was nothing in the Nature of things that brought any Commodity to Mankind, but it was translated into the Number of the Gods. And they did the same where they found any thing exceeding hurtful: they worshipped it to avoid the evil Influence of it, and thence a Temple and Altar were consecrated to *Poverty*, which you'll meet with in † Alexander ab Alexandro.

* August. de Civ. Dei, l. c. 1. † Max. Tyr. Dissert. 38. † Gen. di- er. lib. c. 13. But now all this shews a great deal of Weakness and Impertinency; for these different States and Conditions of Life are from the Supreme Disposer, God himself, and therefore 'tis a vain and senseless thing to put them into the Catalogue of Deities. This is a great Dishonour and Affront to the Supreme Being. To mention here only two of those before named, *Fortune* and *Money*. As to the first, the Notion of *Fortune* is a robbing God of that peculiar Honour which is due to him,

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as he is the over-ruling Author and Arbiter of good and bad Success. It is a strange Conceit of a late Writer, that when the Heathens built Temples to Fortune, * they meant nothing by it : so that they erected Temples to Nothing, as he had said before of Fear and Dread, to which the Pagans built Altars. But it cannot be but they must have some Conception of these things, tho' it was wrong and false. Yet this Gentleman is used to put off any thing, as he pleases, after this rate ; and in the same Chapter and the next he affixes Nothing to the Greatest things imaginable and most real. But the Vanity of that Assertion is apparent from this, that the Heathens distinguished between Good and Bad Fortune, which shews that Something was meant : unless this Writer can prove that Good and Bad are the same, which will be a difficult Task for him to discharge, and if he should attempt it, no sober Man will attend to what he saith. That which I now observe is, that the Gentiles were very much to be blamed for making Fortune or Chance a Deity, because thereby they maintained a Notion which was derogatory to the Supreme Being, God the Disposer of all things, of all Occurrences and Events in the World. All the Wise Men among the Pagans observed this : particularly * Plutarch shews how ridiculous it is to assert Fortune or Chance in the World, and thereby to deny Providence and the Freedom of Mens Actions. He holds that nothing therefore is to be resolved into Casualty and Peradventure ; but every thing is to be acknowledged as the Offspring of Divine Care and Management, tho' brought into the World, and delivered as it were by the Midwifery of Second Causes. Christians especially disown this Blind and Changling Goddess : and accordingly that Pious Father St. Augustine mentioned with Regret and Sorrow in his *Retractions*, that he used the Word Fortune either in his Writings or Discourses ; which should shame some among us at this day, who frequently in their Sermons talk of Fortune and Misfortune.

Secondly, as to Plutus or Money, the giving Divine Respect to these is an Argument of a very degenerate and sordid Spirit : and this is the grand Impediment of giving that Adoration to the True God which we owe to him. For the Worship of both these is inconsistent, as we are told by an infallible Instructor, Mat. 6. 24. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon, that is, God and Riches ; for Mammon was both the Idol which the Assyrians worshipped, and the Riches also over which the Idol was President. Now, our Saviour speaking the Syriac Tongue, makes use of this Syriac Word, and that very fitly, this being the Name of the God of Riches, and so it makes the *Antithesis* here more exact and full, as thus, Ye cannot serve the True God and the God of this World. But I proceed.

Among the Occurrences in Man's Life none are more remarkable than Peace and War, and accordingly after the Heathen mode they were reckoned as Deities. From * Herodotus we are assured that Peace was worshipped by the Romans and Athenians ; and the same is related by † Plutarch and ‖ Galen. The old Temple of Peace built at Rome is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, Herodian, Pliny. The most famous and celebrated of that sort was that which was built by the Emperor Vespasian, and adorned with some of the Spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem, about seventy Years after Christ's Nativity, he being then established in the Throne, and his Kingdoms enjoying an universal Repose. And there are still at this day remaining at Rome the Ruins of that Temple, nigh the Church of St. Francesca Romana in Campo Vaccino.

Quiet (which was perhaps Private Peace) was a Goddess of the Romans, and accordingly they built a Chapel to her, which is mentioned by * Livy and † St. Augustine, who tell us, that it was built without the City. Where 'tis observable, that among the many Temples raised by the Romans, that of Repose was in the Country, where there was not the Crowd and Business, the Noise and Buzz that are in other Places.

Mars is talked of by all the Poets as the God of War. To whom we may refer the God of Forces, Dan. 11. 38. whom Antiochus worshipped. Not that we are with some Writers of the Church of Rome to think that *Maūzzim* here mentioned was some particular God ; for when the Reader shall consult the next Verse, and find that this Word is simply used for Strong Holds, he will scarcely be persuaded that there is meant here any God. But this is plain in the Text, that whilst Antiochus prospered in War, and held several Forts and Places of Strength, he worshipped the Gods belonging to them ; for they thought that particular Gods inhabited in those

* J. Clerici Ars Critic. p. 2. § 1. c. 9.

* Περὶ τῆς Χρῆς.

* Lib. 2. † In Cimon. ‖ De Pulcris.

* Lib. 4. † De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 18.

those Castles and Forts, and kept them for them: it is not wonderful then that they adored them. But we may imagine that this Great Warrior did more especially reverence the God *Mars*, who is properly stiled *the God of Forces*, or *Fortresses* and *Strong Holds*: these are *Μαῦρζιμ*. I might take notice that *Mars* is called *Communis Deus* by the *Roman Orator*, and *Livy*, and other *Latins*, and by the *Greeks* *Ἄγος κοινός*, and particularly by * *Homer* *Ζηνός Ἐνυδαίης*; of which Denomination Criticks have assigned several Reasons, but this seems to be the fairest and easiest, *Mars* (as well as *Victory*, of which I shall speak next) is favourable sometimes to one Side, and sometimes to another, and so may be said to be common. *Ἀλλοσεσάλλης* is his known Epithet, because he is by turns on both sides.

* Il. Σ.

With *Mars* we must join *Bellona*, his Wife or Sister (for *Camps* make no difference between these) but it seems the Antients would have a *Goddeſs* as well as a *God of War*, it may be to signify that some of the other Sex have been warlike and valorous, and that it is not the Body always, but the Mind that fits Persons for Martial Attempts. Thus they have dressed up *Minerva* or *Pallas* in Armour, and have made the *Goddeſs of Wisdom* the *President of War*. And so it was a Female Deity, viz. * *Pellonia*, that helped them, as they thought, to beat back and vanquish their Enemies.

* A pel-
lendo, h.
e. depel-
lendo.

Victory was another *Goddeſs*, not only in *Hesiod's Theogonia*, but among very serious Authors. That they paid Adoration to her of old among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is evident from † *Pausanias*, || *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, * *Dion*, and several others, who mention Temples in her Honour. This was generally a winged *Goddeſs*, but || one that knew very well tells us, that among the *Athenians* she was *ἄπτερος*, without Wings, and that for a special Reason (if it may be called so) viz. because they would not have it fly away from them. I have no more to add concerning *Victory*, but what a Christian † Father pleasantly said, If *Victory* be a *Goddeſs*, why is not *Triumph* a God? If they were for making Gods, this might have been one.

† In Attic.
|| Antiq.
Rom. l. i.
* Lib. 56.
|| In Attic.

† De Civ.
D. l. 4.

Liberty was a Deity greatly adored among the *Romans*, especially after they had deposed their Kings, and settled a Commonwealth. *Tully*, *Suetonius*, and other *Roman Writers* often speak of this Republican *Goddeſs*.

* Q. Rom.
† De Nat.
Deor. l. 2.
|| Lib. 2.

Honour was worshipped by the *Romans* with their Heads bare, saith * *Plutarch*; and the Temple dedicated to it is mentioned by † *Tully* and || *Livy*, as also by *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*.

* Vit. A-
pol. l. 5.
c. i.
† Cap. 13.

Even Old Age and Youth were deified among the Pagans; to the former were erected Altars, if * *Philostatus*, and † *Alexander ab Alexandro*, are to be credited; And the latter, call'd *Hebe*, is celebrated by most of the *Greek* and *Roman Poets*.

|| Plut.
Præcept.
connub.

Among the other States and Conditions of this Life, they forgot not that of *Wedlock*; and found out Deities to preside over it. *Juno* was the Chief, and was known by the Name of || *Γαμήλια Ἥρα*, Nuptial *Juno*. She was thought to help Labouring Women; and therefore, at the Birth of Children, was in great Request, and was solemnly invok'd by the Title of *Madam Lucina*. Besides this *Midwife-Goddeſs*, there were Gods that belonged to the Conjugal Life, as *Thalassius* or *Thalassius* among the *Romans*, and *Hymen* or *Hymenæus* among the *Greeks*; both mentioned by the Poets. And the Divine Lady *Viriaplaca*, appertains to the married People; for when the Man and Wife were at odds, they repaired to the Chapel of this *Goddeſs*, and there freely debated the Matter, and returned lovingly back again: But I mentioned this useful Lady before.

They had several other little Godships retaining to this State of Life, as she that

* Lib. i. cap. 199.
† Nixii Dii appellantur genibus nixi, velut præfidentēs parientium nixibus. Fests.

presided over Generation, called *Mylitta* by the *Babylonians*, as * *Herodotus* acquaints us. There were the † *Dii Nixii*, who were Three; and were worshipped by Women in Labour. *Statanus* and *Statinia*, were a God and *Goddeſs*, in whose

Care the Children were thought to be when they first began to stand and go. There was *Fabulinus Deus*, worshipped by the *Romans* when their Children began to speak (*fari*) because he was believed to shape the Mouth of the Child, to help his Tongue, and form his Voice. There was *Offilago Dea*, that hardneth and maketh firm the Bones of Infants. There was *Lallus* the God of *Lullabies*, which Nurses sing to the Children to make them sleep. You will find all these particularly mentioned in some of the Authors before quoted, and more particularly in *St. Austin* and *Arnobius*.

Now

Now here, as before, we might take Notice of the foolish and prophane Disposition of Mens Minds in the Time of Paganism: Any thing but the True God was owned by them. They made all Occurrences and Events, which should have lead them to the Knowledge and Worship of One Only God, administer to Idolatry. This is so gross, that I need not further insist upon it.

Besides, most Callings and Professions had their special Gods, some of which I have named before, as *Apollo*, the Musicians God; *Minerva*, the Weavers Goddes; and *Mercurius*, who is the general Deity for all Trades, and Ways of Traffick; and therefore had the Name of *Εμπεδαειος*, and of *Κεραειος*, as we read in * *Plutarch*, * *De Tran-*
and † *Phrynus*. *quillitate.*

But especially I will take notice, that the Country Employments and Diversions ^{† De Nat. Deor.} were in a most signal Manner graced with Variety of Divinities. The Farmers and Husbandmen were furnished with such as these: *Bubona*, the Goddes of Oxen; *Hippona*, that had the Care of Horses and Stables; which we find mentioned by * *Plutarch* and † *Tertullian*. (Though by the bye one would think, that this Care * *In Pa-*
would better become one of the more robust Sex). || *Pliny* and * *Lactantius* tell ^{parallel.} us, that *Stercutius* was another God whom the Country-Men had a great Value for; ^{† Apolog. Lib. 17. c. 9.} because forsooth he was the President of the *Dung*, or *Muck*, which they used in their Grounds. *Annona* was the Goddes among the Romans of Plenty and Fertility of the yearly Fruits of the Earth. There is an old Inscription mentioned ^{* Inst. l. 1. c. 20.} by *Salmasius* on *Solinus*, *Diva Annona*. The Rustic Deities were invoked in this Order; *Vervactor*, *Redarator*, *Imporcitor*, *Insitor*, *Obarator*, *Occator*. And when the Corn was gathered in, then these other Country-Gods were implored; *Sarritor*, *Subruncinator*, *Messor*, *Conjector*, *Conditor*, *Promitor*. Out of *Varro* also we learn, that there were Deities for every Degree of Growth in their Corn, and other Grain. *Proserpina* was in request whilst it was very young, and beginning to sprout; *Nodinus* when the Stalks were jointed; *Volutina* when the Foldings of the Husks were finished; *Parcelona* when these began to open for the coming forth of the Ear; *Matura* when the Corn flourished and came to ripeness. And not only *Varro*, but † *A. Gellius*, and others, take notice, that *Rubigo* (or *Robigo*, or *Robius*; for so † *Lib. 4. c. 6.* sometimes it is writ) was a God that was pray'd to and worshipped by the Roman Farmers, that he might hinder the Blasting and Smutting of their Corn: And hence the Romans kept the *Robigalia*, as a Feast to this God.

The Shepherds had *Pan* to preside over them, who had a Temple at the Foot of the Palatine Hill, as we learn from || *Justin*. There was a Goddes too that had || *Hist.* the Care of Shepherds and Flocks, whose Name was *Pales*. *Ovid. Fast. L. 4. l. 43.* To whom, I conceive, answered among the Eastern Idolaters *Ashtoreth*, 1 *Kings* II. 23. 2 *Kings* 23. 13. or *Ashteroth*, *Judg.* 2. 13. 1 *Sam.* 7. 4. which is the same with *Ashtoreth*; only it is expressed in the Dual (as the Plural *Baalim* is the same with *Baal*). I know some of the learnedst Criticks have had other Sentiments of this *Sidonian* Goddes: One tells us it is *Venus*, another *Diana*, others that it is *Juno*, and some think it is the *Moon*, and abundance of little Conjectures have been offer'd to make these Notions out; yet, in my Opinion, they have done very little towards it. And therefore I crave leave to propound this as my Perswasion, viz. that by *Ashtoreth*, or *Ashteroth*, is meant the Shepherds Goddes; for the Word it self intimates so much to us, without any straining. We meet with the Word *Ashteroth*, or *Ashtanoth*, thrice in one Chapter, viz. *Deut.* 28. 4, 8, 11. which by the LXX is rendred *οιμνιαι*; and by the vulg. Latin, *greges*; and by the Syriack and Arabick, *armenta*, *gnaes*; and therefore our Translators rightly render it *Flocks*: And in all three Places it is applied to *Sheep*. Whence I gather what Goddes this was, the *Pastoral* Goddes, who was set over *Ashteroth*, Flocks of *Sheep*. And accordingly we find, that the Idol or Image of this Goddes was in the Figure of a *Sheep*, as *Rabbi D. Kimchi*, and others testify. This I take to be a plain Account of the Word; but the Reader is at his Liberty to imbrace it or not.

Other Rural Deities there were, as *Mellona*, the Honey-Goddes, that presided over their Hives; *Pomona*, the Costermonger's Patroness. There was *Collatina*, who was Overseer of the Hill-Countrys; and *Vallonia*, the humble Mistress of the lower Grounds. This Distinction of Deities, as to Mountains and Valleys, was observed among the Syrians, as we may collect from what we read in the *Old Testament*, 1 *Kings* 20. 23. Their Gods are Gods of the Hills, therefore they were stronger than

we: But let us fight against them in the Plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. These Pagans thought the God of Israel had great Power on the Mountains of Samaria, and that the Israelites worshipping other Gods on high Places and Hills, would certainly be protected by them: But they thought these were not so powerful in the Valleys, and that some of the Syrian Gods had greater Command there, and would be too hard for them. It cannot escape our Observation, that Mountains and Hills were chosen of old for Places of Religion and Worship before all others; and that even among the Hebrew Patriarchs and People of God. But afterwards such high Grounds were made use of for Idolatry: The Pagans generally placed their Idols here, whence that way of speaking, to eat upon the Mountains, Ezek. 18. 6. is used to signify the Idolatrous Worship of the Heathens; for in those high Places they sacrificed to their Gods, and fed upon the Idolotry, the Flesh offer'd to

* De Ad-
mirab. o-
perib. An-
tiq. c. 3.

* Orati. pro Templis.

† De Curand. Græc. Affect.

‡ De Coloniis.

* Πᾶν ὃ ὄρεϊ ᾤεται
ἱερόν, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄντι τῷ θεῷ
ἐν ὄρει δὲ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖται
τὰς περὶ αὐτόν. In Trachin.

Kircher, in his Oedipus, acquaints us out of * Bellonius, that one of the greatest of the Egyptian Pyramids had at the Top of it an Altar, which they ascend with a great Number of Steps, and think it a very acceptable Service to sacrifice there: Which it is likely was in conformity to the Usage among the Gentiles (mention'd in most Histories) of worshipping in high and mountainous Places. Herodotus observes concerning the Persians, and Philostratus concerning the old Indians, that they erected Altars, and offer'd Sacrifices on the Tops of Hills. Homer saith the same of the Trojans. And that other Heathens built Temples on high Hills, is testified by * Libanius, † Theodoret, ‡ Frontinus. Jupiter especially had Sacrifices offer'd to him in those Places. Whence that of the Scholiast on Sophocles, * Every Hill is call'd Jupiter's; because 'tis fit that Sacrifices should be offer'd to the highest God, on the highest Places. And let me add this Conjecture, because the highest Mountains, and Places of Eminence, are most subject to Thunder and Light-

ning; they might think those the most proper Places wherein to do Honour to the Thundering Deity. This Piece of Idolatry was imitated by the Jews: We read that they affected to worship the false Gods on Hills and High Places, Lev. 26. 30. 1 Kings 3. 2, 3. 2 Chron. 33. 17. & 34. 3. Psal. 78. 58. Jer. 17. 2, 3. Ezek. 6. 3. Mic. 1. 5. And when they could not do it abroad, they did it at home, as well as they could; for they sacrificed on the uppermost and highest Parts of their Dwellings, Jer. 19. 13. & 32. 29. Zeph. 1. 5.

There were several Deities set over the Woods, Forests and Groves, of whom Diana was Paramount; and she had the Honour to be the Goddess of the Game: Though it is true, the Huntsmen look'd upon Pan as a Patron of it. Sylvanus was a Country-God, and properly belong'd to the Woods; as Nemeſtinus to the Forests. And here must be reckon'd Silenus, with the Fauns and Satyrs, who were Monsters indeed rather than Gods. This Silenus was the Chief and Antientest of the Satyrs, and was Bacchus's Pedagogue and Foster-Father. He was worshipped by the Phrygians, as Diodore of Sicily, in his 4th Book, tells us; and the As on which he rid hath the Honour to be placed among the Stars, saith Aratus. Among the woody Goddesses are numbred the Dryades and Hamadryades. And Echo was a Retainer to these, and belong'd to the Woods.

Lastly, Among the Rustick Gods we must not forget Terminus, the Lord of the Marches and Boundaries. He was represented in the Shape of a Stone, or some-

* Termine, five Lapis, five es
defossus in agro

Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque
numen habes. Fast. l. 2.

† Nat. Quæst. Prob. 13.

‡ Thence lubricatus Lapis,
& ex olivi unguine ordinatus.
Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 1. And
Lapis unguine delibutus. Apul.
Flor. l. 1.

times of a Log of Wood, and so was worshipped at Rome, saith * Ovid. Numa Pompilius first erected this God, as † Plutarch informs us; for setting Bounds to the Fields about Rome, and butting and fencing the Ground, he constituted this God Terminus the President of the Work, and the Patron of Friendship, and Keeper of Peace. The Stones with which they distinguish'd and parted their Lands were call'd Terminales, which they adorn'd with Garlands, and ‡ anointed, and many other Ceremonies they perform'd in Honour of this God at their yearly Feasts which were dedicated to him, call'd Terminalia, which were attend- ed with solemn Perambulations and Processions.

They had Gods at home, as well as in the Fields. They might say as Heraclitus to his Guests, Come in, for here also are Gods. They had their Penates and Lares, to distinguish rightly between which is somewhat difficult; and I find several Au-

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thors miscarry here, and particularly *Servius*, who determines both the *Penates* and *Lares* to be wholly domestic Deities. But so far as I can gather from the compleat-est Representations of them given by *Varro*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Corn. Labeo*, *Macrobius*, *Arnobius*, and others; there is this difference between them, the *Penates* are either publick or private, but the *Lares* are wholly private. The former were Gods of particular Countries and Cities (and therefore sometimes had the Epithet of *Household* given them by the Greeks, and of *Patrii* by the Latins) as well as thought to have reference to particular Persons and Houses, whence they are stiled a *House of Gods*, *Judg. 17. 5.* and by the Greeks they are called *Γερεθαιον* and *Επεσιον*. From *† Cicero* and *¶ Virgil* we are ascertain'd, that they were the Guardians of *† Pro domo sua*. particular Habitations and Families, and provided for them, whence they had *¶ Aen. 8.* their Name of *Penates*; for *Penus* signifies all Household Provision. But the ** Lares* were wholly confin'd to particular Households and Families, and every Habitation had one of these Protectors and Tutelar Gods, whose Office it was to inspect and guide, to succeed and prosper all Household Affairs; more particularly they were said to take care of their Fires, and to look to their Hearths, for there they were plac'd. *Servius* fancies that these *Lares* were the Souls of the deceased who were buried in their Houses where they had lived, (for of old, he saith, the Dead were buried at home) and so afterwards were accounted Domestic Gods. But whether this be true or no, I will not dispute; this we are certain of, that they were greatly revered by the Romans, and accordingly the Temples, Services and Solemnities proper to them, are mentioned by *Varro* in his Book of *Rustick Affairs*, by *Martial* in his *Epigrams*, by *Juvenal* in his *Satyr*s, and by several other good Classical Authors. Among these Familiar Gods and Home-Deities, we may reckon those inferior ones, viz. *Forculus*, who presided over their Doors; *Limentinus*, who had regard to their Thresholds; *Cardinia*, to whose care the Hinges of their Doors were committed.

* *Lares sunt qui domi à familià celebrantur. Cato de re Rust. c. 3.*

Before we proceed, let us make some short Reflection on these things. It was certainly the Result of gross Ignorance that they talked of particular Gods who presided over certain Callings and Employments: As if *One God* were not able to take care of every Condition of Men. And it was a high Affront to the Divine Majesty to surmise, that he had not an Insight into Persons and Employments of a different Nature. This plainly derogates from his Almighty Power and Infinite Wisdom. And so their fixing particular Deities to certain Places, some to their Fields, and some to their Houses, some to their Hills and high Places, others to lower Grounds, must be imputed to their false Notion concerning God, and especially concerning his Omnipresence, and universal Influence: As if there were any difference between Places in respect of the Divine Care and Providence, or in regard of the Worship that is paid to the Almighty. There is a Smack of this in the *High Altars*, and the Reverence that is paid to them by the Worshipers in the *Roman Church*. The Divine Service is thought to be more acceptable there than in a lower Place; and there it must be read or chanted, tho' the greatest Part of the Congregation cannot distinctly hear what is said.

But to leave the Country, and Fields, and Houses, and to speak more generally, there were other Things, of a different Nature, which were brought into the Number of Deities. Any thing that did any good, or did not hurt them when it had Power to do it, was a God. To some things they dedicated Altars, that they might help them: To others, that they might not harm them. *Eduia* and *Potnia* (or as others called them, *Edefia*, and *Bibesia*) were adored, Goddesses of Eating and Drinking; and so was *Hunger*, for the Reasons aforesaid.

Night (*Latona*) was esteem'd one of the Antientest of all the Pagan Deities, and is mentioned by *Orpheus*, and *Hesiod*, and *Aratus*: By the last of whom it is call'd *Ἀφροίτη νύξ*. And if *Night* was deified, it is no wonder that *Sleep* was, who was the Son of *Night*, and the Brother of *Death*, as both *† Hesiod* and *¶ Homer* represent it; and was counted the most ** peaceable*, the most placid of all the Gods. This drowsy Deity that delights in no other Incense than Fumes and Vapours, is made the Father of the Gods by *Homer*: Who likewise represents *Jupiter* as weary, and then taking a Nap. Such a sleeping Numen was *Baal*; and therefore the Prophet call'd to his Worshipers

† In *Theogoniâ*.

¶ *Il. 14.*

* *Somne, quies rerum, placidissime somne deorum. Ovid. Met. 11.*

* Quid sibi volunt excitati-
ones illæ, quas cahitis matutini,
collatis ad tibiam vocibus? ob-
dormiscunt enim superi, &c. l. 7.
† Ovid. Metamorph. 11.

the Father of all the rest. *Labour* was another Poetick God; and *Fessonia* was in-
voked by those that were weary and tired. *Sneezing* was superstitiously observ'd

† Τὸν πλάσμον Θεὸν ὑγίεινθα.
Problem.

this was a dangerous Symptom, and had proved fatal to some.

Salus, Health, was a substantial Goddess, and was fitly said to be the Daughter of

† Lib. 17.

* De Nat. Deor. 1. 2.

† Dec. 1.

† N. Hist. 1. 35. c. 4.

* Saturnal. 1. 1. c. 16.

† De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

† Nat. Hist. 1. 2. c. 7.

* Adv. Gent. 1. 8.

Asculapius. She had a Temple at Rome on the *Quirinal Hill*, and was solemnly worshipped. This Temple is mention'd by || *Festus*, * *Tully*, † *Livy*, || *Pliny*, * *Macrobius*. But is it credible that a *Fever* was advanced to that Dignity? Yes, unless we will make void the Testimony of † *Tully*, of || *Pliny*, of * *Arnobius*, of *Minutius Felix*, and *Valerius Maximus*; which latter avers, that Three Temples were dedicated to it

† Febrem ad minus nocen-
dum colebant. 1. 2. c. 4.

in Rome. This may assure us of the Matter of Fact, and induce us to believe, that a *Calenture* was worshipped by the hot-headed Idolaters; that a *Fever* had Burnt-offerings, though it needed them not. And it is likely, that some other *Diseases*, incident to the Body of Man, had the same Honour; for (as I said be-
fore) they worshipped some things that they might not hurt them, and particularly a *Fever* on that account, as † *Val. Maxi-
mus* expressly tells us. After *Diseases* follows *Death*; and this too was a God or Goddess, begot of *Night*, if *Hesiod* knew his Parentage. As to the Altars and Temples consecrated to it among the *Spartans*, and other People, we have suffi-
cient Testimony to confirm it, if || *Plutarch*, * *Ælian*, and † *Alexander ab Alexandro*, be of any Credit. || *Virgil* mentions Sacrifices offered to this Killing Deity,

|| In Cleomene.

* Var. Hist.

† Cap. 13.

|| Æn. 11.

Multa boum circa mastantur corpora Morti.

* Εἰς γέρας τῇ κοινῇ, ἀνα-
παύλῃ, ἔτε τὰ τελευταῖα
δρῶν. Ælian. de Provid.

Servius explains the word *Morti*, by *Morti ipsi Deæ*. They built Altars to Death, saith one of the Antients, * in Honour to it, as it is the common Repose, and the last Port or Haven of Mankind.

Fate (μῆτις) is another of *Hesiod's* Gods: And the *Parcæ*, the inexorable God-
desses of Destiny, may be reckoned here. *Libitina* was another Goddess that had reference to Death, and was regarded accordingly by the Friends of the Deceased. In her Temple they tell us were sold (for she could not afford them gratis) all Funeral Dresses, and whatever appertained to Burials. And, to conclude this Set of Pagan Deities, *Nenia* was another Funeral Goddess, and her Temple was without the City of Rome, as *Varro* and *Festus* have written. Her main Business was to teach the Friends and Relations of the Deceased to lament with a good Grace, and to compose fit *Elegies* on the Departed: So that by this it seems she was a Piece of a Poet.

What shall we say to this Diversity of Gods and Goddesses which I have lately reci-
ted? Can we resolve it into any thing but the wrong Conceptions which the Heathen World had concerning the Divine Attributes and Perfections? Hence without question it was that *Night* and *Sleep*, *Labour* and *Weariness*, *Health* and *Diseases*, and *Death*, and the like, were reckoned Deities, whenas they are either the Gifts of God, and so cannot be God himself; or they are the Infirmities of Men, and so much less to be exalted to Divinity. I will particularly make some short Remarks on *Sneezing*, and shew the Folly and Superstition of Reverencing it. The Pagans were so silly as to pretend to prognosticate Futurities from the different Man-
ner of it. If it was in the Morning, and heard from the left Hand, 'twas account-
ed *unfortunate*; but if it was at Noon, and came from the right Side, it was *lucky*.
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Not only * *Pliny* the Naturalist, but very † grave Authors relate this. Some have thought *Socrates's* Genius was no other than this ||; they tell us that by his own and others Sneezing, on either Side of him, he divined concerning all Actions he was about. Now, because it was reckoned as sacred and presaging, the Custom was to salute those that sneezed, and to wish them well, as * *Pliny* and other Writers inform us. *ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ Ἕλληνες* the Greeks used to say to them, and the Latins cried *Salve*, as we are told by † *Athenæus* and others.

From this Heathen Custom some think was derived the common Practice among some Christians of saluting Persons when they sneeze. But || others have thought the Rise of it was from an epidemick Distemper which raged in Italy about the latter end of the Sixth Century, when *Pelagius II.* was Bishop of Rome; those who were seized with it generally died Sneezing, and among the rest the Bishop himself. * One tells us that generally they fell down dead upon the Spot, and thence God help you, or God bless you, was the usual Comprecation when they heard any one sneeze; and so this Salutation descended to Posterity, and is used at this very day. But if we may credit some Jewish Authors, this Custom is of much greater Antiquity. † They relate that before the Patriarch *Jacob's* time all Persons that sneezed immediately died; but he was the first Man that was exempted, and he begged the same Favour for all others; since which time they return Thanks to God, and salute others religiously. To a Person that sneezes the Jews use this Appreciation, *Hajim Tobim*, that is, they wish him prosperous Life and Happiness.

If it be expected I should say something of the Lawfulness of this Usage, seeing it had its Rise not only from Gentiles and Jews, but Christians; I apprehend, that as it is founded on what happened in another far distant Part of the World, and on the Effects of a peculiar Disease proper to that particular Time and Place, it administers no Ground to us at this day to use that Salutation or Prayer; and as it hath its Original from the Jewish Fables and Rabbinical Legends, it ought not to be taken Notice of, much less practised by us; but especially as this Custom may be thought to be derived from Heathenism, and the Superstition of the Gentile World, I conceive it is not to be approved of and imitated; but it were much better that it were wholly laid aside; that Christian Men may not symbolize with the Pagans in their vain Observances. However, we are sure that in the Idolatrous Pagans (of whom we are speaking) it was a Fault of a high Nature, for (as we have heard) they made Sneezing a Deity; which was a horrid Contempt of the Divine Excellency, and an Effect of their gross Ignorance of the true God. I would only add, If some of this present Age had lived in those Days, they would have been enclined to be Profelytes to this Part of Idolatry. *Ptarmick* Applications would have been consecrated, and a Snuff-Box would have been a sacred Implement.

VI. Next we will take Notice of the Heathens worshipping meer corporeal things, the material World, and the Parts of it. The whole mundane System was deified in *Pan*; for though he was an Arcadian God, and particularly had Adoration from the Shepherds of his Country, yet he is thought to have a much larger Territory; for * some make him the God of the Universe, so that his Title of *ὁ τῶν πάντων κύριος*, which was thought to signify only the Lord of the Woods, must be understood in a more comprehensive Sense, and *πάν* must denote all the material Substance of the World. And they argue from his Name *Pan*, by which is understood the whole visible World. This was thought by the Pagans to be God, nay, by some of the best of them; thus † *Lucan* represents these to be *Cato's* Words,

Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.

And *Seneca* talks after the same Manner, || This Universe, saith he, wherein we are, is God. Again, † If thou callest God by the Name of the World, thou dost not amiss. And in another Place a little more meanly, * God is the chief Part of the World. Or if these Words are to be taken in a qualified Sense, so as to signify only the Providence of God in the World, yet it must be acknowledged that *Pliny* meant something else, when we find that the first thing he lays down as his Creed is this, that † the World is God, i. e. this whole Mass of Matter which constitutes the visible World is the only Deity (excepting, as was observed before, deified Kings and Benefactors) which

* Nat. Hist. lib. 28. c. 2.
† Plutarch in Themistocle.
Xenoph. Hist. 1. 6.
|| Plut. de Socratis Genio.
* Nat. Hist. 1. 28. c. 2.
† Deipnosoph. 1. 2. c. 27.

|| Marian.
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* Suffri-
dus Mis-
nenf. Epit-
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† See Bux-
torf. Lexi-
con Chald.
p. 1599.

* Phor-
nutus de
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† Lib. 9.
|| Totum
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† Vis De-
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* Deus est
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which this *Naturalist* owns. But other Pagans were not of his Mind, but thought that the *World* was big enough to afford a great many Gods; whereupon they thought fit to split this great Body into divers Parts, and to look for Deities in them all, or rather to make them all such.

First, they worshipped the *Heavenly Bodies*, the Sun, Moon and Stars. *Maimonides* and others thought this was the first and antientest Idolatry extant in the World. And they would make this good from *Deut.* 4. 19. where the worshipping of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Host of Heaven, is forbid and condemned. But it appears not from this Prohibition that these were worshipped in *Moses's* Time, for the Words may be looked upon as a *Caveat* by way of Prevention, warning them against Idolatry for the future, when they shall come into the Land of *Canaan*, the Land which they were now going over to possess, *Ver.* 14. Or supposing this hath Reference to that very time (for I will not contend about it) yet it follows not thence that this was the Antientest sort of Idolatry; for I have shewed before, that the Adoration paid to Men and their Images was precedent to this. Wherefore it appears not from these Words that they worshipped the Heavenly Bodies first of all. Those that defend it make use of another Place, *Job* 31. 26, 27. where the Manner of Worshipping the Sun and Moon is expressed, viz. by kissing their Hands; for among the Eastern People, yea and others too, moving the Hand to the Mouth, and kissing it, was a Sign of Reverence; and Adoration hath its Name thence. But though these Words of *Job* (who lived about or before *Moses's* Time) prove the great Antiquity of worshipping the Sun and Moon, (which I most readily grant, nay I hold it to be the first kind of Idolatry that hath respect to inanimate and corporeal Beings) yet it cannot be proved hence that it was the very first Species of idolatrous Worship that was in the World, seeing I have in the former Part of this Discourse made it evident that another had the Priority of it. It is true, some learned Writers have opposed this, because they had imbibed another Notion from *Maimonides*, and before him from * *Eusebius*, who attempts to prove that they worshipped not Men and Women in the Beginning, but the Host of Heaven; and that this was the first Idolatry of the Eastern Nations. It is from this great Person that some of the Moderns have learnt to talk after the same Rate, nay, they tell us that the Idolatry spoken of so often in the Old Testament, viz. that Idolatry which the *Israelites* borrowed from the Pagan Countries round about them, was this Worshipping of the celestial Bodies. Thus those worthy Criticks, *Vossius* and *Selden*, understand generally all the Gods and Idols mentioned in Scripture concerning the Host of Heaven. So doth *Furien*, who vehemently pursues this Notion; and the same is done by † another who hath writ of Idolatry, and with the rest hath mistaken the Rise of it.

This is not a Time to mention all the heavenly Bodies, nor indeed need I, for I have already spoken of several of them, and have shewed that they are to be understood of other Things, yea and of Persons: I will only here invalidate their prime Notion, namely, that the Sun was worshipped by the *Phenicians* under the Name of *Baal*, and that it was the principal Idol of the *Chaldeans*, and that *Baal* or *Bel*, and the Sun were the very same among the Eastern Idolaters. We shall find this confuted in a very plain Text, *2 Kings* 23. 5. King *Josiah* put down the idolatrous Priests that burnt Incense unto *Baal*, unto the Sun and to the Moon, &c. where we see burning Incense to *Baal* is set down as a distinct sort of Idolatry from doing so to the Sun: And in the Greek Version of the *Seventy* this Distinction is more plainly and expressly signified, when they render it τῷ Βααλ, καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ. Consequently *Baal* and the Sun are not the same God, which is the Opinion which some Learned Writers have taken up, but without any good Ground.

But it is not denied, yea, 'tis most manifest that there are abundant Places of Scripture, which speak of or relate to the worshipping of the Heavenly Host, which was common with the *Chaldeans* and *Persians*; among which latter, the Sun, (which was called *Mithras* by them) was their chief God, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, *Suidas*. In quoting these Passages in Scripture, which have Reference to the Practice of the *Jews*, it will appear what the Pagans did as to this Matter, for those were but Imitators of these, especially from the Time of King *Mannasseh*, who worshipped all the Host of Heaven and served them, *2 Chron.* 33. 3. We read that in the Height of their Idolatry they burnt Incense to the Sun, and to the Moon, and to the Planets, and to all the Host of Heaven, *2 Kings* 23. 5. They not only

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† In adorando dextram ad osculum referimus. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* 1. 28. c. 2.

* *Præp. Evang.*

† *Dr. Tenison, Ch.*

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adored the brightest Luminary of Heaven, and the paler Moon, and the wandering Lights, but also all the fixed Stars, that is, the *Constellations* which were made out of them. For the Pagans of the East looked upon the Sun as the chief supreme God, and the other Luminaries as under Gods to him.

And a little after in the foresaid Chapter, *Ver. 11. the Horses and Chariots of the Sun* are mentioned, which was an Appendage of this kind of Idolatry. But whether they were real Horses and Chariots, or only Images of them, is disputed. Some of the *Jewish Doctors* are for the Affirmative, and say they were the Horses and Chariots on which the solemn Pomp was carried and acted when they worshipped the rising Sun, *from the entering in of the House of the Lord*, (i. e. from the Fore-gate of the Temple which was in the East, where the Sun-rising might soonest be espied) *to the Chamber of Nathan-Melech, which was in the Suburbs*, for so far the Proceffion reached. And truly it is clear that the *Persians* (from whom the Idolatrous *Jews* took this Practice) had living Horses dedicated to the Sun, and kept in Stables, which they brought out, and sacrificed to the Sun, as *Herodotus*, (*lib. 7.*) and *Philostratus* (in his *Apollonius*) tell us, and *Ovid* gives us the Reason of it, *Fast. l. 1.*

*Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Nè detur celeri victima tarda Deo.*

And the *Ethiopians* devoted the like to the Sun, saith *Heliodorus*, * *the swiftest Animal* to the swiftest God, as he speaks. And that this sort of Creatures was consecrated to that Fiery Racer among all the Eastern Idolaters, is witnessed by † *Pausanias*, † *Xenophon*, and * *Justin*. Notwithstanding this, † *Mr. Selden* and most of the Moderns are for the Negative, and understand by the Horses and Chariots of the Sun, the Images or Pictures of them dedicated to the Sun; but they have no other Reason for this Opinion but this, that the Idolaters dealt much in Images. I deny not that they had *Sun-Images*, for that is the Meaning of *Chammanim*, *Lev. 26. 30.* 2 *Chron. 14. 5.* *Isa. 27. 9.* i. e. Images, which the Worshipers of *Chammah*, that is, of the Sun, made and adored, and it may be they were Images or Representations of the Sun, which could be seen and worshipped when that Luminary was absent; but I leave it to the judicious to enquire further into it.

Of another Company of Idolaters among the *Jews* it is said, they worshipped the Sun toward the East, and that even in the Temple of the Lord, *Ezek. 8. 16.* Again, we read that they burnt Incense to the Queen of Heaven, (the Moon, which was called so by her Worshipers, for the Sun was reckoned by them to be King, and the Moon Queen) and poured out Drink-Offerings to her, and made Cakes to worship her, *Jer. 44. 19.* These *Cavanim* were certain Image-Cakes, i. e. they had impressed upon them the Effigies or Resemblance of the Goddess they worshipped, and are mentioned in profane History. The Greeks were wont to call this sort of Cakes *πικραν*. Thus the Heavenly Bodies were deified by the Idolatrous *Jews*, who derived this abominable Usage from the *Affyrians*, *Chaldeans* and *Persians*; as these (it is likely) borrowed it from the *Egyptians*, of whom let me speak particularly; for they were the first and original Worshipers of the Heavenly Luminaries.

They adored the Sun under the Name of *Orus* or *Horus*, which without doubt had its Derivation from *אור* *Lux, Sol.* And *Heliopolis*, a noted City in *Egypt*, (called *Beth-Shemesh*, i. e. the House of the Sun, *Jer. 43. 16.*) had its Name from the solemn Worship done to the Sun in this Part of the Countrey, where also its Temple was. To the Sun-worship they added that of the Moon, which with them was the same with *Isis*, saith *Plutarch*. And as for the Stars, it is agreed by all that they were notorious Adorers of them. The Signs of the Zodiack were called by them † *Θεοὶ βουλευταὶ* *Councillors Gods*, for they looked upon these twelve Constellations as a Council or Consistory of Gods. *St. Stephen* hath left it upon Record, that God gave them (i. e. the *Jews*) up to worship the Host of Heaven, *Acts 7. 42.* and immediately the Star of the God *Remphan* (or *Chiun*, as he is called *Amos 5. 26.*) is mentioned to prove this; for this *Remphan* was some old *Egyptian King* or Vice-roy that was very famous in that Nation, perhaps the same with *Osiris* (for the ancient Kings had usually two or three Names); and to honour him the more, they, according to the Fashion of those Days, placed him in Heaven, and made him a Star, and then worshipped him as such. It may be the same or some such Deity

* Τὸ τὰς
χίτων τὰς
ταχυτά-
τω θεῶν.
Æthiop.
10.
† In La-
conic.
‡ Instit:
Cyri. 1. 8.
* Hist.
L. 1. c. 10.
† De Dis
Syr. Synt.
2. c. 7.

† Cæl.
Rhodi-
gin. 1. 1.
c. 18.
Selden de
Dis Syr.
Proleg.
c. 3.

Deity was the *Dog-star*, the brightest of all the fixed Lights, called *Syrinx*, or the *Sirian Star*, and by the Egyptians *Siris* (perhaps for *Osiris*). This they adored, and to it they imputed the overflowing of Nile, which was about the Ascent of this Star. They revered it so highly as to swear *by the Dog-star*. || *Socrates*, and other great Philosophers did so, and they had it from Egypt, where this Star was in great Esteem, as well as all the Host of Heaven; for that Country above all others affording the Inhabitants very clear and bright Nights, gave them a full View of the Celestial Bodies, and their Propension to Idolatry made them attribute divine Honour to them.

Afterwards, the Greeks and Romans, and all other Nations adored the Sun, Moon and Stars, especially the foremost, whom * *Pliny* calls *the Life and Soul of the World*, and therefore he adds, *we can believe it to be no less than a God and divine Power*. He had said *the World is God*, and now, to be sure, the Sun is so too. Nay, *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, where he discourses of the Original of those Feasts, makes all the Gods to be the Sun. This was the Conceit of this Platonick Pagan, which he wittily made use of to save the *Polytheism* of those times. But he pretends not to evade the single Idolatry of those Worshippers; for he owns that they conceived the Sun to be the supreme *Numen*, and terminated their Worship on him. Nor indeed hath he (notwithstanding his great Attempts) proved that the Pagans were not guilty of having and worshipping *Many Gods*, for it is certain that the Vulgar (who were the greatest Numbers) thought those sixteen Deities which he mentions, and reduces to this one of the Sun, to be so many distinct Gods, and accordingly several sorts of Worship were exhibited to them. And moreover, there were sundry other Pagan Gods besides those whom he specifies; and there were female Deities likewise, which I suppose he would not pretend to reduce to *Apollo*. In short, this Writer (who on other Accounts deserves Praises) hath set on foot a very ridiculous Notion, and such as hath no Foundation at all, viz. That all the Gentile Gods were but *One*, and that *One* is the Sun; which it is impossible to reconcile with what the acute Philologers, Criticks, Philosophers, and Historians, have agreed upon, after their diligent Searching into the Names and Properties of the several Heathen Gods and Goddesses.

It is needless here to hale in Authors from Rome and Greece to attest their Sense of this shining Divinity, or particularly to shew what Veneration the Poets paid to this illustrious Deity whom they dubbed *Phæbus* and *Apollo*. It will be more pertinent and useful here to enquire into the pretended Reasons of that Worship which was given by the Pagans to the Heavenly Bodies, and more especially to the Sun.

First, Things were admired, and so came to be adored: Thus the Pagans contemplating the Celestial World, at last, from Admiration fell to worshipping it, and then the Sun, Moon, and Stars must be Gods. This is the Account that *Di-odorius Siculus* gives; * *They looked up, saith he, to Heaven, and admired the Nature of the Universe, and thought there were two eternal and first Gods, the Sun and Moon*. I know not how *Justin the Martyr*, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, came to say, *God gave the Sun to be worshipped*, unless it be meant thus, that this excellent Being was designed to be observed and studied, and thence unhappily it came to have Adoration given to it. The very Name of GOD among the Greeks sprang first of all,

|| *In Cratylus*. faith || *Plato*, from the orderly Motion of the Sun and Stars, these were called *Θεοὶ* *ἀπὸ τῆς Θεότητος* from the perpetual regular Course which the Spectators observed they kept. Thus this Idolatry commenced in Natural Philosophy.

Secondly, this undue Worship was partly advanced and promoted by that false Apprehension which the Heathens had concerning those Heavenly Bodies, viz. that they were alive and had Souls. † *Plato's* Judgment as to this is well known; and truly he might well take the Sun and Stars to be living Creatures, when he held that the whole World is an Animal. Perhaps the *Peripateticks* meant something of this Nature when they asserted the Motion of the Heavenly Orbes by *Intelligences*, by which perhaps they understood Intellectual Souls that actuated them. Nay indeed, not only Pagans, but some Jews, as *Philo* and *Maimonides*, were of this Opinion, the latter in his *More Nevochim*, the former in his *Treatise of Giants*, where he hath these Words, * *The Stars are all of them entirely pure and divine Souls*, and (observe what a goodly Reason or Consequence he adds)

* Καὶ ὅτι οἱ ψυχὰς ὅλαι δι' ὅλων ἀκέραιοι τε καὶ θεῖαι, παρ' ὧν καὶ κύκλῳ κινεῖνται καὶ συζυγίσσονται καὶ κίνησιν.

adds)

adds) therefore their Motion is circular, which Motion is most natural and proper to the *Soul*. Nay, this hath been the Opinion of some Christian Doctors, as * *Tertullian* and *Origen*, especially the latter, who in || three or four Places hath asserted the Sun and Stars to be rational Creatures. Now we may conceive how such an Apprehension as this might sway some, especially those of Pagan Principles, to a Belief of the Divinity of these Celestial Bodies. From the Persuasion of their being endued with Reason and Understanding, they might be inclined to a higher Esteem of them, and express it by an extraordinary Reverence to them. We may think this of the Pagans, when we find that there was a mungrel sort of Christians in the Emperor *Honorius's* Time (as appears from a † Title in the Code of *Justinian*) who worshipped the Heavens, whence they had their Name. And more lately *Car-dan* and *Vaninus* thought that the Sun was an intelligent Being, and a kind of God. Thirdly, The Sun and Moon were prized for their Usefulness, and so came to be adored; for that was the fond and irrational Humour of the Gentiles, to worship what was extraordinary useful and beneficial to them. We may imagine, that at first only, they held up their Hands to receive the kindly Heat of the Sun, and they cast up their Eyes that way whence the Warmth came; but at length these Postures proceeded further, viz. to kissing their Hands, and to lifting up their Hands and Eyes in Adoration of so great a Benefit. And further, when they considered the other great Advantages of this glorious Body, as its Light, its Influence, its animating and enlivening Power, and its absolute Necessity in the Life of Man, they were tempted to make a God of it. And the Moon was made a Goddess, and the Stars were deified by them for the same Reason, viz. * because of their Utility and Serviceableness. Here, by the way, I might observe what precious Thoughts flow from the Pen of a late celebrated Writer, † *The Pagans*, saith he, worshipped the Sun for his Light and Heat: And truly if I could have this same Notion of the Sun that they had, and which most People now have, I should think it reasonable, if not to worship him, yet at least to pay him some very peculiar Acknowledgment. This Christian Man, you see, is pretty forward to give Worship, or some thing like it, to the Sun; and the only thing that hinders him from doing it, is, that he holds (with his Tutor *Malebranch*) that the Sun yields neither Light nor Heat. Who will not conclude that this Gentleman's Divinity and Philosophy are of a piece?

Fourthly, They worshipped the Stars, because they fancied that their Great Men and their Gods were translated thither; whence we read of the *Star of the God Remphan*, of which I spake before; and it is well known that it was the Custom of the superstitious Gentiles, who were Adorers of their Kings and Princes, to place them among the Starry Bodies.

Lastly, As I have proved in another Place from several Instances, that the Pagans perverted many Passages which they met with in the ancientest Books of the Old Testament, or had by Tradition thence; so it is probable that in the present Case they did the same; when they read or heard that the Sun was to rule the Day, and the Moon to rule the Night, Gen. i. 16. to be Lords of the Day and Night, they understood them to be no less than Gods, and gave them a Respect suitable to that Apprehension.

But none of these things which I have named, could be a sufficient Occasion and Ground to them of bestowing Divine Honour on those glorious Bodies above; for though it was lawful for them, yea requisite, to contemplate and admire them, yet it was not so to adore them. Or, suppose they were endued with Life, yea with rational Souls, yet this could not legitimate their worshipping them. If Angels and Men (as hath been proved before) are excluded from that Honour, then there is no Reason to think that inferior Creatures, though they were intelligent, should have it conferred upon them.

And as for the Usefulness of them, this could be no Ground for any such extraordinary Deference, because there is not the least thing in Nature but is of some Use and Advantage in the World. And it should be considered that this Usefulness is from God. He giveth the Sun for a Light by Day, and the Moon and Stars for a Light by Night, Jer. 31. 35. And therefore it was rightly said by the Royal Psalmist, The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth his handy Work, Psal. 19. 1. his divine Art and Skill in framing them. There is no Reason then to think that the Heavenly Bodies are Gods; but there is all the Reason in the World

* Ep. 59.

ad Avit.

|| Homil.

28. in

Num.

Περὶ ἀσ-

τρίων lib. 1.

c. 7. Cont.

Cell. 1. 4.

† De Ju-

dæis, Cæ-

licolis, &

Samarita-

nis. Cod.

1. 1. c. 3. &

Cod. The-

odol. 1. 16.

Tit. 8.

* Διὰ τὴν

ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ

ὠφέλειαν.

Sext. Em-

pir. adv.

Mathem.

1. 8. c. 3.

† Mr.

Norris of

the Ideal

World,

Part 5.

p. 562.

to infer from these that there is a God. And how powerful soever their Influence and Operation are, these are also from God. What was *Joseph's* Dream, that the *Sun, Moon and Stars* made obeisance to him, is the greatest Reality, if applied to God, to whom all the Bodies of Heaven do their Devoir and Homage, moving all at his Beck, and scattering their Influences at his Command. He maketh *Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Chambers of the South*:—*who commandeth the Sun, and it riseth not, and sealeth up the Stars, as Job* speaks like a truly pious Astronomer, chap. 9. ver. 7, &c. God is the sole Commander of all the Host of Heaven, he marshals this huge Militia, and orders all its Artillery. What egregious Folly then was it in the Pagans to deify the Celestial Bodies?

Neither can their placing their *Heroes* among the Stars make them or those Stars adorable; but this is rather one Folly added to another. And as for the Sun and Moon's ruling the Night and Day, it must be meant only in a subordinate and inferior way, under their Supreme Ruler and Governour. It is said in the same place that God made those two great Lights, but they cannot be made by God, and be Gods themselves.

Under this Head might be mentioned those petty Deities, *Aurora*, the Sister forsooth of the Sun and Moon, and *Iris*, who was *Juno's* Messenger, as *Mercury* was of *Jupiter*. She was said to be the Daughter of *Tbaumantis*, because, saith * *Tully*, the Rain-bow is so admirable a Spectacle. This Motley Goddess, this gay female Deity drew all Eyes to look upon her, and the beautiful Variety of her Colours caused Veneration. But we who have the Sacred History, know 'tis the Sign of a Covenant between God and Man, and therefore the Sight of it assures us of the Being of God, and of his merciful Designs to Mankind: but we may gather thence that it is not a God it self, and consequently not to be adored.

* De Nat. Deor. 1.3.

Thunder and Lightning (as well as *Jupiter* himself, the Commander and Manager of them) were a sort of *Numina* among the deluded Gentiles of old. And even among the late *Peruvians* *Thunder* is a God, and the chiefest next to the Sun, as *Acofta* tells us. And according to those who imagined that *Fear and Dread* first made Gods in the World, it is no wonder that these terrible Meteors were deified. But we are instructed from the Sacred Writ that *Thunder* is the Voice of God, *Psalm* 29. 3, 7. and thence we rationally infer that it cannot be a God.

From the Heavens I will descend to the Earth, and shew yet further, that that (as well as other things) administered Matter to the Pagans for Idolatry. The Earth it self was a Goddess, and worshipped under the Names of *Tellus, Vesta, Ceres, Flora, Berecynthia, Rhea, Cybele, Ops, Isis, Proserpina*,

* Thence called γαῖα πολ-
λῶν ὀνομάτων. Æschil.

† Μητήρ μὲν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. Orph.

—Hominum Divūmq; æterna
creatrix. Stat. in Thebaide.

more * Names than any other God or Goddess ever had; and besides, she was called the Good Goddess, the Good Mother, the Great Mother, and the † Mother of Gods and Men. For it seems as there was the Father of the Gods (which sometimes they tell us was *Jupiter*, and at other times *Sleep*, &c.) so there was the Mother of them, namely, the Earth; for they were not ashamed to make their Gods Sons of the Earth.

But that which I more particularly take notice of here is, that the great and

General Name which is given to the Earth, is that of *Mother*. Besides what hath been cited already, there is abundant Proof of this from other Pagan Authors. Even that Great Title of all which is bestowed on *Ceres*, to wit, Δημήτηρ is as much as Γημήτηρ, Mother Earth. The original Ground of which was, I conceive, the History of *Moses* concerning the forming of Man out of the Earth, and other the like Passages in Holy Writ (for I have often in this Discourse observed, that the Pagans borrowed many things from the Scriptures of the Old Testament) and particularly that which is said in that antient Book of *Job*, Chap. 1. ver. 21. Naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and naked shall I return thither, that is, into the Earth, the common Mother: I shall as it were pass from one Mother to another; for the Earth is the Mother of all things, as the wise Son of *Sirach* expresses it, *Ecclesiast.* 40. 1. and more especially it is the Parent of Man; for out of it he was taken, *Gen.* 3. 19. From this antient Narrative, and from this old received manner of Ex-

† Nos nascentes excipit, natoque alit, semelque editos sustinet semper, novissime complexa

pression it is probable the Heathen Writers gave the Earth the Title of *Mother*. Which *Pliny* thus comments upon, † "It is the Earth, saith he, that receives us when we first come in-
" to the World, and nourishes us when we are born, and be-
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"ing once brought forth, sustains us always, and at last embraces us in her Bosom, when we are forsaken of all other things in Nature. And truly this is the most natural way of disposing our Bodies when we die, for thus they are resolved into their first Principles, and go back to that from whence they came, according to that first Appointment, *Gen. 2. 19. Dust thou art, and to Dust shalt thou return.*

It is true, all the Elements have been made use of to this purpose by one People or other: the *Fine* as well as Earth; as we read that the *Jews* sometimes (tho' seldom) burnt the Bodies of their Dead, *1 Sam. 31. 12. 2 Chron. 16. 14.* and with the *Greeks* and *Romans* it was the most usual and frequent way of treating the dead Bodies. The *Water* was made use of likewise, for we are *told that the *Hyperboreans*, i. e. those who live near the Arctick Pole, and the Inhabitants of *Ethiopia* called *Ichthyophagi*, flung their dead Corps into the Sea, or into Lakes and Rivers; these latter committing their Bodies to that Element to which they were so indebted, for they fed altogether on Fish. As for the Air, that also hath been chosen; for the antient *Scythians* and *Tartars*, as *Ortelius* acquaints us, hung up their Dead in it: and the same was done by the Inhabitants of *Colchos*, saith *Olaus*. Nay, I have read of one Country where they use all those Ways of bestowing the Bodies of the Deceased: in *Siam*, a Kingdom of the *East Indies*, they desire to be committed to that Element which they worshipped most: accordingly some of them are buried in the Earth, some cast into the Water, some hung on Trees in the Air, others are burnt. But it is certain that the most received and antient Receptacle of dead Bodies is the *Earth*. The old Patriarchs, of whom the Sacred Records speak, were thus disposed of when dead. *Moses's* Body, by the Order of God himself, was committed to the Ground: and all the Eastern Nations, *Hebrews*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, &c. used *Interment* at first, this being the most fitting and proper way of bestowing the Body, and all the others being but a deviating from the first Institution, that Man should return to the Earth, to the Place whence he was taken. Which is also observed by *Solomon*, *Ecc. 12. 7. Then shall the Dust return to the Earth, as it was.* And *Lucretius* hath copied out *Solomon*,

*Cedit enim retro de terrâ quod fuit ante
In terram.*

But this by the bye.

I now return to speak of that *Veneration* which was given by the Gentiles to the *Earth*. We read that *Numa Pompilius* built a Round Temple to her (the Figure of this Terrestrial Globe) under the Name of *Vesta*: and that this *Earthly Goddess* was worshipped as if she were from Heaven, *Tully*, *L. Florus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others bear witness. *Tacitus* meant this Deity when he relates there was a Temple to **Herthas* or *Hertha* (for the Pagan Deities change Sexes as they please) * *Herthum*, id est, *Terram Matrem* or *Matrem* of the *Saxons* our Ancestors, and we at this Day call *Earth*.

The Occasion why it had this Honour given it by the Pagans may be this, because they saw that Metals and Minerals, and the greatest Riches of the World, were taken out of its Bowels, and that all sorts of Grain, Plants, Flowers, Fruit, were the Products of it. This was enough to make this Great Big-bellied Mother a Goddess. Nay, she might well be said to be the Mother even of the Gods, seeing some of those things that came out of her are Gods also, as you shall hear anon: for this reason they deified their Fields, and their very Ground was a Goddess, because of the Advantage they had by it. But this is no True Reason why they should act thus; for, as hath been said before, the Usefulness of a thing is no ground for the Adoring it. One is of opinion that the superstitious Adoration of the Earth was occasioned by the Flood, and that it was in remembrance of this Universal Deluge, which laid the Earth waste. But it is more probable that the Deluge itself, which caused such a wonderful and terrible Devastation, should have been solemnly commemorated, and, after the Pagan Mode, worshipped. And as for the Reverence paid to the Earth, we must impute it (besides what hath been already mentioned) to the Luxuriancy of their prophane Fancies, which taught them to deify any thing, and to worship even that which they tread upon.

Next, we are to observe that *Water* was esteemed a Deity; yea, this prolifick Element stock'd them with whole Sholes of Gods and Goddeses. *Oceanus* was the antientest of the Marine Godheads, and was reckoned the Sovereign of the Seas; yea, the very Father of the Gods themselves, as *Orpheus* in his *Hymns*, and *Hesiod* in his *Theogonia* represent him; for you must know (and I have hinted it more than once) that the Heathen Gods had more *Fathers* than one, which is not a little scandalous. His Name is generally derived from *ὠκεός*, because of the rapid Motion of the Sea. But I think the truest Origination is from *ὠκυλῶς*, so that *ὠκεανός* is *ὠκυλῶς*. Now, the Word *ὠκυλῶς* was the antient primitive Word for the *Sea*, as we learn from *Lycophron* in *Alexandra*, and *Pherocydes Syrus*, quoted by *Clement Alexandr. Strom. 6.* and *Hesychius*, who interprets *ὠκυλῶς* by *ὠκεανός*. And 'tis probable that this Greek Word *ὠκυλῶς* hath its Rise from the *Phœnician* Og, which is used to signify the whole *Compass of Seas* on the Face of the Earth. This *Oceanus*, the God of the Seas, had two hopeful Sons, *Nereus* and *Palaemon*, true *Tarpaulins*, born and bred on the briny Waves, and numbred among the Sea-Gods.

There was also *Neptune* with his *Trident*, the Great Admiral of the Seas, whom we find surnamed *ἱπποδάμειος*, being deemed the Overseer of *Horse-races*. But what is the meaning of this? Must we let in the *Sea* upon *New-market Heath*? One would think this should refer to *Sea-horses*, and indeed *Neptune's Chariot* was drawn by * such: but it was the Pleasure of the Antients that he should preside over other *Horses* as well as those. But what may be the Reason of this, since these (if we mean by them *Land-horses*) seem not to belong to his Watry Province, and since *Seamen* are not celebrated for the best *Riders*? We must note then that there is a Metaphorical *Horsmanship* intended, and † *Phurnutus* tells us what it is, when he acquaints us that *Neptune* had the Title of *ἵππεος ἄρχηγος* *Horsman*, because of the Swiftnes of Navigation: Ships at Sea resemble *Horses* on Land. And it may be remembered that the || *Ocean* was thought to have its Denomination from its *Celerity*. But why *Neptune* is called *Confus* the *Counsellor*, or the *God of Councils* (as we find in * *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and in *Livy*, and other Writers) I leave it to be determined by a Council of Flag-Officers, or the Court of Admiralty. It is easier to understand the Meaning of his Epithets *ἐνοσίχθων* and *σεισίχθων*, i. e. *Earth-shakers*; for from the Principles of Natural Philosophy we know the Reason of it, especially from the History of *Earthquakes* we have learned what Power and Force the Waters of the Deep have upon the Land.

Triton, the Son of *Neptune*, was according to the Poets Sea-heraldry another Water-God, though he was half Man and half Fish. Mr. *Selden* holds *Dagon*, the *Phœnician* Idol, to be the same. They represent this Sea-Trumpeter with a prodigiously sounding Instrument, much louder than the lately invented *Trump-Marine*; for (if you will believe † *Virgil* and || *Ovid*) it could be heard in both the Hemispheres.

Proteus was another Son of *Neptune* or the *Ocean*, to whose Care the Sea-Calves (a very considerable Province) were committed by him. This was a strange shifting Deity, that had a Faculty of transforming himself into any Figure: Which perhaps (if I may be free in offering my Conjecture) in the first Meaning of it (for their *Polytheism* was sometimes founded on Causes and Effects in Nature) denoted the perpetual Changeableness of the Sea, and its continual Flux and Reflux. This I conceive may be the original Import of *Proteus*, or the *Sea-Vertumnus*. But by the bye we may remember that there was a *Land-Vertumnus*, a God worshipped among the *Romans* for his Skill and Activity in changing himself into all Forms, and imitating any thing whatsoever. If *Clinch of Barnet* had lived in those Times, he would certainly have put in for another *Vertumnus*.

Glaucus was another swimming *Numen*; for though he was at first a Fisherman, yet he was turned into a Sea-God.

Hither we may refer *Portunus*, the God of Harbours and Havens, and *Castor* and *Pollux*, Twin-Deities, that were worshipped as Gods of the Seas. As I have said before, that some Parts of Idolatry were grounded on the Things of Nature, so here I have occasion to repeat it; for perhaps at first there was no more intended by *Castor* and *Pollux*, than those *Meteors* which bear their Names, and appear to Saylor, and sit on the Masts of their Ships, of which they observe, that if both appear together, they betoken a lucky Voyage; but if one only, it bodes some dangerous Tempest. But Paganism, which coyn'd Gods out of any thing, and

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* *Virgil. Georg. 1. 4. Stat. Theb. 1. 2.*

† *De Nat. Deor.*

|| *Ab ὠκεός.*

* *Lib. 2.*

† *Æn. 10. Metam. 1. 1.*

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at Luca*

shaped false and counterfeit Deities out of Realities, took occasion to do so here; and feigned these Διόσκειροι to be *Tutelar Deities* of *Mariners*, and therefore their Help was invoked by them, and their Images were erected on their Ships.

We read that St. Paul sailed in one of these Vessels that had the Sign of Castor and Pollux, *Acts* 28. 11. that is, the Effigies of those Twin-Gods were placed on the fore Part of the Ship, and were according to the Pagan Superstition designed to be a * Divine Safeguard to it. This indeed is observable out of very good Authorities, that the Sign of some God or Goddess was wont to be placed on the Prows of the Ships, and thence the Ships generally had their Names, as *Servius* on *Æn.* 10th Book takes notice. *Tutela* was the Word used by the Antients for this Sign: Thence in *V. Flac. Argonaut.* l. 1.

Coronata fulgens Tutela carina.

And it was called so, because it signified under what God or Goddess's Protection the Ships were. *Herodotus* lets us know (in his 4th Book) that these Naval Signs were stiled by the Phœnicians Παλαίη; and *Hesychius* explains the Word thus, † The Παλαίη Pataci, saith he; were the Phœnician Gods whom they set upon the fore Parts of their Ships. *Bochart* very acutely conjectures, that this Phœnician Word is derived from פתח Pethica, *Titulus*, which plainly discovers the Nature of those Pathæci. Now here we see that the Holy Apostle so far complied with the common Practice and Language, that he refused not to be carried in a Vessel that had a Heathen Name and Badg, and he declined not to call it by that Name himself; which reproves the Over-niceness of those that boggle at the mentioning of the Names of the Days of the Week by which they are commonly known and called, because they are of Heathenish Extraction.

There were also Female Deities that belonged to the Sea, as old *Dame Tethys* that was the Parent of the Gods; for as the Ocean was their Father, so this was their Mother, according to *Homer's* Pedigree of them, who mentions

Ωκεανόν τε Θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τήβιν.

|| Il. 5.

There was likewise *Amphitrite*, Neptune's Spouse, which must be reckoned another Liquid Goddess: And there were the *Nereides* and *Naiades*, that frequented Seas and Rivers. And *Venus* might be brought in here too; for she was ἀφροδίτη (as *Musæus* stiles her) of Sea-extraction, born of the Ocean's Froth (which may give an Account of her Lightness) and thence call'd *Aphrodite*.

From the Sea we may pass to the Rivers, and there observe how the Pagan Worshipers made farther Accessions to their Idolatry. To pass by *Styx*, *Acheron*, &c. the worshipful Rivers of Hell, I will offer such Instances as are not grounded on Poetick Fiction. Concerning the antient *Parthians*, a credible

Historian lets us know, that the * principal Gods that they worshipped were Rivers. Concerning the *Persians*, another noted Historian relates the same; † of all things (saith he) they worship Rivers most. And *Clement of Alexandria*, and others, add their Suffrage to this Testimony. Not to mention the *Indians*, who expressed no less than a Divine Reverence to their *Ganges*, I will content my self with adding only the Practice of the *Egyptians*. Nothing is more honoured by them, saith || *Plutarch*, than their River Nile. It was called the

* Egyptian Jupiter, as *Athenæus* informs us. And therefore we need not wonder at *Lucan's* high Rant concerning Egypt,

Terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Aut Jovis, in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.

Thus Paraphrased,

Egypt is with her own rich Goods content,
And needs not foreign Traffick to augment
Her homebred Store. Nor doth she want or crave
Jove's constant Show'rs, which others beg to have.

* In superstitionibus atq; curâ deorum præcipua annibus veneratio est. *Just. Hist.* l. 41. c. 3.

† Σέβον ποταμούς τὴν πάντων μάλιστα. *Herodot.* l. 1.

De Il.
& Osir.
* Αἰγύπτου
Ζεὺς
Νεῖλος.
Deipnosoph.

Her

*Her only Hope being placed in Nile's Descent,
She prays that this may have a happy Vent,
And on her Grounds may plentifully fall,
For Nile to her is Jupiter, and all.*

On this account they shewed an extraordinary Respect to these Waters, and ascribed Divinity to them.

What if I should say that this is meant by these Words in *Exod. 7. 15.* concerning Pharaoh? *Lo, he goeth out unto the Water,* called the River in the next Clause? It relates to his going from his Palace to Nile (which was on the Backside of it) to pay his Adoration to it. Which is again mentioned *Chap. 8. v. 20.* *Lo he cometh forth to the Water,* to let us see that it was his frequent and daily Course to repair to Nile on this account. And you may observe, that both here, and in the former Places, it is said, He did this *in the Morning*: Whence we may gather, that this was the early Devotion which was paid to Nile by its Worshipers. They thought themselves not blessed the ensuing Day, if they neglected this Homage in the Morning. Such was the Veneration they had for this River. Whence we cannot but imagine how grievous and dreadful a Plague that first and leading one was which was inflicted by God on Egypt, viz. the turning of the Waters of Nile into Blood; which they so highly prized and revered as a God. I remit the Reader to our admirable * Antiquary, who gives a particular Account of the Adoration given to it.

* De Dis
Syr. Syn-
tag. 1.

The Reason of this Element's receiving this Honour from the Pagans, was because it was thought, according to *Thales's* Opinion, to be the Original of all Things. But the main and most obvious Reason, was the extreme Usefulness of it. We cannot mention any thing which is of Use in the Life of Man, that is more advantageous, and even necessary than this: And hence the Gentile World was tempted to attribute Divinity to it. Particularly as to the River Nile, two things made it to be deified; its Terribleness, and its Usefulness. The former of these hath not been taken Notice of by Writers; but, in my Opinion, it deserves it. For Nile in its Course through many Provinces and Kingdoms collecting the Rain-Waters which come from the Mountains, and receiving into it many great Rivers, becomes at last very formidable, and even masterless. And the Descent of it could not but be with great Terror, because it fell down from high Rocks with its whole Amassment of Waters: By which Fall the dreadful Cataracts were made. And this frightened the People into an Opinion that it was a God, and must be adored by all means. Then as to the Usefulness of Nile, it is certain that upon the Waters of it, and the Rivers that belonged to it, and were made by it, and the Pools that it left behind it, the whole Fruitfulness of that Country depended. They seldom had Rain, but this River served then instead of it, and all the Fertility of their Grounds was owing to the Overflowing of these slimy Waters; which mightily enriched and fatned the Soil; and this was the Occasion of their deifying of them. And even in Europe, and those Places where no such Idolatry prevails, it is a Custom to adorn Aqueducts, Cisterns, and Spouts, with *Lyons Heads*, which is taken from the *Egyptians*, it is probable; for it was at the *Suns* being in *Leo* that Nile was at its full, and Water was conveyed into every Part of the Land: In Recognizance of which, their Conduits, and all other Conveyances of Water, bore this Badge upon them.

* Stagna
quædam
vel opaci-
tas, vel
immen-
sa
altitudo
facravit.
Epist. 41.

But all this, or whatever more can be said concerning the Terror or the Advantage of any Rivers, and of the Sea it self, and the whole Element of Water, yields no just Occasion for giving Divine Honour to them. The more Admirable and Dreadful, the more Profitable and Useful they are, the greater Reverence and Adoration are to be given to the Author of them. These are the Works of God, and therefore not God himself. It is an Argument of the perverse Imaginations, and depraved Judgments of the Gentile World, to confound the Cause and the Effect. Besides, it was not the Use they had of the Waters which always produced this Idolatry; for even *standing Waters*, of no Advantage at all, were venerated, as we learn from * *Seneca*. They must have their Watry Gods, either *standing* or *moving*.

To let you see that the Gentiles made Gods of contrary things, I will proceed to shew that they worshipped not only Water, but Fire. The Chaldeans were noted for

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for this, they religiously kept a *Fire* always burning, and expressed a great Respect to it, even such as was divine. Some think that this sacred *Fire* was kept in that City which they called *Ur*, from *Ur ignis*. The *Persians* likewise, though they had many Gods, yet worshipped this Element chiefly. We heard before from *Herodotus*, that they were great Adorers of Water and Rivers; and now it is as evident that they gave the same Reverence to *Fire*. *Strabo* saith, that at their Sacrifices they ^{* "Οτω δ' αὖ θύσασσι θεῶν, πρῶτον τῷ πυρὶ δὲ χον-} prayed to it in the first Place, and that their Magicians † preserved a constant *Fire*, which they reckoned as Divine. And the Reason was, because it was a Symbol and Representation of the *Sun*, their principal Deity. In worshipping of that they worshipped this, this being a great and immense Globe of *Fire*. Yea, at this very Day (as modern Travellers acquaint us) there are in the Great *Mogul's* Territories *Persees*, the Posterity of the ancient *Persians*, who worship *Fire*, for which Reason they are called *Gaures*, i. e. Fire-worshippers. And as *Fire* was the *Chaldeans* and *Persians* God, so it was that (amongst the rest) of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and was called by the former *Estia*, (it may be from *Esh ignis*) and by the latter *Vesta*. It is true, *Vesta* was the *Earth*, of which we spake before, but there was another *Vesta*, the same with *Fire*, as || *Tully* hath particularly remarked, and † *Ovid* puts it out of all Question, saying,

* "Οτω δ' αὖ θύσασσι θεῶν, πρῶτον τῷ πυρὶ δὲ χον-
Geogr. l. 15.
† πῦρ ἀσ-
Cesov πυ-
λάτῃσι οἱ Μάγοι,
Ibid.
|| De Nat. Deor. l. 2.
† Fast. lib. 6.

Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellige Flammam.

* It had a Temple at *Rome*, in which was always kept a *Fire* in Earthen Vessels hung up, and certain Virgins were appointed to take care that it should never be extinguished. This Temple served both the *Vesta's*, only with this Distinction, the *Earth* was represented by the Roundity of this sacred Place; and the *Fire* was denoted by the Situation in the middle, to express the proper Place of *Fire*, which is in the Center of the *Earth*; of which a Learned and industrious Naturalist hath offered some Account, and promises to make a farther Discovery of this central Heat and Nourishment of the *Earth*, which was not wholly unknown to the Ancients, as appears by this Temple; for it may easily be proved that there was a Dash of Philosophy at the bottom of several of their superstitious Usages and Practises.

* Valer. Max. l. 5. c. 4.

The Reasons why the Pagans had such a religious Regard for *Fire* were these three; first, (as was suggested before) it represented the *Sun*, which was a Catholic God among all the Pagans. Secondly, its irresistible Power and Might caused it to be worshipped. The *Chaldeans* bragged that their God *Fire* consumed all, it got the Mastery of every thing. Thirdly, the Usefulness of it rendered it adorable; for (as we have already noted) what-ever was very beneficial, was by the Gentile Idolaters advanced to a divine Dignity. When they observed the Necessity of it in their Houses upon various Occasions, it is no wonder that they made an Addition to their Deities; it is not strange that the *Chaldean's* God was in his Chimney, and upon his Hearth, and in his Oven; and that other Gentiles also worshipped a God who was so serviceable to them in roasting, boiling and baking. But these are vain Pretences, and false Reasonings; and from what hath been before suggested, the Reader knows how to confute and baffle them.

There is another Element which was taken into the Number of the Heathen Gods, and that was the *Air*; for it is not to be denied that this was worshipped under the Names of *Jupiter* and *Juno*. And *Eccho*, which is but Air reverberated, was a Goddess. To this the *Wind* is allied; accordingly *Aeolus* is famous in the Poets both *Greek* and *Latin*; especially * *Homer* and † *Virgil* describe this Blowing Puffing Deity. At *Rome* Altars and Temples were erected to *Tempests*, saith the great || *Latin* Orator, after a Deliverance from great Dangers by Winds at Sea. The Winds were worshipped by the *Persians*, say *Herodotus* and *Strabo*; by the *Sicyonii* saith *Pausanias*. The *Athenians* built an Altar to *Boreas*; and from *Virgil* we learn that Sacrifices were offered to *Zephyrus*. And another sort of Wind or Air (to the eternal Shame of Idolaters be it spoken) was made a God, as *Pliny* himself confesses; with whom concur * *Clement* the Roman, and *Minutius Felix*. These assure us that *Crepitus Ventris* was adored by some of the Heathens, and particularly the last of these Authors tells us that it was so by the *Egyptians*. *St. Jerome* in his Comment on *Isa.* 46. saith the same. Of late, among the Coins and Copper Images of *Monsieur Boudelot* in *Paris*, there is that of a *Deus Crepitus*, with

* Odyss. 10.
† Æn. 1.
|| De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

* Recognit. l. 5.

a radiated Crown about it. It is an *Ethiopian* Piece, and of great Antiquity. The worshipping of *Garlicks* and *Onions* might dispose the *Egyptians* to a good liking of so fetid a Deity. Besides, this *Crepitus* or *Flatus Ventris* was adorable for those common Reasons before mentioned; because being discharged it is *healthful* to the Body, but being suppressed it is *hurtful*; for these were the Rules of Canonizing or Deifying; but I have more than once shewed the *Unreasonableness* of them.

Thus the Elements, and whatever had Relation to them, were Godded by the wild and fantastick Worshippers among the Gentiles. But that these and other inanimate Creatures before-mentioned should be worshipped by them, is certainly a thing very irrational, and such as human Understanding (if in any Measure rectified) must needs recoil at; for besides that the Being which is adored by us must be of a higher Degree than our selves, no Being can be the Object of Worship but that which is intelligent; because we are to pray to that Being which we worship, and it is supposed that the same is sensible of what we pray for, and knows what we do, and regards the Addresses which we make: Wherefore to adore such Beings as have no Life or Sense is highly absurd, and every ways inexcusable.

VII. But if they worshipped those things that are *inanimate*, we cannot wonder that they made *living Creatures*, (though void of Reason) Gods. And that is the next thing I will represent to the Reader. As they fancied there was a particular God that was the Giver of *Life*, whom they called *Vitunus*, and another that was the Giver of the *Senses*, whose Name was *Sentinus*, so they worshipped *Brutes*

* De Idolat. l. 1. c. 29.

† Hierozoic. p. 1. l. 2.

|| De Diss. Syr. Synt. 1. cap. 4.

† De Rationib. Leg. Heb.

* The Truth and Authority of Scripture, c. 6.

† Oeds Arguoli- ois'evpye- cal'G, A- lian.

|| Hierozoic. Par. 1. l. 2. c. 34.

in whom they discerned these Gifts and Qualities. There is scarcely any Beast which hath not been adored among Idolaters; but the *Egyptians* were the most infamous of all for this. There is abundant History (as you may see it made Use of by those great critical Genius's, * *Vossius*, † *Bochart*, || *Selden*, † *Spencer*) to prove that this People kept a couple of *Living Oxen*, (whom they called *Apis* and *Mnevis*) and worshipped them; but especially one of them (a Symbol, as is thought, of the Patriarch *Joseph*, who was deservedly represented by an Oxe, as I have shew'd on * another Occasion) was counted † a very effectual God among the *Egyptians*, and was most formally worshipped by them as long as he lived; and after his Death he was solemnly lamented, till another was found with the like Marks; and then the foolish People thought the old one was returned from the Bottom of *Nile*; for we must know that this *Egyptian Oxe*, when ever it died, was said to be drowned in that River. In allusion perhaps to which, and in way of Reproach, and upbraiding them for that solemn Submersion of the Oxe or Calf, (for that famous *Egyptian Beast* is called *μὲν ΧΘ* a Calf, by *Herodotus* as well as by the Septuagint) *Moses* ground the *Israelites Calf* to Powder, and scattered it on the Water; and King *Josiah* imitating *Moses* cast the Ashes of the burnt Idols and Altars into the Brook of *Kidron*, 2 Kings 23. 12.

The Learned *Bochart* will not admit that the Calf which the *Israelites* made, was borrowed from *Egypt*, and that *Joseph* was worshipped there under that Form; and he || gives this Reason, because it is said, *There arose up a new King that knew not Joseph*, *Exod.* 1. 8. and another after him tyrannized over the *Israelites*, and abused them in a most inhuman Manner; whence he infers that *Joseph* was not reputed a God among the *Egyptians* in those Days, nor his Memory preserved and honoured under the Figure of an Oxe. But such an Inference cannot rightly be made; for though we grant that those wicked and impious Kings gave themselves up to the Exercise of Tyranny and Cruelty, which extinguished their Esteem and Regard of *Joseph*, (and indeed we cannot think otherwise, if we consider the Character that is given of these *Pharaoh's*, and if we remember how they made it their Business to weaken the Power of the *Israelites*, and to use them as mere Slaves, that they might have the Benefit of all their Labour and Drudgery; so that Covetousness, as well as Tyranny and Barbarity, made them forget and disregard *Joseph* their renowned Benefactor.) Yet notwithstanding this, we may easily think that the Generality of the People were not thus oblivious and disrespectful to their great Preserver, but revered the foresaid Symbol, and retained the Memory of the original Occasion of it. These things are not inconsistent; and therefore, though it is recorded in *Exodus*, that the Kings who successively ascended the Throne after *Joseph's* Death, were forgetful of him, and (which is more) most cruelly treated his Kindred, yet this contradicts not what *Vossius* and other Great

* In Euterpe.
† De Nat. Deor. l. i. & de
Leg. l. i. || De If. & Of.
‡ Sat. 15.

† Hiero-
zoic. p. 1.
l. 2. c. 53.

* Lib. 1.
adv. Ju-
dæos.
† De ve-
râ sapi-
ent. c. 10.
‖ In Hof.
c. 4.
‡ Lib. 3.

* Σίλον
 ὁ πάσας
 τὰς αἵτας,
 καὶ μᾶλλον
 τὴν ἀρετή-
 νας, ib. 2.
 † ὁ δὲ βί-
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|| Ἡν ζῆ-
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In Imagi-
nibus.
† Geogr.
lib. 17.

†* Lib. 17.

*† Sympof. quæft. l. 4. qu. 5.

* Vos & totos afinos in ftabulis cum veftrâ Hipponâ confecratis, & eofdem afinos cum Ifide religiofe decoratis.

† ἱερεὺς ὅτι τὸ ζῷον ἁγία Κησίου. || Sympof. l. 4.

to Weefels and Mice. That the Egyptians worshipped the Field-Mice is attested by †* Strabo and *† Plutarch. The Romans worshipped an *Ass*, as we learn from Octavius * in Minutius Felix. And it appears, that the Egyptians also paid Worship to this Animal. Some Writers have asserted that the Pagans worshipped all Animals but the Hog; but this is a Mistake; for it is evident from Athenæus, that this Creature † was sacred among the Cretians. And || Plutarch lets us know that Swine were worshipped.

I must add under this Head, that the Egyptians bestowed Divinity not only on this sort of Brutes, but on their Images. They worshipped not only Living Beasts, † Lib. 1. but they erected Statues to them when they were dead, as † Mela testifies; and c. 9. they reckoned the very Figures and Proportions of them, though never so strange and monstrous, as sacred and venerable. Besides the living Oxe or Calf which the Egyptians worshipped (of which I made mention before) they had Images of it, to which they gave the same Reverence. So the Israelites being corrupted by the Egyptian Idolatry, made a Golden Oxe or Calf, and worshipped it. Jeroboam's two Calves erected in Dan and Bethel were of the same Nature, and were borrowed from the Egyptian Idolaters; (for you may observe, that Jeroboam, who set these up, was lately come from Egypt, where he had lived a considerable time, 1 Kings 11. 40.) they were in Imitation of Apis and Mnevis, the two Oxen or Calves worshipped by that People. And now the ten Tribes built and consecrated Temples, shall I say, or Stalls to them; and now it was not running to the Horns of an Altar, but of a Heifer. This vile Apostacy and Idolatry having been set on Foot by Jeroboam, was propagated by succeeding Kings, and now shamefully prevailed in Israel, yet so as they pretended to worship the true God at the same time, which I conceive is the Meaning of, Let the Men that sacrifice kiss the Calves, i. e. let the Worship of God and the Calves be joined together, according to Jeroboam's Order; for Sacrificing in this Place signifies the true Service of God, and Kissing denotes the Adoring of the Idols. I might observe, that the Images of several of those other Animals before mentioned were erected in order to the worshipping them, and those of Apis more particularly: And even * Modern Writers take Notice, that in the East Indies, not only live Apes are in their Temples, but among their Pagods there are frequently to be seen the Images of Apes.

* Maffæus Hist. Ind. l. 1.

† Julian. Orat. 5.

|| L. 2.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 10. c. 28.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.

* Σέβας ὁ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἱερεὺς. Al. Hist. An. l. 10. c. 24.

† Geograph. lib. 17.

|| Lib. 1.

† Cont.

Celf. l. 4.

* Hist.

Indic. l. 3.

† Diod.

Sic. l. 2.

|| Οὗς οἱ Σέβας Θεὸς ἐνὸς μίζον. Exped. Cyr. l. 1.

* Τὰς ἰχθύας ἔτω σέβας πρὸς αὐτὰς ὡς ἁγία. Clem. Al. Protrept.

† 1 Sam. 5. 2.

But hitherto I have spoken only of Terrestrial Animals, and such as are four-footed; now I will mention others, as Birds and Fishes. Some of the former were held † sacred among the Egyptians. In the East a Dove was worshipped as a Goddess, faith || Diodorus the Sicilian, because, as he adds, Semiramis was turned into a Dove. The Egyptians paid the like Respect to the Bird † Ibis, which was somewhat like a Stork, and fed on Locusts and Snakes. The Stork was in great Esteem and Veneration among the Inhabitants of Thessaly, as also those People of Egypt that were called * Tentyritæ. Another People on the Borders of Ethiopia and Egypt worshipped this Creature, faith † Strabo. The People of Thebes paid a Reverence to the Eagle, according to || Diodorus Siculus. The Eagle and Hawk were looked upon as sacred by the Egyptians faith † Origen. A Bat is a sacred Creature among the Inhabitants of Mexico, faith * Gryfald.

But the watry Animals had generally the greatest Honour done them both by the Syrians and Egyptians. Concerning the former, a † noted Historian just now mentioned acquaints us, that they abstained from that sort of Creatures, and worshipped them as Gods. And we are told by Xenophon, that the River Chalus in Syria was full of great and tame Fish, || which the Syrians took to be Gods. And one of the learnedst Fathers of the Christian Church avers concerning them and the Syro-Phœnicians, that * they worshipped Fishes with as great Veneration as the Grecians do Jupiter. The ancient Records of the Old Testament make Mention of † Dagon, the Fish-God or Goddess of the Philistines, whose Temple was at Ashdod (or Azotus) a City of Palestine. It had its Name from Dag, Piscis, because it was partly in the Shape of one; so that it is looked upon by the best Criticks as a Mermaid Deity. It is thought to be the same with Atergatis or Derceto, of which the Historian thus relates; || In Ascalon is the Temple of the Goddess Derceto, having a human Face, but resembling a Fish in the other Parts of her Body. It is very probable, that the Natural

|| Diod. Sic. l. 3.

Natural Historian means the same, when he tells us, that * *Ceto*, in the Shape of * Colitur a Fish with a Woman's Face, was worshipped by the People of *Joppa*. *Dagon* and illic fabu- *Ceto* are the same, and *Joppa* was not far off from *Azotus*; so there might be the lola Ceto. *Mistake*. From the *Syrians* worshipping of this Idol perhaps it was, that they Plin. l. 5. abstained from Fish, saith the Great *Selden*. It may be the Great Orator refers c. 22. to this, when he relates, that * the People of *Syria* have a very great Veneration for a certain Fish.

As to the later, viz. the *Egyptians*, it is no wonder that they who worshipped *Nile*, esteemed the Brood of it as sacred. * *Strabo* testifies this; and † he, and ‖ *Diodore* the *Sicilian*, and †† *Tully*, and †* *Joseph* the *Jew*, and ‖‖‖ *Philo* of the same Religion, agree in their Testimony about the *Crocodile*, viz. that this Man-eater was adored as a God. And at this day in the Kingdom of *Pegu* in the *Indies* they have a great Opinion of the Sanctity of *Crocodiles*, believing those Persons very happy who are devoured by them. And with the *Crocodile* may go the *Ichneumon* (the Reason is well known to Naturalists) who was alike revered, tho' neither of them are strictly of the *Fishy* Race (being *Amphibious*); but I mention them here, because they are Retainers to the Water, and particularly that of *Nile*.

It might be proved in the next place, that *Dragons* and *Serpents* were held by some of the Gentiles not only to be sacred, but to be Gods. (For *Serpents* being amphibious Creatures, I may refer them to the Watry kind.) They had so much regard for the former of these Animals, that, as *Strabo* observes, several of their Temples were stiled *Draconick*. Many remarkable instances of this particular sort of Idolatry among the Heathens I have mentioned in * another place, and therefore I shall not repeat them here; only observe, that of the several Idols to whom the *Chineses* pay their Devotions, there is one in form of a Dragon, whom the Emperour with his *Mandarines* does religiously worship, prostrating themselves frequently before it, and burning Incense unto it. *Serpents* were worshipped by the *Egyptians*, saith † *Herodotus*. And of this sort of Creatures it is likely the † In Eu- Author of the Book of Wisdom speaks, when he saith that the Gentiles worship- terpe. ped those Animals that are most hateful, Wisd. 15. 18. And by several Writers * we are told, that these odious and noxious Animals are worshipped in the *West Indies*. † *Alian* and ‖ *Cicero* take notice, that Divine Honour was given to *Asps*. ‖‖‖ *Josephus* the *Jew* confirms this, and adds, that whoever were bit by these, were counted happy, and worthy of God. That the *Egyptians* worshipped an *Eel*, as * a very Great God, is affirmed by another credible Writer. And that these Slippery Deities were in great request among that People, is attested by † *Herodotus*.

And lastly, among living Creatures, some of the lowest Rank, as *Insects*, and more particularly *Flies*, were worshipped and sacrificed to, and esteemed as Gods, of which the Reader may be satisfied in ‖ *Philostratus* and †† *Alian*, and other Writers. And this I take to be the true Meaning of *Baal-zebub* or *Bel-zebub* the God of *Ekron*, 2 Kings 1. 2. *Baal-zebub*, the Master-fly or the Lord-fly; they are, as I conceive, both of them in the Nominative Case, whereas it hath been thought hitherto by the Learned, that the latter is in the Genitive Case, and accordingly they translate it *Dominus Muscæ*, the Lord of a Fly, or of Flies. And so 'tis no wonder indeed that they can make nothing of it, viz. whilst they render it after the ordinary way. Thus saith *Sebastian Munster*, "I have not found among the *Hebrews*, why *Baal* is called *Baal-zebub*, i. e. the Master of a Fly. But in the Greek Version of the LXX he might have found it *μῦαν Θεόν*, the Fly-god, not the God of a Fly: and *Josephus* accordingly calls it * *Ἀρχαγγέλων Θεόν μῦαν*. These are very good Authors, and a Man can do no less than attend to them. You may add *Procopius Gazæus*, who saith it is expressly the ‖ Lord-fly, the God-fly. But whether 'twas a live Fly only, or the Image likewise of a Fly (which they kept and worshipped) I will not dispute. A Beetle was worshipped by the Pagan Idolaters, and * Temples erected to it. To conclude, even the vilest of Vermine, *Lice*, are held in veneration by the *Banians* in the *Indies*, as † *Petrus de Valle* relates, who tells how cautiously they catch them, and with what Ceremony they keep and preserve them.

* *Pisces Syri venerantur.*

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

* *Geogr. l. 18.* † *L. 17.*

‖ *L. 1.* †† *De N. Deor. l. 1.*

†* *Contr. Apion.* ‖‖‖ *De De- calogo.*

* *Autho- rity of Scripture, ch. 3.*

* *Acosta, Hackluit, Gage.*

† *De Animalib. l. 17. c. 5.*

& *l. 10. c. 31.*

‖ *Tusc. Qu. l. 5.*

‖‖‖ *Cont. Apion. l. 2.*

* *Méssior δαίμονα. Athen. Deipnos. l. 7.*

† *In Eu- terpe.*

‖ *Vit. A- pollon.*

†† *Tyan.*

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But what was it that moved the Gentiles, but especially the *Egyptians*, to deify *Beasts*? What Occasions or Grounds had this People of this sottish Idolatry? One would think it might have sufficed them to worship the Stars (as they are represented to be great Students in Astrology;) but what could so infatuate them, as to cause them to give Divine Honour to Brutes? Nay we are told by one that

* Θεοσεβείας ὃ καὶ τῶν μὲν
ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων. Herod.
l. 2.

general Answer,

† Ipſi qui irridentur Ægyptii
nullam belluam niſi ob aliquam
utilitatem, quam ex eâ capiant,
conſecrauerunt. De N. Deor. l. 1.

|| Hiſt. l. 1.

* Cic. de

N. Deor.

l. 1. c. 36.

† L. 2.

took ſome care to enquire into the Diſpoſitions and Manners of the * *Egyptians*, that they were exceedingly religious and pious above all Men. How then can they ſhew ſo much Irreligion and Impiety, as to adore the very Beſtial Race? The more *viz.* that they deified ſome Animals becauſe of their great Uſefulneſs to them. † “The very *Egyptians*, ſaith Tully, who are laugh’d at for their ridiculous Folly in worſhipping of Brute “Beaſts; conſecrate none of them, unleſs it be for ſome Advantage and Benefit they have by them. || *Diodorus Siculus*

gives this Reaſon why *Cats* were worſhipped by the *Egyptians*, becauſe they were uſeful againſt the Bitings of Serpents and Aſps. * *Ibis* was deified for his Uſefulneſs in devouring of Serpents and Snakes, when the Nile overflowed its Banks. † *Diodorus Siculus* gives the Reaſon why a *Hawk* was worſhipped, becauſe thoſe Creatures are very ſerviceable to them, and clear the Country of Serpents, Scorpions, and other hurtful Animals. But I have ſaid enough before to obviate this Pretence. The Wiſe God that made the Creatures uſeful, is to be adored, and not the Creatures. Beſides, any one may diſcern, that this is a fooliſh Pretence of Pagans; for *Dragons*, and *Serpents*, and *Aſps*, and other noxious and hurtful Animals, were counted ſacred by them, as well as thoſe that were beneficial to them.

Again, this is aſſigned as another Reaſon of this *Egyptian Idolatry*, *viz.* that they were great *Aſtrologers*, and converſed much with the Heavenly Bodies, and accordingly their Anceſtors, either to represent the *Conſtellations* the better to their Memories or Imaginations, or becauſe they fancied ſome Likeneſs and Reſemblance of ſuch *Aſteriſms* to ſuch *Animals*, or becauſe they thought ſuch *Beaſts* received a particular Influence from thoſe Stars, preſented them in the Shape of certain Brutes: From whence the vulgar *Egyptians* concluded ſuch Creatures to be divine and heavenly, and gave a ſuitable Honour to them. But this is not ſatisfactory; becauſe ’tis well known, that the Practice above-mentioned prevailed not only among the common People, but thoſe of them that were accounted moſt wiſe.

Others give this Account, that the *Egyptians* were a People above all others that applied themſelves to Natural Philoſophy, and particularly ſtudied the Nature of *Beaſts*, and accordingly expreſſ’d things by them in *Hieroglyphicks*; which at laſt degenerated into a Worſhipping of them. But the brief Answer to this, is, that the Authors (who are very many) that relate the *Egyptians* Deifying of *Beaſts*, ſpeak in full, plain, and expreſs Words; ſo that we cannot poſſibly underſtand them in a Hieroglyphick Meaning.

* De Abſtinentiâ.

Further, it was alledged, that ſome of them worſhipped God in and by *Beaſts*. In Animals they ſaw and acknowledged thoſe Virtues and Qualities which were divine. This, * ſaith *Porphyrius*, was pretended by their Priests, *viz.* That there was a ſecret Myſtery in Adoring of *Beaſts*; for under the Shapes of ſuch and ſuch Creatures, the Gods were represented. And he adds, The *Egyptians* thought the *Beaſts* had divine Souls, and were pervaded by a Deity; and therefore the Shapes of thoſe Animals were the Images of their Gods. But all this is mere Palliation; for, whatever their Priests might pretend, we are ſure that they cannot clear this Practice from Idolatry: For no Creature, eſpecially no irrational Creature, can represent God, the infinitely Wiſe and Eternal Being.

After all theſe Pretences and Eviſions, the true and plain Account of this Matter is, that God was pleaſed to revenge on theſe Men their groſs Impiety and Contempt of his true Worſhip, by permitting them to run into this Folly and Madneſs. They wilfully abandoned God; and now it is juſt that they doat even on Brutes, yea, and the vileſt Things. Man, a wiſe and underſtanding Creature, falls down and worſhips *Beaſts*; but firſt he made himſelf ſuch. I deſign not to ſtay here any longer; for, I think, it will not be expected that I ſhould ſpend any

any time in proving that brute Creatures (which I have been speaking of) are not to be adored. It is enough that they are inferior Beings to Men; for Worship is paid to a Superior. I pass now to one Head more, and so am preparing for a Conclusion.

Not only *sensitive*, but *vegetative* Creatures, that is, Trees, and Plants, and Flowers, had Adoration given them. The *Israelites*, in Imitation of the *Pagan* Worshippers, made use of *Oaks* and other *Trees*, and of *Gardens* in an idolatrous way, *Isaiah* 1. 29. & 65. 3. *Ezek.* 6. 12. *Hos.* 4. 12. And you will find this Species of Idolatry referred to in other Places that speak of these *Jewish Druids* (if I may so call them) who performed their idolatrous Rites under *Oaks* and such like shady Trees. Among the *Romans* there was a great and extraordinary Respect given to those Places where Plants, and Trees, and Flowers, were nourished and kept; and these Vegetables themselves had Gods and Goddesses presiding over them. *Priapus* was set up as the God of *Gardens* among them, as † *Virgil* and * *Georg.* † *Horace* bear witness. *Pomona* was the Goddess of all *Fruits*; but more especially † she was the *Apple-Goddess*. *Feronia* was the general she-Deity, that influenced on † *Trees*, and made them bear, whence she had her Name. Nay, that they might not be over-run with *Weeds* and *Beggery*, they had *Runcina*, the Goddess of *Weeding*, to repair to. But the gayest Lady of all was *Flora*, who was constantly to be addressed to before the *Trees* and *Fruits* of the Earth could prosper: but more particularly she was held to be the Mistress and Goddess of *Flowers*; and for her sake some of these also were esteemed as a Kind of Gods among the vulgar *Pagans*. A *Nossegay* was a Heap of odoriferous *Numens*. The Worshippers here bring not Hearts, but *Nostrils*. This Sort of Deities find themselves *Incense*, *Perfumes*, and *sweet-smelling Odours*.

But the *Egyptians* were most noted for this Kind of Idolatry, *viz.* of worshipping what their *Gardens* afforded them. Yea, Plants that were none of the sweetest, were very laudable Deities among them. They served up their Gods in *Sallets*, and even *Garlicks* and *Onions* were deified and sworn by, as * *Pliny* testifies. For which the *Roman Satyrists* jeers this People, pronouncing them a very † *holy Nation*, because they had the Advantage of having these Gods growing in their Gardens; Deities that they could not only taste, but smell. They could not fail of Gods, when they had whole *Nurseries* of them coming up every Year. They sowed and planted their Deities, and that very plentifully, and therefore might promise themselves a good Crop of them. Fields were their Temples, and Gardens their Chapels, and to rob an Orchard was *Sacrilege*. This was a Country where a skilful Herbalist was the greatest Devotionist, Gardiners were their Priests, and the Art of *Simpling* was their Divinity.

But who sees not that this is very poor and mean, and that *Vegetable Deities*, tho' they are a degree above those which are wholly inanimate, are very sorry things, and unworthy of rational and intelligent Beings? If Idolatry were in fashion at this day among the *Turks* and *Persians*, *Opium* (which is made of white *Poppy*, and is sowed in their Fields as duly as we sow *Wheat* here) would be a God, for they think it hath all good Qualities; whereas many things which were thought to have but some, were worshipped by the fond Idolaters I have been speaking of, and this was thought by them to be ground sufficient for their Practice. I will only add this, *Hellebore* is a Plant; they should have done well to make use of that, to clear their Brains of their Madness in worshipping all the rest.

And thus I have ransacked the World, and all the Parts of it, and among them all I have found Gods. The Heavens and the Earth, and the several Ranks of Beings, whether spiritual or corporeal, afford them plentifully: and even Beasts and Devils were worshipped. Of the Gods that were above, there were some that were *majorum Gentium*, as the Language was; these were a Dozen, six Male, and six Female, thus reckoned up by *Ennius*,

*Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceresque, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

* *Allium capasq; inter Deos
jurejurando habet Aegyptus.
Hist. Nat. l. 19. c. 6.*

† *O Sanctas gentes, quibus hæc
nascuntur in hortis
Numina! Juv. Sat. 15.*

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This Jury of Pagan Gods was called *Consentes*, as much as *Consentientes*, because their Advice and * Consent were always had in matters of great moment. They may be said to be the Gods of the *Quorum*, for without their Advice and Suffrage *Jupiter* did nothing in any important Affairs. And besides these Great and Capital ones, these First-rate Deities, there were abundance of others that were lesser and inferior, *Dii minorum gentium* (as they stiled them) Gods of the Lower House, Second-rate *Numens*, and some of them were † *Semones*, i. e. *Semi-Dii*, Half-Gods. In brief, the Pagans made Gods at their pleasure, and all Things and Persons were fetched in for that purpose. They coined them of all sorts and Sizes, and for all Designs, and whatever they either had a Kindness for, or were afraid of, they presently transmuted into a God, and thence there came to be such a fruitful Generation of them. I have mentioned good store of them, but there are several others taken notice of and described by *Varro*, *Festus*, *Plutarch*, *Lactantius*, *St. Augustin*, and by *Gyraldus* in the *History of the Gentile Gods*.

* De Civ. D. 1. 7. c. 17. † *Præp. Evang.* l. 1. c. 15. † *Lib. 3.* * *Plin. N. Hist.* l. 2. c. 7. Indeed they distinguished the Gods into *certain* and *uncertain*, as *Varro*, quoted by * *St. Augustin*, testifies; and therefore we cannot have an exact Account of them. † *Eusebius* tells us that *Hesiod*, the Great Herald of the Gods and Goddesses, reckoned thirty Thousand of them, and that another Pagan Writer made that Catalogue much larger. || *Arnobius*, who had enquired into this matter, declares that the Number of them was not agreed upon; but adds that the Pagans were in a fair way to have more Gods than Men. And * another expressly avers that there is a greater number of Gods in Heaven above than of Men upon Earth. This may seem somewhat Hyperbolical, but this we are sure of, that the Tale of them was exceeding Great, and the Worshippers were even oppressed with the Number of their Gods. This perhaps may be the meaning of preparing a Table for that Troop, and furnishing the Drink-Offering unto that Number, *Isa. 65. 11.* It may signify the great Multitude of Idols and false Gods which they were addicted to, and in whose Worship they were continually employed: tho' it is true some Criticks, following the Opinion of the *Rabins*, take *Gad* and *Meni* (which we translate Troop and Number) for two distinct Gods or Idols, the first for Good Fortune, the second for a Deity that had power over those Constellations which produce Rain and Tempests: so *Pocock*. There is little Foundation for this, and therefore we may, with our Translators, make *Gad* and *Meni*, not Proper Names, but Appellatives, signifying the vast Multitude and Number of the Pagan Gods. It is said of the same Idolatrous People (who therein perfectly Paganized) that they made themselves Images and Idols according to their own understanding, *Hos. 13. 2.* i. e. according to their own devising and inventing, wherein they were very pregnant; they studied for New Gods, they found out Diversities of Idols. The more Numerous these were, the more they were pleased. This Heathen multiplying of Gods is taken notice of by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 8. 5.* There are Gods many, and Lords many: they had both Supreme and Inferior Deities, they had Great and Petty Gods. Some were Choice, others were Ordinary and Vulgar. There was the Nobility and Flower, and there was the Populacy and Rabble of the Gentile Deities.

This I will further and more particularly observe, that though some Nations had their Peculiar Gods, whom they chiefly worshipped, yet they had other Gods in common with other Nations. First we are to take notice that every particular Country had its Particular God, whom they chose out from the rest more especially to adore: or, though sometimes it was the same God that another Nation worshipped, yet they did it under another Name and Title, and with some different Rites and Ceremonies, so that it seemed at least to be a distinct Deity which

they paid Reverence to. This you will find represented by two Excellent Writers of great Esteem in the Christian Church, * *Tertullian* and † *Minutius Felix*. And this is that we are informed of from the Holy Scriptures; where 'tis said that *Ashtoreth* was the Goddess of the *Zidonians*, *Chemosh* the God of the *Moabites*, and *Milcom* the God of the Children of *Ammon*, *1 Kings 11. 33.* And further, in *2 Kings 17. 29.* We read that every Nation made Gods of their own: and then a particular Enumeration follows, *The Men of Babylon made Succoth Benoth, and the Men of Cuth made Nergal, and the Men of Hamath*

* *Unicuique enim Provinciae & civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Astarte, ut Arabiae Disares, ut Norici Belenus, ut Africae Caelestis (i. e. Juno) ut Mauritaniae Reguli sui. Apol. c. 24.*

† *Inde adeo per universa imperia, provincias, oppida videmus singula, sacrorum ritus Gentiles habere, & Deos colere Muni-*

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made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartack; and the Sepharvites burnt their Children in Fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the same with Moloch. So Dagon was the peculiar Deity of the Philistines, Rimmon of the Aramites, Apis (called also Serapis and Osiris, and in Ezek. 8. 14. Tammuz) of the Egyptians, Mithra of the Persians, Ceres of the Eleusinians, Apollo of the Trojans, &c. Nay, every City had its proper God, as is evident from the Sacred as well as Prophane Records: According to the Number of thy Cities, so are thy Gods, Jer. 2. 28. This is supposed in that part of Rabshakeh's vaunting Harangue, 2 Kings 18. 34. Where are the Gods of Hamath, and of Arphad? where are the Gods of Sepheraim, Henah and Ivah? As much as to say, These Cities were conquered by my Master the King of Assyria, and the Gods that presided over those respective places could not guard them from him. So it seems he here blasphemed his own Gods, (i. e. the Gods of the Heathens) as well as he did the True One in other Parts of the Defiance mentioned in this Chapter. And this that I am speaking of may be inferred from that known Custom (mentioned by Virgil, Pliny, Macrobius) of the Romans, who before they besieged any Town, used by certain Charms to call out the Tutelar Gods, whom they thought it was an uncivil thing violently to attack, and to take Prisoners; tho' truly it was rather with regard to themselves, because they imagined it was in vain to attempt the taking of the place as long as the Gods were there.

But Secondly, I am to observe, that as there were Particular Topical Deities worshipped by particular Countries and Cities; called *Dii Municipales* by *Minutius Felix*, so it is as true that this would not content them, some Nations would not be so confined, but were ambitious to worship *All the Gods* they could hear of. Thus the Jews, as the Sacred History lets us know, were universal Idolaters, and at one time or other took in all sorts of Gods and Idols. King *Amaziah* after his Victory over the *Edomites*, brought the Gods of the Children of Seir, and set them up to be his Gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burnt Incense unto them, 2 Chron. 25. 14. They changed Divinities sometimes, and bartered their Gods, that they might have a Trial of all Gods. So it was with the Romans, they were Catholick Worshippers of all Gods. Though they had particular Temples and Altars dedicated to certain peculiar Deities, yet there were others that were common to all the Gods, as the *Pantheon* at Rome. They conquered all Countries, and adopted their Religions, so that their Worship was as large and universal as their Empire. And see the folly of these People; one who defended this practise tells us that therefore * *Rome* triumphed over its Enemies, and ruled the World, because it worshipped all the Gods of the whole World, known or unknown. Which was as gross an Error as their Idolatry. There were Altars consecrated among them *Dīs Deabusque omnibus*. After the invocation of one God, they proceeded to a General Address, † *Dique Deaque omnes*. That no God or Goddess might be left out, they called on All. Nay, *Rome* it self was a Goddess, as the *Coyns* made with this Impress, || *Roma Dea*, sufficiently testify. She erected Temples and offered Sacrifices to her self, being of the Number of the Deities, as || * *Dion* and others that have given an account of *Rome* have recorded.

This was the Guise of the Grecians also, they were full of Gods, and fetched them from all Quarters. From a good Author we learn that among the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Arcadians* and *Corinthians*, Altars were built * to all the Gods in common. Especially the *Athenians* were noted for this, as the Gods themselves (and who will not believe them) confess in *Aristophanes*. And it is that which the *Scholiast* upon him observes on this occasion, viz. that whereas † other Cities prostrated themselves to one God, *Athens* worshipped all indifferently. So another takes Notice that the *Athenians* were remarkable for their worshipping of || strange Gods, and that though they kept the several constant Feasts in Honour of particular Gods, yet they kept one in Honour of all, be they what or who they will. These Solemnities were called Θεοξένια, (not as some Criticks have thought τὸ ξενίζεν τὸς θεὸς, because they entertained all the Gods as Guests at these Feasts, but) in Reverence to the θεοὶ ξενικοὶ, the strange Gods, the Gods of other Countries, who were all of them worshipped by the *Athenians*; so that by this Means Athens

Municipes, ut Eleusinos Cere-rem, Phrygas Magnam Matrem, Epidauros Æsculapium, Chaldaeos Belum, Astartem Syros, Dianam Tauricos, Gallos Mercurium.

* Cæcil. apud Arnob. l. 8. † Virg. Georg. l. 1. || H. Golz. Rer. Antiq. l. 1. || * In Augusto.

* Θεοὶς παῖσιν ἐν κοινῷ. Pausan. in Attic.

† Ἀὶ μὴν ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐνὶ κείνῃ, αἱ δὲ Ἀθῆναι πάντας ἀδι-ἀρότως τὸς θεὸς τιμῶσι.

|| Θεοὶ ξενικοὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τιμῶνται. Hesych.

* *Ὁλον* was but one great Temple, or (in the Language of a very considerable Writer) *βωμὸς, ὅ- * All Altar, all Sacrifice, all Consecration to the Gods.*

This is the very thing which the Holy Apostle took notice of, (when upon *Mars-Hill* he delivered his Mind freely to the *Athenians* in a Sermon concerning their gross Superstition and Polytheism) that † *the City was wholly given to Idolatry*, or (as *κατείδωλον* may be rendered) *was full of Idols*, the Number of which they daily laboured to augment by searching out for some recent Deities. We may well think that these Men, who delighted || *to hear or tell some new thing*, listened after new Gods. And accordingly, when the Apostle * preached unto them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, they took the former (and therein indeed they were not mistaken) for a God, and the latter for some Goddesses. They erected Altars (as not only † this Apostle, but the || Pagan Writers have told us) to *unknown Gods*, and worshipped

at a venture, that they might be sure to take in all that was divine. And that I may compleat my Remarks on the Practices of the Pagan Idolaters, I will further shew you how wanton and extravagant they were in their filling up the Number of the Gods. Take it in these three Particulars:

1. They mixed and confounded the Species of things; thus their *Dagon* before mentioned was in the upper Parts a *Man* or *Woman*, but below a *Fish*. A strange and monstrous Jumble, to make a Deity! It is of common Notice, that in *Libya* *Jupiter Hammon* was represented with a *Ram's Head*, and a † Pair of crooked Horns. But in *Egypt* this *miscellaneous Idolatry* prevailed most, where were worshipped the most prodigious and inconsistent Mixtures of things,

Omni genumque Deum monstra, & latrator Anubis;

* *Virgil. Æn. 8.* as the * Poet speaks. He more particularly instances in *Anubis*, that Monster of a Deity, who was worshipped in the Shape of a *Mans Body*, but the Head of a Dog. And others were consecrated with the Heads of Asses and Serpents. These *Egyptians* used a compendious Way in their Idolatry; they mixed several Animals

† *Θεῶν ἐκ πολλῶν Θεῶν συγκεκρίμενον. πολυειδὲς καὶ πολυμορφον. Naz. Orat. 1.*
|| *Εἰς τὴν Θεοποίησιν. De Abstin.*

† *a Beast confusedly made up of many Beasts, an Idol of many Species and many Forms.* Porphyrus confesses that they mingled the Bodies of Beasts and Men, and of Birds and Men, || to make up a God. Athenasius saith as much in his Oration against the Gentiles. Those that are at leisure to consult Kircher (in his *Egyptian Or-*

dipus) will find several particular Instances of this Mixture. *Egypt* had more Wonders in it than any Religion whatsoever, saith * *Herodotus*, and it seems their Gods were as wondrous as any thing they had among them. These People made Gods after the same Rate that the Poets made *Centaurs*, *Harpies*, *Griffins*, and *Sphinxes*, of a strange and fanciful Composition, and such as the Nature of things affords not. Their Way was to make a Medley of different Creatures, and call that a God; yea the greatest Incongruities clubbed to make a Deity

2. As they confounded the Species, so likewise the Sexes. Both the Masculine and Feminine Gender were attributed to the *Assyrian God Baal*, as appears from *ἡ Βαάλ* in the *Seventy's Version* frequently; and in *Tobit*, Chap. 1. Ver. 5. and in

* *De Dis Rom. 11. 4.* and in other Authors, as may be seen in * *Mr. Selden*. And if we may depend upon his Judgment, the Masculine God *Dagon* degenerated into a Female, viz. *Atergatis*, *Adargatis*, *Derceto*. *Venus* Male and Female was worshipped a-

† *Ibid.* mong the *Syrians*, saith the same † excellent Author. She is called *Θεὸς* in *Athenæus*, *Deipnosoph. 1. 5.* and in *Euripides* in his *Troas*. By the *Cyprians* and *Athenians* she was pictured half a Man and half a Woman, and by *Aristophanes* is called

|| *Ὁρφ. Hymn. ad Minervam.* *Ἀρεσίδη*. *Uranus* and *Urania* were thought by some to be the same. Of *Minerva*, || one who was well skilled in the Nature of the Heathen Gods saith thus, * *Agon*

* *Sophoc. in Ajace.* *ἄνδρ' καὶ θήλυς ἔσθ' ἑρως*, *Thou wert born both Male and Female*; and the like he saith of the *Moon*. In * three Greek Poets we shall find *Pallas* called *Θεὸς*. And so *Asarte* was God or Goddess, which you will. In *Aristides's Oration* on *Bacchus*, this God is made Male and Female; and so is *Jupiter* in one of *Orpheus's Hymns*. Thus among *Assyrians*, *Syrians* and *Greeks*, the Pagan Gods were of both Sexes. And the Word *Θεὸς* it self, though it hath a masculine Termination, is Common.

Among

Among the Romans also it was thus, *Fortune* was counted not only a Goddess but a God, as * *Lactantius* and † *Plutarch* assure us. And several witness that there was a Temple dedicated to *Male Fortune* at *Rome*, and another to *Virile Fortune*. The Moon had both Sexes bestowed on it by the *Latins*, and thence is both || *Lunus*, and *Luna*; to which answer the two *Hebrew* Words for the Moon, *Jerach* which is Masculine, and *Lebanah* which is Feminine. And for this Reason, as our celebrated Antiquary and Critick rightly guesses, Men sacrificed to her in the Habit of Women, and these in that of Men, viz. because the Moon was esteemed ἀρρενοθήλις both Male and Female; and this he saith (and not without some Probability) was the Occasion of that Law, *Deut.* 22. 5. Though we find not the *Sun* represented under the Notion of a She-Deity, yet perhaps, in conformity, or with Reference to the ancient confounding of Sexes among the Pagans, in this as well as other false Gods, the *Hebrew* Word *Cheres*, *Sol*, is of the Masculine Gender, and *Chammah* (which signifies the same) is of the Feminine, whence some have applied the Queen of Heaven, *Jer.* 7. 18. to the *Sun*; and the third Word for the *Sun*, viz. *Shemesh*, is sometimes Masculine and sometimes Feminine. And among the *Latins* (as well as the *Greeks*) *Venus* was an Epicene Deity; wherefore you will find that to her is applied *Deus* by || *Virgil*, and by † *Juvenal*; on which and the like Account *Selden* ingeniously observes that * the Gods are not confined to the Laws of Grammar; no, these are not subject to *Priscian's* Empire. So among the Pagan Saxons, *Friga*, which was their *Venus*, (and accordingly they dedicated the sixth Day of the Week, called thence *Friday*, to it) was an Idol representing both Sexes. Thus these wanton Idolaters fancied their Gods to be *Hermaphrodites*; and (as *Arnobius* and others observe) their usual Stile in their invoking them was, † *Whether thou art a God, or whether thou art a Goddess, hearken to our Prayers*. And in their Addresses at other times to their Gods, they came with a || *Quisquis es*, that they might not be mistaken.

3. They confounded the Offices and Presidencies of their Gods, and present us with a confused Character of them. *Pan* is the God of Shepherds, but there is no Connection between this and his being made the * Author of sudden Fear and groundless Fancies. They make *Apollo* the God of *Musick*, and they make the same an Archer, furnishing him (as well as *Cupid*) with Bow and Arrows: They represent him the God of *Physick* (as well as *Æsculapius*); and though there be no Connection between this and *Poetry*, yet they represent him to be the Inventer of the latter. They all vote him the God of *Wisdom*, and yet tell us that he was an unshaved Stripling, a beardless Boy, yea, though *Æsculapius*, who was his Son, hath a large Beard, (which I remember *Arnobius* reckons among the ridiculous Circumstances and Passages appertaining to their Gods): And lastly, you must reconcile all this with his being the *Sun*.

They have thrown a great many Offices and Employments on *Mercury*, (which though in the utmost Meaning, as hath been observed before, have Reference to some eminent Person in the Old Testament, and his Undertakings, yet this was wholly hid from the Vulgar): they make him the *Servant* and *Messenger* of the Gods, one that went on all their Errands above and below, and had his free Range every where, and was confined to no Place,

* commune profundis
Et superis Numen, qui fas per limen utrumque
Solus habet, geminoque facit commercia mundo.

* Claudian. de Raptu. l. 1.

He is said to be the God of *Merchandise*, and the Patron of *Tradesmen*, whence he was surnamed ἀγορεύς the Market God, as *Plutarch* saith, for which he gives this Reason, because he was ἐπισκοπὴ ἀγορῶν, the Overseer of those that trafficked; and accordingly in the Account which is given us of his Statue they tell us that a Purse hung at it. Besides, they honoured him with the Office of *Surveyor of the High Ways*, and the Friend of *Travellers*; and truly he being sent on Errands and Messages every where, he must be acquainted with the Roads. Moreover, he was owned to be the Master of *Speech* and *Eloquence*, and taught to endire well. He presided over Games and Plays, and publick Prizes, and was a kind of Master

* Pindar.
in Isthm.
† Orph.
in Hymn.

of the Revels; whence he was called Ἀγώνιος * Ἐγμῆς, and † ἐπαγώνιος. And finally, they add this to his other Excellencies, that he was the Author and Patron of Theft. Thus they set him a greater Task than all the Gods besides; but in this truly they made him amends, that they made him the nimblest of them all, for they represent him as a flying God, with Wings both on his Hat and his Shoes. This was right Mercury, a Quicksilver Deity.

¶ Satur-
nal. l. 3.
c. 8.

* Lact.
Inst. l. 1.
c. 20.

† Ἀφρο-
δίτη με-
λαινίς.
Pausan.
¶ Clem.
Alex. Pro-
trept.
* Lib. 3.
† Instit.
l. 1. c. 20.
¶ De Civ.
Dei.
† In Cur-
cul.

And so as to their Goddesses, what a confused Account do they give of them? Let a Man read what Plutarch hath writ of Isis, and he will think him half distract- ed, there are so many wild Fetches and Conceits about that Piece of Egyptian Di- vinity. But I will rather instance in two more noted Deities, and they are Venus and Diana. First, their smooth and soft Goddess Venus was pictured sometimes with a Beard, nay, sometimes with Arms and martial Weapons. Thus, as Macrobius mentions Barbata Venus among the Romans, so Pausanias acquaints us that ἐρόπαιος Ἀφροδίτη was worshipped by the Lacedemonians; and Lactantius makes mention of Armata Venus. The Goddess of Love and War are blended together. But as there was a bearded Venus, so there was a bald one, though I confess, if we consider the occasion of it, it was tolerable enough. The City of Rome being be- sieged by the Galls, the Soldiers shut up in the Capitol were forced to make Bow- strings of the Womens Hair, whence a Temple was erected to * Calva Venus, and she was worshipped under that Denomination by the Romans. If this Story were not told us, and we had any Assurance that that Distemper which now is the Pu- nishment of unlawful Venery, was so in those times, we might be enticed to think that Venus Calva was in Remembrance of the Loss of their Hair on that Account.

But how unagreeably do they represent this fair and beautiful Goddess when they tell us she was the Wife of Vulcan, who was thrust down from Heaven for his Deformity, and increased it by his Fall; for he halted ever after? Unless you will say there was a fair and a deformed Venus, and that he was suitably joined with the latter. And indeed we read there was set up in some part of Greece the Image of a † Black Venus, and she it was perhaps that was the Blacksmith's Spouse. But what shall we say to Libitina Venus, who presided over Tombs and Funerals; or to ano- ther that was called τυμβορίχης the Grave-digger, who was worshipped by the La- cedemonians and Argives, as an Author of good Account reports? But what strange kind of thing was that Venus who was sur-named Cloacina, and whose Image ac- cordingly was erected (if we may believe * Livy, † Lactantius, and ¶ St. Augustin) in the most fordid and noisom Places? And how came Liars and Boasters to be the chief of them that met at Cloacina's Solemnities, according to that of † Plautus?

*Qui perjurum convenire vult hominem, mitto in Comitium,
Qui mendacem gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum.*

And these Men are accordingly called κόπειοι and κοπελόγοι by the Greeks, and Co- preæ by the Latins, as out of Casaubon and Turnebus is shewed by Hofman in his Lexic. Contin. Tom. 1. p. 528. and Tom. 2. p. 58.

Next, it might be remarked what odd Conceits they had of Diana: they repre- sented her to be the same with the Moon, the Queen of Heaven: they prefer- red her to be Goddess of the Woods and Forests: they gave her another Name (Lucina) and then entrusted her with the Office of a Midwife. They made her a Hunter, and conferred the Inspection of the Game upon her. At other times they honoured her with the Title of πολύμας, Multimammia, the Nurse of all living things, and they tell us that the Temple of Ephesus was dedicated to this Nurse-Goddess. And lastly, they made her a Witch, and gave her the Name of

Hecate: and whereas Janus had two Faces, this Goddess had three, and was thence stiled * τριπρόσωπος, † Triformis, and ¶ Tergemina. Thus strangely freakish and conceited they were in making their Gods and Goddesses. They were this, and they were that, and they knew not what. They delighted to confound things, and (as that Learned Writer often men- tioned faith) they ¶ jumbled Heaven and Earth together.

* Artemidor. Oneir.
† Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.
¶ Virgil. Æn. 4.
¶ Nec verò quis nescius est
cælum & terram ab idolorum
cultoribus misceri solita. De
Dis Syr. Syntag. 2.

But I have not yet finished my task; though I have proceeded thus far, yet I am not come to the farthest limits of Idolatry: for I am to take notice of the Vanity of those Rites and Ceremonies, which accompanied the Pagan Idolatry, and were

Parts

parts of it. As there were many Gods, so many ways of worshipping those Gods. This * Maimonides takes notice of, that there was a vast difference between the several kinds of Worship which was given to their Gods. That mode of Adoration, which was pleasing to one, was unacceptable to another: which was founded (as he observes) on the difference that was between the Gods. There was great Care and Circumspection, that every Deity should have the Rites and Solemnities that were appropriated to him: for they reckoned all the Worship lost, if it were improper. I need not enlarge here, but only give a short Specimen of what might more amply be treated of. There was great Variety and Difference of the make of the Altars, according to the different Nature of the respective Deities; only it is to be noted, that the antient Persians, Scythians, and Tartars, who worshipped the Fire, and Earth, had no Temples or Altars, at least not made in any formal or solemn manner. From Festus we learn, that the Sacrifices to the Terrestrial Deities were offered † upon the Earth, the bare ground; those to the Infernal Gods were offered in Ditches or || Pits made in the Ground; those to the Celestial Deities in * Places built and erected above the Earth, i. e. Altars, and these sometimes set upon Hills and Mountains. There is an Elaborate and Excellent || Discourse of Peter Berthald a Jesuit, wherein he particularly treats of all the several Altars erected to Gods and Goddesses, and the Distinction of them, to which I refer the curious Reader; and pass to the Oblations of the Heathens, which as they were the earliest, so they were the most solemn, yea and stated Acts of Worship, that they performed to their Gods.

It was common to them all, to offer their First-Fruits to their Gods. || Diodorus Siculus reports concerning the Egyptians, that at the beginning of their Harvest they invoked their Goddess Isis, and presented her with the first Ears of their Corn. Concerning the Greeks * Plutarch attests this, and particularly it was a Law among the Athenians † to regale the Gods with their best Fruits. That the Romans did offer their First-Fruits to their Gods we learn from || Pliny. But the killing of Animals, and offering them to their Deities was the principal worship of the Heathen World. And truly it is no wonder that they plied them with these, seeing it was their Persuasion that the Gods * were fed and nourished with these Sacrifices, that they lived on the very Reek and Steam of them. Therefore they took care, that they should not be starved, but gorged them with bloody Oblations, and stopped their Mouths with Bulls Flesh. To which it's likely those Words refer, Psal. 50. 13. Will I eat the Flesh of Bulls, or drink the Blood of Goats? Perhaps some of the grosser Jews had taken up this Pagan Conceit, for it seems to be spoken in an ironical and upbraiding manner, Will you use me like a Pagan God? To which perhaps God himself refers again in Isa. 43. 24. [Neither hast thou filled me with the Fat of thy Sacrifices] And this agrees with what † Maimonides saith of the Zabij, namely, that they used to eat the Blood of their Sacrifices, and thought it to be the Food of their Gods, and that thereby they should have a near Communion with them.

It is to be observed here, that the Heathen Gods had all of them different and distinct Sacrifices and Offerings besides those that were common to them all. To Apollo was offered a Bull, a Goat and a Tyger to Bacchus, a Boar and a Wolf to Mars, a She-goat and sometimes a young Heifer to Minerva, a Hind to Diana, a Horse to the Sun, a Dove to Venus, a Peacock to Juno, a barren Cow to Proserpine, a Cock to Esculapius, and sometimes a Serpent, and at other times a Raven: Swine were offered to Ceres, and for that Reason they are called by * Aristophanes μυσικά χοίρη Mystic Swine, because they were offered in the mysterious Rites and Ceremonies of that Goddess. We might mention other Gifts and Offerings. The Pine-apple was consecrated to Bacchus; of which see the reasons in Mr. Beger's Thesaurus Brandenburgicus, a very Choice and Curious Piece of Antiquity. Swallows, the Nuntio's of the Spring, were sacred to the Penates. The Rose was dedicated to Venus, for it seems it had its original when she had hers: at the same time that the Land bred one, the Sea brought forth the other, say Hesiod and Anacreon; whence she is called by the latter ῥοδόχρυσ' Ἀφροδίτα, Rosy-coloured Venus. And, to let you into another Poetic Mystery, this flower of Venus was consecrated by Cupid to Harpocrates the God of Silence, and is therefore made an Emblem of it: whence that usual saying, Under the Rose be it spoken. Hercules was worshipped with all manner of Reproaches and Obloquies, yea with Curses and

* De cultu Planetar. c. 3.

† In terrâ effossâ.
* In ædificiis à terrâ exaltatis.

|| De Arâ liber singularis.

|| Lib. 1.

* Quæst. Græ. qu. 6.

† Θεός καρποῖς ἀγέλλων.
Porphyr.

de Abstin.
|| Numa instituit deos fruge colere.

Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 2.

* || Orig. cont. Cels.

l. 7. Arnob. l. 7.

† More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 46.

* In Acharnam.

* Institut. Execrations, saith * *Lactantius*. The Greeks worshipped *Mercury* by throwing
 1. 2. Stones at him.

Which latter some Criticks think is referred to by *Solomon*, *Prov.* 26. 8. which they read thus, *As he that putteth a Stone to a heap of Stones, so is he that giveth Honour to a Fool*, where by *Margemab* (rendred *acervus Mercurii* by the *Vulgar Latin*) they understand the *Epicæa*, or the *Epicæa* *λῆθοι*, the High-heaps of Stones in the Highways, which were consecrated to *Hermes* or *Mercury*. These were to shew *Passengers* and *Travellers* the Way, who (to recompense the Kindness) were wont to increase those Heaps by casting a Stone on them as they passed, in honour of *Mercury*, God of the Ways, and President and Director of Travellers. So that *Mr. Selden* interprets the fore-mentioned place thus, "The Benefits bestowed on a Fool will be no more repayed than the Heap of Stones can be sensible of the ac-
 cession you make to it. But first I question whether this Inspired Writer would make use of a Similitude taken from that Pagan Custom; and then I am not satisfied that the Word *Margemab* hath any such Signification, but I rather think it denotes a precious Stone, and then the Similitude is of another Nature and Im-
 port, as I have shewed in † another place.

† Of the
 Excellen-
 cy and
 Perfection
 of Scrip-
 ture, c. 9.

|| *Aeneis* 4.
Catull.

My Business at present was only to take notice of the several Particular and Pe-
 culiar Modes which the Pagans had of shewing their Respect, and paying their
 Homage to their different Gods. Among these it may be inserted, that it was
 peculiar to *Diana* to be worshipped and sacrificed to in the Streets and Highways;
 whence she was stiled || *Trivia*. And other Pagan Deities had their more special
 and peculiar places wherein they affected to have Adoration given them. Before
 I leave this Head of Sacrifices, I will only take notice of the different Names and
 Orders of Priests, which were according to the difference of their Gods. *Luperci*
 were the Priests of *Pan*, *Potitii* of *Hercules*, *Salii* of *Mars*, *Flamines* of *Jove* and
Mars, and the *Vestal Virgins* were the Priestesses of *Vesta*.

There are several Circumstances and Appendages of the Pagan Worship, which
 may be here mentioned; it might be observed, that some covered their Heads, o-
 thers were uncovered at their Worship; tho' it is certain the former Usage chiefly
 prevailed among the Eastern Idolaters, and even among the old Romans, as might
 easily be proved. But this covering or veiling was not universal, & even at their
 worshipping of all the Gods: for we find, that * to *Hercules* and to *Saturn* they sa-
 crificed bare-headed. Some of their Priests and People performed their Rites
 bare-footed: so *Strabo* mentioning the Service paid to *Diana*, observes, that it
 was done with putting off their Shoes. They cut off their Hair, and con-
 secrated it to their Gods: of this see abundant Examples col-
 lected by * *Dr. Spencer*. Some of the Pagans used Baptism a-
 mong the Ceremonies of their Worship: which is particularly
 related by † *Diodore* of *Sicily*, who says it was a Rite of Admis-
 sion among the *Athenians*, and they had it (he saith) from the
Egyptians. An antient Father of the Church tells us, that
 || the Pagan Worshippers were initiated into the Mysteries of
 their Religion by the Laver; and he instances in the Rites of
Mithra and *Isis*, of *Apollo* and *Ceres*. He mentions the same in
 another place, and observes that the || * Devil in the idolatrous
 Mysteries of the Pagans imitates the very things belonging to
 the Divine Sacraments. And ** *St. Augustine* makes the like
 Observation.

* *Plut. Q.*
Rom. II.
 & 13.
Macrob.
Saturnal.
 l. 10.

* *De legib. Mos.* l. 3. *Diff. 1.*
 c. 6. † *Lib. 1.*

|| *Nationes sacris quibusdam*
per Lavacrum initiantur, Isidis
alicujus aut Mithrae, &c. Tert.
ull. de Baptismo, cap. 5.

|| * *Iplas res sacramentorum*
divinorum in idolorum myste-
riis æmulatur. Tingit & ipse
quosdam, &c. Tert. de præ-
script. cap. 40.

** *In multis idolorum sacri-*
legis sacris baptisari homines
perhibentur. De Bapt.

They had certain Symbols, Tokens, and Signs, and Forms of Words, that they
 used at their Religious Rites; those of *Ceres* are mentioned by *Arnobius*, *Clement*
 of *Alexandria*, *Julius Firmicus*; and a brief Account is given of some of them by
 the late Learned Author of the *History of the Apostles Creed*, ch. 1, 2, 11, 15, 16, 17,
 who thinks this Creed had the Name of *Symbolum* given to it with Allusion to these
 Symbola among the Pagans, the peculiar Marks and Badges of their Gentile Reli-
 gion and Worship, and which distinguished them from all other Worshippers. It
 may be mentioned here that they used to stigmatize themselves in honour of their
 Gods. Of the Worshippers of the Great Syrian Goddess, one
 who knew very well their Practice, lets us know, that * they
 were all marked either in their Hands or their Necks. Nay,
 he affirms that all *Assyrians* were stigmatized in one manner or
 other:

* *Στίγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν χερ-*
σὶν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. καὶ τὸν τὸν δὲ
ἀσσυρίους ἀσσυρίους στυματοπο-
ιοῦσι. Lucian. de Dea Syr.

other : Which was to signify, that they were devoted to such or such a Deity ; and it is likely, that the Characters differ'd according to the difference of the Gods they devoted themselves to. To which perhaps alludes that in the *Apocalypse*, ch. 12. 16, 17.

Next I will observe, that they had *solemn Times and Days* set apart to the Honour of their Gods, called *Dies festi & feria* by the Romans, of which

Macrobii very distinctly and nicely treats. Of these Feasts

which were publickly made and solemnized, speak *Tacitus*,

† *Juvenal*, || *Libanius*, || *Tertullian*, || *Theodoret*, and *Minutius*

Felix. On the Festival Days they had *Plays*, which were

celebrated to the Honour of the Gods. Whence *Tertullian* cries

out, * "What a deal of Sacred Rites is there on these Play-

times, what a Multitude of Sacrifices go before them, and

come between them, and follow them ? So *Cyprian*,

† What *Shew* is there without an *Idol* ? What *Play* without

a *Sacrifice* ? What *Prize* that is not consecrated to some

departed Spirit or other ? Thus Idolatry was mixed with all

their Sports and Theatrical Entertainments, and their very

Plays and Games were part of their Religion. *Varro* writ Five

Books of *Divine Things*, whereof one was entirely concerning *Plays* : for their very

Plays and their Theaters were dedicated to some Gods. *Tertullian* hath an excel-

lent *Discourse* concerning the several sorts of *Spectacles* and

Shews, telling us to what Gods and Goddesses they were consecra-

ted. The *Amphitheatres*, where the bloody Prizes were, were

devoted to † *Mars* and *Diana*. The *Olympick Games* were in

honour of *Jupiter*, the *Pythian* of *Apollo*, the *Isthmian* of *Neptune*,

the *Nemean* of *Hercules*. I might remark under this Head, that at the Times of

Festivals, there were *Tragedies* with *Comedies*, as hath been observed by the Learned,

and particularly by * *Isaac Casaubon*. And these Tragical and Comical Entertain-

ments, which were different from the *Plays* before spoken of, were a part of the

Pagan Religion and Worship : for they were in honour of their Gods.

Here it were easy to shew, that many of their Solemnities in honour of their

Gods were mixed with *Debauchery*, and that in a very high manner ; and they

thought they were not duly performed, unless they were of this nature. The *Sa-*

turnalia were Drunken Feasts among the Romans in honour of *Saturn* : then (as

Seneca complains) * there was a Licence given for all publick *Luxury* and *Debau-*

chery. The Rites of *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, and the *Bacchanalia* were con-

stantly attended with *Gluttony* and *Drunkenness*. Some were infamous for their

rude † *Clamours* and *Confused Outcries*, and the horrid affrighting Noises which

accompanied them. The *Orgia* performed to *Bacchus* (though 'tis true the *Cere-*

monies and Solemnities observed in Honour of other Gods are sometimes called

Orgia, as might be proved from both *Latin* and *Greek Writers*) were so called from

their || *Fury* and *Madness*, as *Iacchus* himself had his name * from his Noise and

Loud confused Outcries. It might be proved that the Pagans at their Sacrifices

used to drink freely and largely in Honour of their Gods. Whence the *Gram-*

marians tell us that † the *Greek Word* to express *Ebriety*, signifies a *Collation af-*

ter *Sacrificing*. They remembered their Gods in their Cups, and at all their drink-

ing-matches they began with them. Perhaps unto this refers what we read in *A-*

mos 2. 8. They drink the Wine of the condemned in the house of their God, i. e. they drink

the best and strongest Wine, such as was used to be given to the condemned Male-

factors (the same with the *Myrrh-wine* given to *Christ* when he was on the Cross)

and herewith congratulate themselves before their Idols in their unjust Spoiling

and oppressing the Poor. But would one think, that one of

the Greatest Moralists among the Gentiles should allow of this

Intemperance ? And yet so he doth. * It is not fitting, saith

he, to drink to Excess, but at the Feasts of that God who is the Giver

of Wine. At *Bacchus's* Solemnities they might be drunk, yea

twas their Duty to be so. † Wonder not at it, saith he, for

this is a Law among us.

And this Intemperance was accompanied with *Lewdness*, to both which it is pro-

bable the Apostle alludes in *Eph.* 5. 18, 19. be not drunk with Wine, wherein is excess,

but

* *Saturnal.* l. 1. c. 16.

* *Annal.* 15. † *Sat.* 15.

|| *Orat. pro Templo.*

|| * *Apologet.* c. 35. & 42.

† *Eccl. Hist.* l. 5. c. 20.

** *Lactant. de vero cultu.*

c. 20. *Arnob.* l. 7.

* In ludis quanta sacra, quan-
ta sacrificia pracedunt, inter-
cedunt, succedunt ? *Lib. de*
Speſt. cap. 7.

† Quod spectaculum sine Ido-
lo ? quis ludus sine sacrificio ?
quod certamen non consecratum
mortuo ? *De Spectaculis.*

* *De spectaculis, præsertim*
cap. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

† *Mars in arenis colitur.*
Salvian. de Gubern. lib. 6.

* *De Sat.*
Poeti, l. 1.
c. 1.

* *Jus Lux-*
uriæ pub-
licæ da-
tum est.
Ep. 18.

† *Athen.*
Deipnos.
l. 8.

|| *ἄπο τῶ ὄρ-*
γῆς.
Phurnut.

* *Ab ἰά-*
χειν, vo-
ciferare.

† *μεθύειν,*
qu. ὡς τὸ
θύειν.

* Πίνειν ὃ εἰς μέθην ἔτε ἀλ-
λοθί περὶ πρέπει πλὴν ἐν τῷ οἶνον
δύντῃ. Θεὸς ἐορᾷ. *Plato de leg.*
l. 6.

† Μὴ θαύμαζε, ὡς ἔρεε, νόμος
ἐστὶν ἡμῖν οὗτος. *De leg. l. 1.*

but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to your selves in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. In the former part of which Words he refers to the Drunken Revels of the Heathens in their *Bacchanalia*, and in the latter to the obscene Hymns and Catches, which were sung to *Bacchus*, those *φαλλικά ᾄσματα* which were in use at that time. A Godly Father of the Church thought it not unseemly to acquaint us, that to *Berecynthia* the Mother of the Gods, on the great Day of her Worship lewd Songs were sung, and as he saith, || "They would have been ashamed to sing such Ribaldry and Stuff in the hearing of their own Mothers, or any modest Woman, which they sung before the Mother of the Gods. Instead of this carnal Mirth, the Apostle advises the *Ephesians*, who had before their Conversion indulged themselves in these Extravagancies, to be sober and temperate, and entertain themselves and others with Spiritual and Divine Songs, containing the Praises of God, and Thanksgiving for his Blessings, as also devout Prayers and Requests for his Grace and Mercy. Indeed at all the Feasts among the Heathens, which were dedicated to their Gods, there was Wantonness and Uncleaness allowed to a high degree. And more particularly as for the *Eleusinian* Festivities, dedicated to *Ceres*, it is sufficiently told by the Pagan Writers how effeminate and lascivious they were. The *Lupercalia* (which were Feasts of *Pan*) were solemnized by naked Men; and those of *Flora* by the other Sex in the same manner. Nay, a very Credible * Writer tells us, that the *Romans* worshipped the *Pudendum* at the Feast of *Liber*. And † the *Egyptians* did the very same, as the † *Sicilian* Antiquary observes, at some of their Solemnities. *Venus's* Ceremonies and the *Phallus* are evident Testimonies of the Wantonness and Filthiness of the Rites and Worship of that Lustful Goddess; which a || Reverend Father thought not unfit to mention, and at the same time to expose. The same Writer tells us, that it was the avowed Profession of some of the idolatrous Nations, † that Adulteries and Uncleanesses, and other unlawful Mixtures in honour of the Gods, ought to be observed as a Debt due to them. For so it was, Uncleaness was deemed to be hallowed by them; Whoredom was consecrated, and they thought they worshipped their Gods by Acts of Lewdness.

The wanton *Jews* in imitation of these Heathens, after their worshipping of the Golden Calf, *Sat down to eat and drink* (which is the Intemperance I spoke of before) and *rose up to play*, *Ex. 32. 6.* which Expression may bear an impure Meaning, and signifie Fornication and Uncleaness. These, and the most unnatural Lewdness, are the attendants of Idolatry, as we see in the practice of other *Israelites* afterwards; there were the *Houses of the Whore*, *Sodomites* that were by the *House of the Lord*, *2 Kings. 23. 7.* These were joined together, and it lets us know that Carnal Impurity was part of the Heathen Religion and Worship. * *Strabo* tells us of *ιερόδραμοι ἐταίροι* sacred or devoted harlots: and he relates how not only at *Corinth*, but other places there were Temples made use of in the nature of Publick Stews. So there were Strumpets sacred to *Isis* among the *Egyptians*. And from several Authors it appears, that it was a Specimen of Pagan Religion to prostitute their Daughters to the honour of their Deities, and they brought them into the Temples for that very end; they devoted them there to Lewdness and Uncleaness. So that 'tis no wonder, that *Democritus* the *Ephesian*, when he treated of the Temple of *Diana*, found occasion to speak largely † *περὶ τῆς χλιδῆς* of the Effeminacy and Wantonness of the *Ephesians*: for there was a great deal of this in the Temples of the Pagans.

Though all this that hath been said (to which much more might have been added) is an irrefragable Proof of the impure and lustful Practices which accompanied the Heathen Worship; yet a late Writer hath the Confidence to say, that † *The Heathens seldom mixed any such vile Practices with their Religious Solemnities*: but as he attempts not to prove it, so 'tis well known that he did this only to contradict *Dr. Hammond*. There is nothing plainer in the Records of Pagan Antiquity, than their mixing of Impurity and Lust with their Religious and Idolatrous Rites. So that it is no wonder, that in the Scripture-stile Idolatry is often expressed by Fornication and Whoredom, and to commit Fornication is the same with worshipping of false Gods.

Other Festivals among the Gentiles were not thought to be performed aright, if Inhumanity and Cruelty, and even the Effusion of Blood were not part of the Worship.

|| Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 4.

* Ib. l. 7. c. 21.

† Lib. 1. c. 4.

|| Euseb. vit. Constant.

† Μοιχείας γὰρ καὶ φθορίας, καὶ ἄννομους ἐτέρας μίξεις, ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν, ὡς περὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ὀφειλόμενον, χρῆναι παθεῖν ἐν τῇ λαῶν. Pŕap. Evang. l. 4. c. 16.

* Geogr. l. 8.

† Athen. l. 12.

† J. Cler. Suppl. ad Ham. An.

ship. Thus Baal's Worshipers cut and flathed themselves with Knives and Lancets till the Blood gushed out upon them, 1 Kings 18. 28. And we are ascertained by the Sacred Writ, that no less a Sacrifice than Human Blood was thought acceptable to † Moloch. And prophane History witnesses the same concerning other Heathen Gods and Idols. The Persians were to undergo a Dozen sorts of Torments, some greater, some lesser, before they fitted themselves for the Mysteries of their God Mithra, the Sun. The Mysteries and Ceremonies of Ceres, and the Rites and Sacrifices of Bacchus were || prohibited at Rome by a positive decree of the Senate, because they were guilty of inhuman Actions and Barbarities in those Solemnities. In brief, (for it would be endless to expatiate here) the Rites and Ceremonies of the Gentile Idolaters performed to their Gods, were as Strange, Unreasonable, and Absurd, as their Gods themselves.

† 2 Kings 23. 10.
Psal. 106. 38.
|| Liv. Hist. l. 59.
c. 9. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5.

Now after all, let us reflect on the Premises, and be convinced of the Vanity and Folly of that Polytheism which prevailed in the Heathen World; let us despise and detest it; let us take care that we be not in any manner guilty of it.

1. I say, let us look back on what hath been said, and be fully convinced of the great Vanity of the Pagan Idolatry, and the greater Vanity and Folly of those that practised it. It was as wittily as truly said by Lactantius, concerning those Romans who made Mens or Understanding a Deity, * that if they had any such thing themselves, they would not have done it. The same may be with as great truth said concerning the other Heathen Idolaters whom I have mentioned; if they had been Masters of any good Sense and Intellects, they would never have acted so weakly and foolishly. This is the Remark which the Great Apostle makes concerning these idolatrous Gentiles, *They became vain in their Imaginations, and their foolish Heart was darkened*, Rom. 1. 21. And certainly this is the greatest Instance and Proof imaginable of the vile Degeneracy of Mankind, and of the extreme Sottishness of Human Minds. They were so extravagant and exorbitant, that All things were deified by them. This ran in their Minds, that they must have fresh Gods, now a Calf, and then a Star, and Idols of the most different Kinds and Qualities. For every Month in the Year they had a God or Goddess that was President of it, Juno for January, Neptune for February, &c. And they had a Variety of Gods for every Day, if they had a mind to it. And some indeed every Day changed their Gods, and they chose a Deity by chance. Thus it was the Custom of some Pagans in the Northern Parts of the World to worship whatever living thing they saw first in the Morning, either in the Air, on the Earth, or in the Water. This they worshipped till Night very solemnly, and the next Day they made choice of another Deity. So the People of Cambaia pray to the first thing they meet with in the Morning, tho' a Goose or an Ass, a Crow only excepted. Such is the gross Folly of Idolaters! Any thing and every thing was a God with them, and no Considerations and Reasons could divert them from this wild Perswasion and Practice. Yea their Folly was so great, that one of the Antients whom I have before quoted, was bold to say, * It is much better to believe that there are no Gods at all, than that they are such as these represent them to be. He was of opinion, that Atheism is to be preferred to such Idolatry.

* Mentem inter Deos collocavit senatus, quam profecto si habuisset, ejusmodi sacra nunquam suscepisset. De fals. Relig. c. 20.

2. Let us then despise and disdain, let us loath and abhor those Pagan Practices before rehearsed. I will urge both these distinctly: and first, let us scorn and despise these Paganish Follies, and to that purpose let us conceive of them accordingly, that is, as the Holy Scripture represents them to us. Certainly it was designed by the Holy Ghost in those Writings, that we should have very mean and slight thoughts of the Pagan Idolatry, seeing it is set forth there under so many Disparaging and Reproachful Titles. Hebel, Vanity, is the word for Idols in several Places of the Old Testament, as 2 Kings 17. 15. Jer. 2. 5. & 10. 15. & 18. 15. And in the plural, Hebelim, Vanities, Deut. 32. 21. 1 Kings 16. 13. Jer. 14. 22. Jon. 2. 8. And in this Sense it is used in Jer. 10. 8. *The stock is a doctrine of Vanities*, i. e. all the whole Discipline of Idolaters is vain, idle, useless, and of no advantage. And so τὰ μάταια used by the LXX. to express the Hebrew Word in some of the forementioned places, is applied to False Gods in Acts 14. 15. where the Pagan Idolaters, who would have canonized St. Paul and St. Barnabas as Gods, are exhorted to turn from their Vanities (τὰ ἑαυτῶν μάταια) to the living God.

* Rectius multò est, deos esse non credere, quàm esse illos tales. Arnob.

Another

Another Hebrew word, *Aven*, which signifies *Vanity*, is applied to Idols and counterfeit Deities, *Isai.* 41. 29. *Zech.* 10. 2. whence *Bethel* in way of derision is called *Beth-aven*, *Hof.* 4. 15. & 5. 8. a *House of Vanity*, to let us know that that Place which was formerly *the House of God*, is now become the *House of Idols* and *False Gods*; and also to assure us of this Truth, that Idolatrous Worship is the greatest *Vanity* and the emptiest Delusion in the World. Hence the Idolatrous Rites are called *Lying Vanities*, *Jon.* 2. 8. and an Idolater is a *teacher of Lies*, *Hab.* 2. 18. And that you may see that the Stile of the New Testament is agreeable to that of the Old, they who *changed the Truth of God into a Lie*, are (as it is explained in the next words) those that *worship the Creature more than* (or besides) *the Creator*, *Rom.* 1. 25. Idols are a *Lie*, they are nothing of what they are said to be.

Elilim is another reproachful Name given in Scripture to the Gentile Deities and Idols, *1 Chron.* 16. 26. *Psal.* 96. 5. *Isa.* 2. 18, 20. and how excellently doth this Term set forth their *Vanity*? for *Elilim* is thought by some to be as much as *al Elim*, *non Dii*; though they have the Name of Gods, yet they are not so, they are nothing of that Nature. Yea they are Nothing in themselves; for *Elil* is *nihil*, or *nihili*, as we find the Word used in *Job* 13. 4. and *Zech.* 11. 17. where we read of *Physicians of no value*, and of the *Idol-shepherd*, which if we regard the strict and proper meaning of the Word *Elil*, should be rendred *Physicians*, and *Shepherd of nothing*, vain, sorry, useless Persons, good for nothing. In the same Sense the *False Gods* and *Idols* of the Heathens are stiled *Elilim*, *dii nihili*, yea such Gods as are *Elil*, *nihil*.

Another very expressive word, *viz.* *Tohu*, is used in *1 Sam.* 12. 21. which we translate *vain Things* and *Vanity*; but this doth not fully set forth the meaning of the word, for *Tohu* signifies *Inanity*, *Vacuity*, yea *Nothing*; and accordingly in the forementioned place *Tohu* is rendred by the *Seventy*, *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, and *ἔθ' ὅτι*, *things that are not, and nothing*. And that is a most remarkable Place, *Isa.* 41. 29. where there are no less than four words, *viz.* *Aven* *Vanity* (a word which I took notice of before) *Ophen*, *Nothing*; *Ruach*, *Wind*; *Tohu*, *Vacuity* or *Nullity*; to express the Nature of Idols and Idolatrous Worship. Answerably to which Stile of Sacred Scripture, Idols are called by the *Apocryphal* Writer, *μάταια vain Things*, *Esther* 14. 10. nay, *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, *things that are not*.

And this is the Language of the New Testament also, *We know* (saith the Apostle) *that an Idol is nothing in the World*, *1 Cor.* 8. 4. It is nothing real and substantial, it is a Representation of Things that are not, yea and that cannot be. And so indeed the Word *εἰδωλον* imports, * it hath not any Subsistence: and therefore the Grecians call their *Tritons*, *Centaur*s, and *Sphinxes*, *εἰδωλα*, mere Images of things, and which are merely fictions. An Idol then might deservedly be called *nothing*, because it is nothing of that which the Heathens thought it was, that is, it was no God. And it is *nothing*, because it hath no Virtue and Efficacy, no Power to do any thing, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* describes Idols, *they cannot do Evil, neither is it in them to do good*, *Jer.* 10. 5. What is the Reason? The Apostle tells us it, when he saith they are *Nothing*. This and all the other disparaging Epithets before given to the Gentile Idols, are to express the Vileness and Baseness of the idolatrous Worship, and thence to beget in us a Contempt and Scorn of it.

Secondly, Let us not only scorn and disdain, but *hate* and *detest* it. And there are particular Expressions and Modes of Speech in the same Sacred Writings, which will be serviceable to promote this Hatred and Detestation. There you may take notice that *Boshetb*, *Pudor*, *Pudendum*, is the Term that is applied to the *Heathen Idols*, they being things so *shameful*, and such as the Idolaters ought to have *blush'd* at. This Denomination is given to *Baal*, *Jer.* 11. 13. where we translate it *that shameful thing*. *Baal-Peor* is called *Boshetb*, *Shame*, by the Prophet *Hosea*, chap. 9. ver. 10. and so it seems to be understood in *Jer.* 3. 24. Thence *Gideon*, who is called *Ferub-baal*, *Judg.* 6. 32. i. e. an *Impugner* of *Baal*, is in *2 Sam.* 11. 21. called *Ferubbesheth*, i. e. an *Impugner* or *Defacer* of that *shameful* Idol. And if we compare *1 Chron.* 8. 33, 34. with *2 Sam.* 2. 8. and *2 Sam.* 4. 4. we shall see that *Eshbaal* and *Meribbaal* in the former place, are called *Ishboshetb* and *Mephiboshetb* in the latter ones: for the pious *Jews* out of detestation of Idols expunged the Word *Baal* out of those Names, and put *Besheth* and *Boshetb* (which are the same) in the place of it, which signifies a *shameful* thing, such as ought to produce Shame and

* Τὸ εἰδω-
λον ἔστι
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Pagan Idol
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Confusion of Face: Again, another odious Name that is given to Idols is *Emim*, *Terrores*, Jer. 50. 38. the same name that is given to the Terrible Giants, the *Anakim*, Deut. 2. 11. Which informs us how detestable Superstition and Idolatry are; they fright and distract Mens Minds, they fill their Thoughts with horrid Ideas. For this reason Queen *Maacab's* Idol hath the Name of *Mipbletzeth*, 1 Kings 15. 13. from *palatz*, *territus fuit*: and it is probable that it was on some other account a very Formidable and Horrible Idol, and such as any good Man would tremble at.

Gnetzeb and *gnetzabim* are other Words in Holy Writ whereby the Pagan Deities and Idols are expressed, as in *Psal.* 135. 15. *Isa.* 48. 5. *Hof.* 4. 17. and in several other Places. Now we may satisfy our selves from *Gen.* 3. 16. and other Texts, that *Gnetzeb* is *Dolor*, *Mæror*, *Molestia*, *Labor*, to denote to us that Disquiet, Trouble, Sorrow and Fatigue which accompany Idolatry, and are necessarily bred from it. Another Expression to render it detestable is *Mashchith*, *Corruption*, for it is thought by some Jewish Expositors and others, that the Mount of Olives is called the *Mount of Corruption*, 2 Kings 23. 13. by way of Detestation, because they had made it a Place of Idolatrous Worship. The mount of *Mishcab*, that is, *Unction*, is turned into the Mount of *Maschith*, *Corruption*, by the Idolatrous Practices of the Jews, (as *Bethel* was changed into *Beth-aven*) so that *Corruption* and *Idolatry* are made synonymous Terms.

Next, it is observable that the Gentile Gods and Idols are called *Gillulim*, 1 Kings 15. 12. 2 Kings 17. 12. *Ezek.* 6. 4. & 22. 3. & 30. 13. and in other places; which Hebrew word is from *Galal*, *Stercus*; and so *Gillulim* is as much as *Dii Stercorei*, Excrementitious Gods, dirty, sordid, filthy Idols. Nay, this very Word *Gillulim* is used to signify human Excrements, *Ezek.* 4. 12. the dung of *Mans* *Egestion*, as it is called there; and so again it is applied in *Zeph.* 1. 17. So *Baal-zebub*, or *Bel-zebub*, the God or Idol of the *Ektopites* (of whom before) was in way of Derision and Detestation called by the Jews, *Bel-zebul*, that is, the *Dung-Lord*. This was the Language of those Religious Hebrews who abhorred Idolatry; they on purpose made this change of the Word, to jeer and defy the Idol; and our Saviour being a Jew, was pleased to comply with them in their way of speaking; that thence we may gather how filthy, abominable and loathsome the Idolatrous Service is, and how we are concerned to express our Sense of it. We read that *Moses* took the Golden Calf, and after he had pulverized it, made the *Israelites* take it down into their Bodies, as it were to tell them, that Idolatry is to be loathed and abominated, as we do that which passes through us. And how fitly did they break down and destroy the *House of Baal*, and turn it into a *Draught-house*? 2 Kings 10. 27. A most congruous and fit Alteration of an Idol-Temple, and of the *Gillulim*, the *Dungy Gods*. A very proper Emblem and Symbol of the Turpitude of Idolatry.

Lastly, To shew the detestable and abominable Nature of Idols, they are called *Shikkuts*, *Abomination*: thus *Chemosh* is said to be the *Abomination of Moab*, and *Moloch* to be the *Abomination of the Children of Ammon*, 1 Kings 11. 7. and so the Word is used in *Dan.* 9. 27. & 11. 31. & 12. 11. And *Shikkutim* (in the Plural) is thus applied, 2 Kings 23. 24. *Ezek.* 20. 7. *Hof.* 9. 10. And (to add but this more) another Hebrew Word for *Abominations*, viz. *Tognaboth*, is made use of to express the Rites and Practices of Idolaters, *Ezek.* 22. 2.

Thus the Consideration of the Style of the Holy Spirit in Scripture concerning the Worship of the Heathen Gods, is sufficient to prompt us to an utter loathing and abhorring of it. Especially if we remember likewise how often in Scripture God himself is said to hate, loath, and abhor this practice. To which purpose it is taken notice of by a Learned * Jew, that God is more especially said to hate Idolatry, * In *Mo-* Deut. 7. 10. & 12. 31. & 16. 22. and that *Anger*, *Jealousy*, *Indignation*, are never ascri- re Nevoc. bed to God in Scripture but when Idolatry is mentioned, or referred to; for which p. r. c. 36. he quotes *Deut.* 6. 15. & 11. 16. & 31. 29. If he had said that those Attributes very & alibi. frequently and in a special manner relate to Idolatry and Idolaters, he had said right, and it is enough for the present purpose: but it will be hard, if not impossible, to prove that those Terms are never used but when Idolatry or Idolaters are the Matter spoken of. It is sufficient, I say, to alienate our Minds and Affections from these, that nothing is more detestable to God than they are.

3. Let us not in the least measure be guilty of Idolatry, or approach to any thing that is like it. It may seem strange that I should dehort the Christian Reader from Pagan Idolatry, as if it were not well known that Christianity is a Fence against all

that is either Pagan or Idolatrous. But though we are far removed from all this by the Principles of our Religion, yet sometimes it is evident that there is a Tendency to such Practices even in Persons professing the Institution of *Christ Jesus*, but mistaking the true Meaning and Design of it. They make Approaches to Idolatry by superstitious and needless Rites and Ceremonies in Religion, and by a causeless Fear and Dread, and by entertaining undue Thoughts concerning Him whom they worship. Those of the *Roman Church* are guilty in these respects, and in several others which are much grosser, of which I spoke before, and therefore shall not add any thing now.

The Socinians are great Patrons, whatever they think, of Idolatry, for they professedly own the worshipping of *Christ*, whom they believe and assert to be but a Man. It is the Confession of the Author of the *Brief History of the Unitarians*, that the Socinians generally not only grant, but earnestly contend, that *Christ is to be worshipped and prayed to*. And another of them acknowledges, that *there are Unitarians at this day, who pray to *Christ*, and in so doing give Divine Honour to him. And yet these Men, tho' they worship him as God, yet deny his Divinity, and look upon him as no other than a created Being. What is this but Idolatry, if giving Divine Honour to a Creature be Idolatry? And accordingly the Second Nicene Council condemned the Arians as Idolaters, because they held *Christ* was to be adored, notwithstanding he was but a mere Man.

* Socin. cont. Francken Smalc. Exam. 100 Error. Item de Errorib. Arian.

† A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity.

|| Epist. 3. ad Radec. Disput. cont. Francken. & Wick. Exam. argument. pro Trino & Uno Deo.

** Volkel. de V. R. l. 5. c. 29. Smalc. Exam. 100 Error. &, de Error. Arianor.

But what have Socinus and his Brethren to say for themselves? Why they tell us, that * Divine Worship is founded on Dominion and Authority, and is not given to God as he is God, not because of his Divine Nature, but because he is above others; and so *Christ* being exalted by God the Father, is thereby made capable of receiving Divine Adoration. Which is thus expressed by an English Socinian of late, † *Christ is God by reason of his Divine Sovereignty over us, and Worship is due to such Sovereignty*. Nay, Socinus builds the Adoration of *Christ* on this, that || *God can command a Stock or a Stone, or any thing else, to be worshipped with Divine Worship, if he pleaseth*. And some ** others of the most celebrated and applauded Writers of that

Party profess, that Divine Worship may be given to others besides God, as *Angels* and *Men*. And truly, if (according to their Great Patriarch) a *Stock* or a *Stone* may have that Honour, it is no wonder that they are willing to grant that the Angelick and Human Order are capable of it, i. e. may be worshipped with the same Worship that is given to God.

Besides the *Roman* and *Racovian* Idolatry, there are other Kinds wherein Men transgress, though they think they are no Friends to Idolatry. But they maintain Notions or Practices which seem to favour it, and approach too near to it. Such

* Serm. 1. on 1 Tim. 2. 5. Serm. 2. on *Christ's* Incarnation.

† Bp. Patrick's Commentary on Deut. 12. 7.

* Mr. Norris of Reason and Faith,

c. 4.

† Raphson de Spatio Infinito.

is that Opinion, that many things in *Christianity* are borrowed from the *Pagan* Idolaters. Thus the * late Arch-Bishop holds that some of the main Transactions of our Saviour, in order to our Salvation, were in Imitation of the idolatrous Practices of the *Prophane Heathens*. Another tells us that, † *It being the Custom of the Heathen People to feast with their Gods in their Temples, or near their Altars, therefore God entertained his People also at his own House, and commanded them to eat their Sacrifices in the Sanctuary*.

Another makes *Truth* to be God, for his Words are these, * *It is identified with the Divine Substance, or God himself*: and in another place, *It is the very Essence of the Deity*.

There is † a late Writer, that by virtue of his Mathematicks makes *Infinite Space*, wherein the World is enwrapped, a God; tho' it is certain that *Space* is no real Thing or Subsistence, but only the Mode or Circumstance of Bodies.

Besides, there is a deal of *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* in the World, because whatever Men immoderately affect or excessively extol, they make their God. The Socinian and Deist worship their only Godde's Reason. Some pay too great a Reverence to their Virtues, and whilst they are proud of them, may be said to idolize them. But others (and they the greater Number) consecrate and worship their Vices: their Belly, i. e. the Satisfaction of their fleshly Appetites, is their God, as the Apostle speaks, *Phil. 3. 19*. or some other vicious and inordinate Enjoyment is deified by them. But the *Pagan* Idolatry had something of all these; wherefore having treated so fully of that, it is needless to enlarge here, and therefore I will put a Period to the whole Discourse.

T H E

T H E

THIRD COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

Under this Commandment, which forbids the Taking God's Name in vain, is shewed how those of the Church of Rome, Pagans, Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Enthusiasts, Hypocrites, break this Commandment. What an Oath or Swearing is. The several Kinds of Unlawful Oaths. The Heinousness of Profane Swearing in Common Conversation. Of Perjury. The Lawfulness of Swearing on solemn Occasions. Limitations and Exceptions about Oaths, and the Obligation of them.

IN these Words we are to observe, 1. The Precept it self, *Thou shalt not take, &c.* 2. The Reason adjoined, *For the Lord will not hold him guiltless, &c.* that is, he will severely punish so great and heinous a Sin: Though Men pass it by, yet God will not.

I begin with the Precept it self, and there first it will be necessary to shew what is meant by the Name of God. By this we are to understand, 1. God himself, his Divine Being and Essence: for in the Holy Writings Name is put for the Person or Thing that is named. 2. That which is more strictly and properly called his Name, i. e. the Title of God or Lord, which is given to him. 3. The Properties and Attributes of God. 4. His Works and Actions. 5. His Ordinances and Worship. 6. His Words, i. e. the Holy Scriptures. And in brief, all things appertaining to God, all things whereby God hath made himself known to us, as Men are known by their Names, all things that are Religious and Sacred. When I discoursed of the First Petition in the Lord's Prayer, viz. *Hallowed be thy Name*, I particularly shewed that these are all meant by God's Name, and therefore I shall not now stay to evince this, but proceed to shew you what it is to take this Name in vain.

To take (or as the Original Word more properly signifies) to take up a Name, is to mention or rehearse it. Thus the Psalmist saith with relation to false Gods and Idols, and the Sacrifices and Oblations which were offered to them, he will not take up their Names into his Lips, Psal. 16. 40. and so in Psal. 50. 16. And a Name is then said to be taken in vain, when it is used in an undue, unfit, and unlawful Manner, for what is not as it should be, is in vain. Briefly then, to take or usurp the Name of God in vain is this, to speak of or mention God himself, or any thing that belongs to him in a rash, irreverent, or profane manner. Yea, all Abuse and Prophanation of God's Name is here forbidden. This is the Negative Part of the Commandment; and here I will shew what are the particular Sins that are reducible to it, and are forbidden by it. And I shall do it in that Method and Order which I have proposed, viz. according to those different Acceptions of God's Name which I before mentioned.

I. This Commandment condemns those who question the *Being* and *Essence* of God. How many in these Days are guilty of this? They do not only with the Psalmist's Atheist *say in their Hearts there is no God*, but they are so bold and daring as to proclaim this aloud to the World. They openly profess that the World was by Chance, and that there is nothing of Counsel and Contrivance in the Make and Structure of it. It is to be deplored, (though it cannot sufficiently be done) that in a Nation professing Christianity, there are so great Numbers of Men that deny a supreme and intelligent Author of all things. These are particularly struck down by this Commandment; for it is *taking God's Name in vain* in the properest Sense, to reckon the Notion of a *God* as an empty thing, to look upon it as an idle and vain Conceit; which is the most horrid Blasphemy that can enter into the Heart of Man. To undertake here to confute them is to shew too much Regard to their Folly and Madness; for these Men are proud of their being taken Notice of, and hug their Opinion because some take the Pains to refute it. However, at present I will not enter upon this Task, having upon another Occasion fully laid open the Weakness as well as the Impiety of these Mens Tenents.

2. By Virtue of this Commandment all irreverent mentioning of the very Title or Name of God is vitious. The Import of the Commandment is this, saith Theodoret, * *That none pronounce the Name of God without some good Reason and Ground, namely, on the Account of Teaching, or Praying, or some other necessary Occasion.* We prophane it by taking it into our Mouths on ordinary and trifling

* Δίχα διδασκαλίας, ἢ προσ-
δχῆς, ἢ ἀναγκῆς τινὸς χρει-
ας ἢ θείαν μὴ περιφέρειν προσ-
γχείαν. Quæst. 41. in Exod.

Accounts, when we never think of God. The common using of the Name of God or Lord, as is done by most People; the asking of Alms in God's Name, or Christ's Name, as is done by Beggars generally, is a Prophanation of those holy Names. The giving the Name of the *Holy Trinity*, of *Jesus*, or *Christ*, to a College, Church or Hospital, &c. yea, to a Street or Lane, &c. yields Occasion for the pronouncing of those Words at alltimes in a rude and careless Manner. Not that the bare Commonness or Frequency of using any of these Names is faulty, for God's Name may daily be used by Parents in Blessing their Children, and by all in Salutation, *God be with you*, if it be done with Seriousness and Attention. But it is the light and negligent Use of this that makes it an Offence. And so to salute with a Blessing those that sneeze is common every where, not only in Popish but in Protestant Countries (as Mr. Ray tells us) but because it is generally done in a mere formal and customary Manner, and without any Reason or Ground for it, it is so far unfitting and culpable. We cannot without Guilt make Mention of the Holy Name of the most high God in a negligent and superficial Way. We must take Care that we be not of the Number of those whom Philo speaks of, † who make the Name of God a mere *Expletive*, they use it only to fill up their Discourse.

† Λόγων
ἀναπλή-
ρωμα ποι-
εῖν οἱ τοὺς
ἀγίους
τοῦ καὶ θεοῦ
ὀνόματι. De
Vit. Mos.

Again, God's Name is irreverently mentioned when it is given to any other but himself. Therefore when the Pagan Worshippers gave the Name of God to their Idols and false Deities, they blasphemed at a high Rate. Some have thought that this was principally referred to in this Commandment, for they render it thus, *Thou shalt not give the Name of the Lord thy God to a Vanity or Idol*; for μάταιον which

† Non sumes nomen Domini
Dei tui in vano, id est, in Idolo.
Cecidit igitur in idololatriam
qui Idolum Dei nomine serio
honoraverit. De Idololatriâ.

is the Word here used by the Septuagint, is an Idol, Lev. 17. 7. 2 Chron. 11. 15. Isa. 2. 20. This was Tertullian's Gloss on the Words; † *Thou shalt not (saith he) take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, that is, in an Idol; wherefore that Man is guilty of Idolatry, who, seriously speaking, honours an Idol with the Name of God.*

‡ 2 Theff.
2. 4.

And the same may be said of giving this Title to any of the greatest Potentates on Earth. It is true, according to the sacred Stile Kings and Magistrates are *Gods*, but they are called so because they are God's Vice-gerents and Substitutes on Earth, and to put them in Mind of the high Station and Dignity they are placed in. But if we speak strictly and properly, no Creature (of what Eminence soever) hath a Right to this Name. And therefore when some of the Roman Emperors (as well as some other haughty Monarchs before them) affected divine Honour, and would needs be stiled *Gods*, it was a palpable Violation of this Law of Nature and right Reason, viz. that we ought not to take God's Name in vain. And against it offends that || *Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called*

God,

God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God, and permitting himself to be stiled Our Lord and God, as he is by the * Canonists; and other Titles he assumes to himself, which favour of the same blasphemous Spirit.

* Domi-
nus Deus
noster Pa-
pa. In
Gloss. cap.
Cum in-
ter, &c.

Here I might adjoin that it is unlawful to apply to God any Word or Name that is prophane. *Thou shalt call me Ishi*, (my Husband) not *Baali*, (my Lord) *Hos. 2.* 16. because the Words *Baal* and *Baalim* were used by the Heathens, and were Names prophaned by Idolaters. And so proportionably we are forbid to join any thing with God's Name that is unsuitable to it, and we must never make use of the Name it self but with a reverent Apprehension of God himself. The Name *Jehovah* was reputed so holy with the *Jews*, that they seldom or never pronounced it, lest they should make it common, and thereby vilify it; they concealed the Pronunciation of it, and instead of the Tetragrammaton used the Word *Adonai*. But herein they were superstitious and over-nice. Let not us on the contrary shew our selves prophane, by abusing any of the Names of God through our rash and irreverent mentioning them, or through an undue Applying of them.

But more especially under this Head we are forbid to abuse God's Name by unlawful Oaths, by sinful Swearing; for all Interpreters of this Commandment fully agree in this, that to take the Name of the Lord God in vain is to prophane it by Swearing. But I shall speak of this by it self afterwards, because it is looked upon by the Generality of Expositors as the main and principal thing designed in this part of the Decalogue. For this Reason I will distinctly and largely treat of it; but at present I go on with what I propounded, viz. to shew what other Particulars are comprehended in this Commandment, according to the different Acception and Meaning of the Name of God.

3. Then, This Precept of the Moral Law lets us know, that we must not by any irreligious Manner of speaking prophane the Divine Attributes, for these also are meant by the Name of God. Rash and unadvised Propositions concerning any of these are here disallowed of: Much more to speak in Contempt of God's infinite Majesty, transcendent Greatness, and Almighty Power is unsufferable. Such was the contumelious and blasphemous Language of *Rabshakeh*, who impiously represented *Senacherib* as stronger than the omnipotent God; for three or four times he vaunts that the Lord could not deliver the Jews out of the Hand of his Master, the King of Assyria, 2 Kings 18. 30, 32, 35. A near Approach to this Blasphemy is the common Deportment of Men; they are under very awful Apprehensions of what human Force can do unto them, they excessively fear them that can kill the Body, but they disregard what the Almighty is able to execute; they do in effect say, that the Divine and Infinite Power is inferior to that which is bodily and finite. God's Purity and Holiness are also blasphemed by those who assert him to be the Author of Sin, the Cause of that which is said to be the Work of the Devil; or who lay their Faults and Guilt upon God himself, or who maintain that he takes no Notice of the sinful Miscarriages of the Faithful, and is never displeased with them. God's Justice is profaned either by Mens questioning it, or disputing about the Equity of it, or by not expressing a sufficient Fear and Dread of so terrible an Attribute. God's Mercy is abused on one Hand by presumptuous Boastings of the Benefits of it, and on the other hand by Words of Despondency and Despair. God's infinite Knowledge and Wisdom whereby he directs all things to the best Ends, are blasphemously dishonoured, not only by an Atheistical disowning of them, but by preferring our own shallow Conceits and Projects before them, as is the usual Practise of Men. God's Truth and Faithfulness are reproached by us, when we doubt of the Reality of them, or when we speak unbecomingly of them, as if we gave no Credit to the divine Word and Promises. All these are open Offences against this Commandment; for they are Prophanations of the incommunicable Properties and Excellencies of God.

4. The Unlawfulness of speaking irreverently concerning God's Works and Actions (for they likewise are included in his Name) is here discovered. First, it is a great Sin to disparage the Works of God's Creation. It is related of *Alphonfus*, the 10th King of Castile, (he that was called the Wise, because of his Skill in Philosophy and Astronomy) that he blasphemously bragged that he could have ordered things better in the Heavenly Bodies than God had. And *Plempius*, a Physician of no mean Account, seems to find Fault with the Structure of the Eye, and pretends

it

it might have been amended. Some have lately been so audacious as to blemish the Make of the Earth, and to represent it in several Respects unworthy of its Creator. Others are heard to complain that there are a great Number of Creatures in the World that are made for no use; and other reproachful Language of the like sort is too frequent in Mens Mouths and Writings. But certainly this is a great Degree of Prophanation, and there is no religious Ear that doth not perfectly disdain and abhor it, and that for this very good Reason, because whatsoever God made, is the Effect and Product of his Wisdom; therefore on that very Account we ought to think and believe that it is some ways worthy of him. Far be it from us then to disparage it.

Secondly, It is an equal Crime to speak ill of God's Works of Providence, to find Fault with his Conduct in the World. And yet this is a very common Miscarriage, and sometimes the very best Men are incident to it. Job cursed the Day of his Birth, and impatiently wished for Death, and was very much dissatisfied with the afflictive Circumstances he was under. David, Jeremiah, Jonah, and some others who have a good Character in Scripture, are sometimes heard to murmur at the Divine Dispensation; but these were but transient Fits, and soon vanished. Those of a prophane Spirit retain this Temper a long time, yea indeed upon all Occasions, (i. e. whenever their Condition is dangerous or calamitous) their Speeches discover the inward Rancour of their Minds, and their hellish Disgust of Gods Dealings with them. They belch out Blasphemies and Curses against Heaven it self; because such things happen to them by the Divine Providence which are displeasing to them. But nothing can be more irrational and unaccountable, for as we are Creatures we are dependent Beings, and subsist by our Creator's Bounty, and therefore we are to be wholly at his Disposal, and we are to believe and thoroughly perswade our selves that the all-wise Maker and Governour of the World can do nothing amiss, yea, that he orders all things for our real Good and Welfare as long as we trust in him, and yield Obedience to his Laws.

Thirdly, If God's Works of Creation and Providence are not to be unduly entertained by us, then much less his Works of Redemption and Salvation. It is the greatest of all Sins to vilify the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation, to disparage the blessed and glorious Undertakings of the Son of God, to lessen and diminish the Worth and Excellency of this Divine Person, and to derogate from his Merits and Satisfaction. Therefore you may hence judge how profanely one of the Schoolmen asserted, that * as Ahasuerus gave to Esther, so God the Son gives to his Mother Mary half of his Kingdom; and how irreligious those Words of Bellarmine are, † A Man may be said to be his own Redeemer, without any Injury to Christ. And how injurious the Generality of the Pontificians are to our Saviour's meritorious and all-sufficient Mediatorship, when they make the Saints and Angels Joint-Intercessors and Mediators with him. But the Arians and Socinians, who deny the Divinity of Christ, are the greatest Blasphemers of all against the blessed Work of Man's Redemption; for by disowning his Godhead they make him a meer Man, and like one of us; and how then was it possible for him to make Satisfaction to the Divine Justice, and thereby to purchase Life and Happiness for us? We might have effected this Work our selves, if there was a Possibility of its being done by human Strength; and then we may justly ask, What Need was there that Christ, (if we suppose him to be no more than a Man) should undertake for us? Thus irrational as well as impious is the Denial of Christ's God-head. I will give the Reader a Taste of the blasphemous Temper of these Men in that one Passage, (though some hundreds might be produced) || It is a gross Error to say that any thing is obtained for us by Christ, and that he hath procured eternal Life for us; for Christ neither satisfied for us, nor could he do it. The Value of his Blood is not infinite, and therefore the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction is monstrous.

Under this Particular we may with Regret and Indignation take Notice how unworthily Christianity hath been treated; what Contempt and Scorn, what Reproach and Contumely this Holy Institution hath met with. The Pagan Philosophers derided it, the Jewish Doctors and Rabbies vented their utmost Blasphemies against it; on which account the Jerusalem Talmud, and several Jewish Writers are very infamous. Among Christians, those that were the Founders of Heresies prophaned it by abusing and perverting its Doctrines. Among those of the Roman Perswasion too many have corrupted it by their superstitious Rites and Ceremonies,

* Gabr. Biel in Lect. super Can. † De Purgator. lib. i. c. 14.

|| Smalc. Exam. 157 Error. Err. 79 & 80.

remonies, and by superadding new Articles of Faith; and others of them have much more injured it by representing it as a Cheat; witness that Saying of Pope Leo the 10th to Cardinal Bembo (upon viewing the great Sums of Money brought in for Indulgences) *See what a deal of Wealth this Fable of Christ brings us in.* And (not to flatter any Side) among Protestants, and those that lay Claim to that Title, there are some that vilify and deride the most substantial Matters of Christianity. Mr. Le Clerc is so far from owning, that he laughs at the *Mysteries* of Religion. Divines, faith * he, affect to talk of those things which they understand not. And if a-^{* Critic.} my Man ask them an Interpretation of several Words they use, they reply that their Discourse ^{Sacr. c. 9.} is about Things that are incomprehensible; and therefore human Reason must not pass Judgment on these as it doth upon others. And in † another Place he takes Part with Por-^{† Cap. 16.} phyrus, that professed Enemy of Christianity, and defends his Invectives against the Christian Writers, because they were mystical sometimes, and obscure in their Discourses and Writings. Further, through the Fault of some of the Reformed Religion this blessed Institution of Jesus hath been rendered contemptible; namely, by Divisions and Quarrels, and Variety of Sects and Parties, and most of all by the Unsuitableness of their Practises to that holy Rule. Thus on different Accounts Men take occasion (but unjustly) to speak contemptibly, irreverently, yea, blasphemously of Religion it self, and whatever is sacred, and appertains to the things of God. But let not us be of this Number; but be so intelligent and wise as to discern the inward Worth of our holy Religion; and let us admire, love, and embrace it for it self, and be convinced that it is a very heinous Sin to disregard, despise, speak ill of, and prophane that which is so excellent and divine. This is a great Part of what is forbidden in this Commandment, viz. *Taking the Name of the Lord our God in vain.*

5. So do they likewise who irreverently make their Addresses to God in his *Worship* and *Ordinances*; for these are included in his Name. How frequently is this Commandment broken in Mens Prayers, whilst they prophane this holy Duty by rash and impertinent multiplying of Words, by using *vain Repetitions*, (Mat. 6. 7.) unbecoming this solemn Exercise of Devotion? The Papists place a great part of their Religion in repeating the *Creeds* and *Pater-nosters* over and over very often; and they affect to pray in an unknown Tongue; both which are no other than prophaning of God's Name. And such is their *Praying to Saints*, especially the *Virgin Mary*, whom they are not ashamed to equal even with Christ, as many of their Prayers testify. Yea, the Name of God is left out by them in the Book of *Psalms*, and her Name is put in its Place; as thus, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my Trust*; instead of which they read, *In thee, O Lady, &c.* O come, let us sing unto the Lord, which they change for these Words, *O come, let us sing unto our Lady.* This is that they call our *Lady's Psalter*, where they all along apply that which is said of God to the *Virgin Mary*. A most horrid Piece of Blasphemy, and scarcely to be named by Christians! Those also mock God, and prophane his Name in Prayer, who perform this Duty without a due Sense of Gods Majesty, before whom they appear; they who draw nigh unto God with their Mouth, and honour him with their Lips, but their Heart is far from him, which was the great Fault which our Saviour reprov'd in the Pharisees, as you read Mat. 15. 8. And they egregiously abuse this sacred Ordinance who call on God in Prayer, and at the same time regard Iniquity in their Hearts, and act and live contrary to their Petitions.

In *Hearing* likewise as well as *Praying* Men take God's Name in vain, when they receive the divine Message in a negligent and careless manner, when they do it without Attention and Reverence; but especially when they take no Care to practise what they hear. These are thus represented by the Prophet Ezekiel, *They come before him as his People cometh, and they sit before him as his People, and they hear his Words, but they will not do them.* The Preacher is unto them as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleasant Voice, and can play well on an Instrument; for they hear his Words, but they do them not; Chap. 33. Ver. 31, 32. This is the Case of most Hearers; whereby it comes to pass that they are so far from receiving any Advantage by this Divine Ordinance, that they increase their Sin and Guilt. Therefore St. James urges this, *Be ye Doers of the Word, and not Hearers only, lest you deceive your selves,* James 1. 22. yea, lest ye mock God, and prophane his holy Name.

This is done in *Fasting* and all other external Acts of Humiliation, where there is not a real Intention of glorifying God by abandoning their Sins and reforming their

their Lives. And I might mention the *Popish Fastings*; as gross Instances of Prophane-
nation. On certain Times they abstain from Flesh, and change it for Fish, as if
this were religious Abstinence. How so, I pray? Is not Fish, eaten with good
Oyl and the best Wine, as delicate Food as what the Butchers Shambles afford?
yet according to the Religion of the Church of Rome, eating Fish, instead of Flesh,
is *Fasting*. This certainly is mocking of God.

Then for the *Sacraments*, how many take God's Name in vain, whilst they cele-
brate them without a right Understanding of what they do; and without a
Sense of the great Work they undertake, and without a Desire and Endeavour to
reap some spiritual Benefit by them? *Baptism* is profaned by a slight and perfun-
ctory, by a careless and irreligious Deportment in it. How seldom do Persons
come with that reverential Awe, and that pious Sense of this sacred Institution
which are required of them? There is a very great and scandalous Fault that
prevails among us, namely, we generally bring Children to Baptism in a formal
and customary Way only; and the Sureties which appear for the Infant, have not
any Apprehension of that solemn Promise and Engagement which they make be-
fore God and Man. This is a very common but a crying Sin at this Day, and
I wish we would lay it to Heart, and do all we can to prevent it. And as Baptism
is abused and prophaned by administering of it, so afterwards by neglecting and
forgetting, and much more by breaking that sacred Vow which was made at that
time. This should remind us of looking back to our past Miscarriage in this kind,
and of amending it for the future.

Again, the *other Sacrament* is exceedingly prophaned, and that these two ways,
1. By a gross neglecting of it; which is the Fault of too many, that otherwise
seem to have a good Sense of their Duty. 2. By an unworthy celebrating of it,
whilst some of very ill Lives and Conversations venture to thrust themselves in a-
mong those that are worthy Communicants. Those more especially prophane
this holy Institution, who abuse it to vile and wicked Ends, as it is known that
some of the Papists have done, who make the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper a
Bond of Iniquity, viz. to oblige them to Secrecy in Treason and Murder, and
the like execrable Villanies. They take Christ's Body and Blood to destroy the
Bodies, and shed the Blood of the Innocent. The *Censures of the Church*, which
are another divine Ordinance, are but an Abusing of God's Name, and a Propha-
ning of that which is holy, when they are made use of to sinister and base Ends,
and not for those Purposes which Christ ordained them for, viz. the Purging of
the Church from all notorious Vice and Wickedness, and Preserving the Honour
of Religion, and advancing the Glory of God, by making a visible Distinction
and Separation between the pure and impure, the clean and unclean.

6. The *Word of God*, the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testament, where-
by he makes himself and his Will known to Mankind, are comprehended under
his Name, and the Abusing and Prophaning of these are taking his Name in vain.
Such without doubt is the venting of false and erroneous Doctrines, opposite to
the Discoveries made in sacred Writ; such are the Discourses of false Teachers;
whereby they labour to seduce Men from the Faith which was once delivered to
the Saints. Such is the uttering of mean and vilifying Words concerning these
inspired Writings: Thus 'tis a noted Saying of the *Jewish Doctors*, *The Words of the
Cabala, and the Words of the Law, are alike*. And the *Talmud* asserts in express
Terms, that all the Words of the *Rabbins* are to be believed and embraced as the
very Words of the Living God. And these blasphemous *Jews* say that God him-
self studies in the *Talmud* every Day. Some of the *Roman Communion* are not
behind these Men, as to the impious Way of disparaging the Scriptures, as *Melchior
Canus, Hosius, Pigbius, &c.* Some of their Doctors tell us that the Pope can dis-
pense with Things that are forbidden by God's Word, and that the Pope's De-
terminations are to be preferred before Scripture. We are told that * he hath such
a Plenitude of Power, that he can dispense with Law and Right beyond all Law
and Right. And 'tis good Divinity with *Bellarmino*, that † *Christ* hath given Pe-
ter, and consequently the Pope, Power to make Sin to be no Sin, and that which
is no Sin to be Sin. And other blasphemous Passages of this Nature are to be
found in their Writings; so deservedly is the *Papal Beast* said to have a Mouth
speaking Blasphemies, Rev. 13. 5.

* Secun-
dum ple-
nitudi-
nem po-
testatis de
jure pos-
sumus su-
pra jus
dispensa-
re. Greg.
Decret. 1.
3. tit. 8.
c. 4.
† In Bar-
claium,
cap. 3.

And there are others besides those that profess themselves to be of the Church of Rome, who speak very contemptibly of the Holy Scriptures, as all those who pretend to be governed and conducted wholly by the Spirit, and those also who cry up Reason for their sole Guide. Of the first Rank are all *Enthusiasts*, and *Quakers* more particularly: and of the second sort are *Socinians* and *Deists*. One of this latter Denomination arrived to that pitch of Impudence, as to tell the World, that * *there are Stories in the Bible that sound like Garagantua and Bevis*. And it is well known that *Spinoza* holds the Scriptures to have been endited from the Force of Imagination. * Oracles of Reason, p. 3.

Again, God's Word is abused by perverting the Sense and Meaning of it, and wresting it to wrong Purposes. This is done by all Hereticks, Seducers, and false Teachers: they constantly quote the Bible, but at the same time rack and distort it, and make it speak what they please. There are certain Texts of Scripture which the *Papists* continually make use of for their purpose, as *Mat. 16. 18. Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church*; therefore, say they, the Church of Rome is the only Catholick Church, and the Pope, who is *Peter's* Successor, is Head of all inferior Churches throughout the Universe. *Christ* said to *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, *John 21. 16, 17.* Ergo, the Bishop of Rome is Universal Pastor and Governour of the World. *Behold here are two Swords*, said *St. Peter*, *Luke 22. 38.* whence they infer the Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction of the Pope. *All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth*, saith our Saviour, *Mat. 28. 18.* therefore the Pope, who is *Christ's* Vicar, hath the same Power, and hath Right to exercise it. This Text is applied to the *Roman Pontif* by the Council of *Lateran*. Whence *Panormitan* thought he had good reason to say, that the Pope can do all things that God can do. And several other Texts they make use of for their own Ends, drawing absurd and ridiculous Inferences from them. From *Lev. 4. 3.* where a young Bullock is the Sacrifice appointed to be offered for the Priest, and from *Ver. 22.* where a Kid of the Goats is ordered to be offered for the Ruler, *Bellarmino* gathers that the Pope is above all Kings and Emperors; for from the Value and Worth of the Sacrifices we may learn the Dignity of the Persons. Now, a Bullock is better than a Goat, therefore a Priest (and much more a High-Priest) is better than a Ruler or King. Only we may observe, by this Learned Man's Leave, that it is said, *Ver. 14.* that a Bullock was the appointed Sacrifice also for the People, or whole Congregation, when they had done amiss: whence it may as solidly be gathered, that the People are above the King. The same * *Au-* * De Roman. Pontif. l. 4. c. 3. † Ibid. l. 1. c. 22. thor gathers from *Exod. 28. 30.* which speaks of the *Urim* and *Thummim* in the High Priest's Breast-plate, the Infallibility of the Pope. † This Writer observes on *St. Peter's* curing the *Lame Man*, *Acts 3. 6, 7.* that this was the first Miracle he wrought; he began with the Feet, to shew that he was the Basis and Foundation on which the whole Church stood. As much as to say he was the Head of the Church, because he cured the Feet. Then, by the same way of arguing *St. Paul* might be Head too, for he healed a Man that was impotent in his Feet, *Acts 14. 8.* So apparent is the ridiculous Folly of this Author's Arguing.

So for the Usages and Practices of the Church of Rome, this Writer and others found them on some Passages of Scripture, which they most wretchedly abuse, and pervert to that purpose *. *Bellarmino* attempts to prove, from *Gen. 1. 26.* Let us make Man in our Image, that Images are lawful, yea and that it is not forbidden to make an Image of God. † He would prove from *Gen. 2. 9.* where is mention of the Tree of Life (which was a Figure of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper) but no mention of Drink added to this Food, that the Communion under one Kind is lawful. From those Words in *Gen. 3. 9.* God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? || he proves Auricular Confession; for God calls Adam here to Oral Confession. ** He founds the Monastick Life on *Gen. 4. 26.* To Seth was born a Son, and he called his Name Enos: then began Men to call on the Name of the Lord. But if Enos was the first Monk, 'tis plain he was a married one, (which the Church of Rome allows not of) or something worse; for we read that he begat Sons and Daughters, *Gen. 5. 10.* From *Exod. 12. 11.* where the Israelites are bid to eat the Passover with their Loins girded, the Celibacy of Priests is inferred by the same * Author: But he forgot that married Priests (for so they were among the Jews) eat the Paschal Lamb. Come not at your Wives, *Exod. 19. 15.* therefore Clergymen are not to be married, is *Bellarmino's* Argument at † another time; for- * De Imag. Sanct. l. 2. c. 8. † De S. Eucharistia, l. 4. c. 24. || De Pœnitent. l. 3. c. 3. ** De Monach. l. 5. c. 2. * De Clericis, l. 1. c. 19. † Ibid. l. 2. c. 19.

|| Ibid.
l. 1. c. 19.
* De Ec-
cles. Tri-
umph.
l. 2. c. 3.

getting that those Words were spoken to all the People, not to the Priests only. From *Exod.* 28. 42. where we read that the Priests were to wear *Linen Breeches*, he very logically infers the single and unmarried Life of the Clergy. The worshipping of Relicks * he gathers from *Exod.* 13. 19. where *Joseph* commanded his Bones to be carried out of *Egypt* into *Canaan*. From the Command concerning *Heave-Offerings*, *Exod.* 29. 28. *Emanuel Sa* and others justify the Elevation of the Host. The indelible Character that goes with Ordination is grounded on the *Anointing of the Priests*, *Exod.* 40. 15. by *Tostatus* and others. From *Lev.* 8. 9. *Lorinus* proves the Divine Appointment of the Pope's *Triple Crown*. Preach the Gospel to every Creature, said our Lord: thence *St. Francis* preached to Birds and Beasts of all sorts. From *Exod.* 25. 25. where the Table of *Shew-Bread* was to have a Border about it, and a Golden Crown round about that Border, they infer the *Aureole*, which the Martyrs and Doctors of the Church shall be adorned with in Heaven. That Hereticks are to be burnt, is proved by *Serarius* and *Lorinus* from *Lev.* 10. 2. where it is said, *There went out Fire from the Lord, and devoured Nadab and Abihu*. Both *Aquinas* and *Bellarmino* ground the *Seven Sacraments* on the *Seven Candlesticks* in the *Revelation*, and the frequent mention of that particular Number in other Places of Scripture. And a thousand more Instances of this sort might be produced, to shew how the *Roman Divines* play with Sacred Things, and abuse the Bible, and distort the Meaning of it to their own vile Purposes.

* Coll.
Mensal.
c. 44.

Enthusiasts and *Sectaries* (as well as *Papists*) have their particular Texts likewise, which they are wont to pervert and distort, as that in *Jer.* 31. 34. *They shall no more every Man teach his Neighbour, &c.* *John* 6. 45. *They shall be all taught of God.* *Luke* 17. 20. *The Kingdom of God is within you.* *2 Cor.* 3. 6. *The Letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive*: the true Meaning of which Places they corrupt, telling us, that hence it is proved that outward Administrations and Ordinances must cease in the Times of the Gospel, and that there shall be no other Teaching but that of the Spirit. And the mistaking and misapplying of other Passages of Scripture have done a great deal of Mischief in Christendom, because the very corrupted Sense of them is thought by the respective Profelytes to be true and genuine. Whence *Luther* speaking of the *Antinomians* in his Days, hath these Words, * *The Devil when he preaches Christ in his Ministers, even then intendeth to destroy Christ, and altho' he speaketh the Truth, yet at the same time he lieth.* Again, he saith, *Satan through the Gospel will pervert the Gospel.* For false Teachers and Impostors find that this is the most effectual way to promote their pernicious Doctrines. By alledging Scripture for them they render them acceptable to their Hearers and Disciples, and therefore they pretend to build all their Tenets on this Foundation. And indeed they are wont to dress up all they say in Scripture Language. Nothing but this will suffice them, tho' they never concern themselves for the true Sense and Meaning.

It hath been the old Practice of Deceivers and Deluders of all sorts to quote Scripture: and they had it from *Satan* himself, who is a good Textuary, *Mat.* 4. 6. and will be bringing of Proofs out of it to justify the worst of Actions. There is this prophane quoting of Scripture too often used: there are those that produce it even to patronize the most cursed Exploits. As we are told that *King Richard* the Third applied that Text to his Nephew *Edward* the Fifth, *Woe unto thee, O Land, when thy King is a Child*, *Eccl.* 10. 16. There are others that more grossly abuse and prophane the Holy Writings, by scoffing and jesting at the Phrases or the Passages which they pick out of them. They droll on the Sacred Stile, and turn all they find in the Bible into Ridicule. We have some of these graceless Buffoons among us in every City and Town. We have our *Lucians*, our *Celsus's*, our *Porphyrius's*, who exercise their Wit in reviling Christianity, and the Holy Book which is the Charter of it. But I warn all who have any Love and Regard to their immortal Souls, and to their Happiness in another World, to abhor the Company, yea the very Presence and Looks of these hellish Miscreants; for they are the very Plague of Human Society, and therefore ought to be avoided as some mortal Contagion.

Lastly, Seeing all that is Sacred and Religious, and hath reference to God, is expressed by his Name, it follows that taking God's Name in vain includes Actions as well as Words, and therefore takes in every thing that is done whereby God's Name is prophaned. In this Commandment then are forbidden all those Actions whereby

whereby a Dishonour is brought upon our Religion, and the Name of God is evil spoken of. Thus *David* by his Adultery gave great occasion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, 2 Sam. 12. 14. St. Paul lets the *Jews* know that by breaking the Law (i. e. the Precepts of the Moral Law, these Commandments which we are speaking of, as appears from the immediately foregoing Verses) they dishonour God: for the Name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through them, Rom. 2. 23, 24. And much more the Immoralities and Enormities that are observed in the Lives of *Christians* administer Cause of reproaching that Holy Name whereby they are called.

Here I might mention many particular Miscarriages, which do more immediately cast a Dishonour upon our Sacred Profession, but I will mention only one, and that is *Dissembling or Cheating in Religion*. This wounds the Reputation of Religion it self, and reflects Disgrace upon the Blessed Author of it. We find a great deal of this in *Popery*: there are *Pious Frauds*, there are *Pretended Miracles*, there are *Delusions and Impostures* in God's Name. They cover over their greatest Villanies, as *Perfidiousness, Treachery, Massacres, Assassinations, &c.* with the Pretence of propagating Religion, and rooting out of Heresy, and advancing the Cause of God, and the Church of Christ. The worst things are disguised under the colour of Sanctity, and a Combination to extirpate the *Protestants* is called a *Holy League*. So *Mahomet* had learned to cheat under the Mask of Religion: He begins his *Alcoran* with, *In Nomine Domini*, and most of his Chapters or *Azoara's* begin so. He feigned that he had immediate Converse with Angels and Celestial Spirits, particularly that he received the Documents of his new Religion from the Angel *Gabriel*. He commends Bloodshed and Murder to his Followers under the Shew of doing Service to God, for *Killing of Christians* is eminently so according to his Divinity. There are others, viz. *High-flown Enthusiasts*, who are deluded themselves, and then impose upon others in point of Religion. They pretend Authority and Commission from God, when they have none. Some of them brag of Divine Revelation, and of Converse with the Spirit, but have not escaped the Pollutions of the Flesh, yea they have entituled their most inhuman Outrages to the Suggestions of the Holy Ghost, as the History of the *Enthusiasts* in *Germany* and the *Low Countries* informs us.

In short, hypocritical Pretences, and Dissembling of Holiness, are the greatest Prophanation imaginable of the Name of God, and this is that which this Commandment utterly disallows of. *Thou shalt not take up or bear the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*; thou shalt not by Dissimulation and Hypocrisy assume the Profession of Religion and Sanctity, and in thy Words and outward Shew carry the Marks and Badges of them, and yet in the mean time be void of all inward Sincerity and Holiness, and even in thy Life and Actions walk unworthy of that holy Name which thou bearest. Thus *thou shalt not take, thou shalt not usurp God's Name in vain*.

Thus we see what Sins are forbidden in this Commandment, you see what vast Numbers of Men in the World take God's Name in vain. Let it be our Care that we be not of that Number, that we be none of the Abusers and Prophaners of God's Name. We are forbid by the 9th Commandment to hurt our Neighbours Name or Credit; but we are much more concerned by virtue of this Commandment not to wrong and injure God's Name. Do it not by any of those Ways before mentioned, do it not by calling the Being of God into question, or by abusing his Names or Titles, or by vilifying any of his Attributes, or by speaking irreverently of his Works, or by prophaning his Ordinances, or by perverting his Word, or by doing any thing whereby God and Religion are dishonoured: for all these are direct Violations of this Part of the Decalogue.

And yet the chief Transgression of this Commandment is yet behind, which I will in the next place distinctly consider: and I purposely chuse to defer it till now, that I may discourse of it by it self, and give a full and ample Account of it. The unlawful using of God's Name in Swearing is the more particular, special, and direct Breach of this Precept of the Moral Law. This in a more eminent and signal manner is taking God's Name in vain. Here then I will first shew what an Oath or Swearing is. 2. What an Unlawful Oath is, or what that Swearing is, which is taking God's Name in vain. 3. I will endeavour to shew the Heinousness of it, and to dissuade from it.

* Gen. 22.
16, 17.
Luke 1.
73. Acts
2. 30.
Heb. 6.
17.

First, I will enquire into the *true Nature* of an *Oath*: for this is requisite as a Foundation to all that is to be said afterwards. An *Oath* then may be thus defined, It is that solemn Act, whereby God is appealed to as a Witness of the Truth of what is spoken. This is a general Definition of an *Oath*, and will agree not only to Man's but God's Swearing; for we read in * Scripture that He is pleased to swear. But because I am now to confine my Discourse to that Swearing which is proper to *Man* only, therefore a more particular Definition of an *Oath* must be given. And such is this, an *Oath* is a religious Invoking of God in a lawful and very weighty Matter, whereby we appeal to him as a Witness of the Truth of what we assert or promise, and call to him to be Avenged on us if we assert or promise any thing falsely: and this we do to remove all Doubting from the Minds of those we have to do with. I will briefly explain the several Parts of this Definition.

1. I say it is an *Invoking* and *calling God to witness*; the reason of which is because he knoweth All things, not only the outward Words and Actions, but the inward Thoughts and Intentions of Mens Hearts, and therefore he is a fit Judge of the Truth of what is spoken or sworn.

2. Swearing is taking God to witness either in *Asserting* or *Promising something*. Whence an *Oath* is thus distinguished, it is either *Assertory* or *Promisory*. The first is when God is invoked as a Witness to something either *past* or *present*: the former asserts the thing to *have been thus* as the Person saith, the latter to *be thus* as he represents it. The Assertor's *Oath* is of use in questions of *Fact*, especially in publick Judicatures to determine Controversies. The second is when God is called to witness to something *future*, and this is generally in the way of a Promise, *viz.* when the Swearer engages that he will do or not do so and so hereafter. And this Engagement is either to *God*, or to *Man*: when it is to the former, we call it by a distinct Name, a *Vow*; and it differs from an *Oath* because it is about some Religious and Sacred Matter, whereas an *Oath* is in Secular Matters, and things between Man and Man. Of this *Vowing* I intend to treat by it self, and therefore shall dismiss it at present. When it is to *Man*, it is known by the Name of a *Promisory Oath*, and it is used in serious Affairs if there be occasion for it.

3. An *Oath* is an appeal to God not only as a Witness of the Truth of what we say, but as an *Avenger*, if we speak not the Truth. This is sometimes expressed in direct Terms, as in those Forms of Swearing mentioned in the Old Testament, *God do so to me*, &c. 1 Sam. 14. 44. 2 Sam. 9. 39. 1 Kings 2. 23. *God do so to thee*, &c. 1 Sam. 3. 17. But in all *Oaths* the same thing is implied; for God to whom we appeal in an *Oath* is not only a *Witness* but a *Judge*, and therefore when we invoke him as the former, we do at the same time acknowledge him to be the latter: and consequently this is included in an *Oath*, that we call upon him to punish us if we speak falsely. This was the very sense of the Pagans, as appears from that general Custom among them, when they were about to swear by *Jupiter*, they held a Stone in their hand, and said words to this Effect, If I wilfully and knowingly swear falsely, I wish *Jupiter* may cast me off, as I throw away this Stone. This was as they called it, *Fovem lapidem jurare*, and was the most sacred and solemn manner of Swearing among them. And it lets us know what was their Apprehension concerning the Nature of an *Oath*, *viz.* that therein is a solemn Acknowledgment of and Appeal to God's revenging Hand, as well as his all-seeing Eye. So that there is an *Imprecation* in every *Oath*, for we appeal to God as a Revenger of Falsehood. An *Execratory Oath* then is not a distinct Species from the forenamed ones, for a *Curse* or *Execration*, although not mentioned, is implied in every *Oath*, because God is invoked a *Witness* primarily, and a *Revenger* secondarily.

4. I add this in the Definition of an *Oath*, it must be in a *lawful* and *weighty* matter: and the Reason is plain, because it is an Act of Religion, and therefore it is only to be exerted in those Cases which are just and lawful: and it is a very solemn Act of Religion, and therefore it must not be performed on common, trivial, and light Occasions; but only when there is a very urging Reason, and where the Matter is of great moment and concern; otherwise an *Oath* is prophaned.

Lastly,

Lastly, this was added to give a full account of the Nature of an Oath, viz. that the Design and Intent of it is to remove all Doubting from the Minds of those to whom and before whom we swear. The Apostle takes notice of this as essential to an Oath, viz. that it is for Confirmation, and that it is to Men an End of all strife, Heb. 6. 16. i. e. it puts a period to the Controversy, by assuring Persons of the real Truth of the Case, and establishes their Belief of it. Therefore Philo defines an Oath with a respect wholly to this very thing, * It is (saith he) no other than a calling God to witness about some doubtful Matter, viz. in order to the settling of it. And so among the Civilians, † an Oath is an attesting of God for the confirming of the Truth of what we say. If the matter be so clear and evident that none doubt of it, or call it in question, there is no need of an Oath. But the ratifying and ascertaining of that which is dubious or disputable, makes it necessary; and this is indeed the grand End and Design of Swearing.

* Ὁρκισμὸς ὅστις ἐστὶν ἄλλο ὅτιν
ἢ μαρτυρεῖα Θεοῦ περὶ πρᾶγμα-
τος ἀμφοτέρωθεν. De special.
Legib.

† Juramentum est Dei atte-
statio ad veritatem sermonis
nostri confirmandam. Calvin.

Secondly, having thus briefly shewed the Nature of an Oath, I will in the next place enquire what an Unlawful Oath is, or what that Swearing is, which is taking God's Name in vain. From what was said before it is evident,

1. That it is unlawful to swear by any Feigned Deity or Idol; for we must swear by the True God only. But if you ask, how is this properly an Oath, seeing here is no Swearing by the True God? I answer, there is an Invocation of God even in the swearing by Idols, for those that swear by these take them to be True Gods, or they place them in the room of the True God: and hence it is that the Heathens swearing by False Gods is a True Oath, though an Unlawful one.

2. To swear by any Creature must needs be unlawful, because this part of Worship is due only to God. But if it be asked, how is this taking God's Name in vain, seeing in such Oaths there is mention only of the Creatures? I answer, when these are named and sworn by, God is indirectly and implicitly appealed unto: as is clear from our Saviour's Words, He that swears by Heaven, swears by the Throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon, Mat. 23. 22. We may inform our selves from these and the foregoing Words, and from that other remarkable Passage, Mat. 5. 34, &c. that the Jews used to swear by Heaven and by the Earth, and by Jerusalem, &c. and thought it did not oblige them, because all Oaths ought to be by the name of God, who only hears and knows what we say. The Poet Martial knew, it seems, that this was the opinion of the Jews, viz. that those who swore by the Creatures were not perjured if they did not act according to what they swore: therefore he thinks it not sufficient that the Jew (whom he mentions) should swear by the Temple, for he had learnt that if those who swore by the Temple broke their Oaths, ἰδὲν ὅτιν (as our Saviour says) it is nothing, wherefore he will have him swear by God himself.

* Ecce negas, jurasque mihi per Templum Tonantis:
Non credo: jura, verpe, per Anchialum.

* Lib. 9.
Epigr. 95.

He requires him to swear by the God that liveth, or by the Living God, as he is often called in the Old Testament; for the word which the Poet here useth is a Corruption of *Am chi alah, si vivit Deus*. This being the gross mistake of the Jews, our Saviour in the forenamed Places corrects them for it, and acquaints them that those Forms used by them, though not expressed in God's Name, but naming those things which refer to him (as Heaven, Earth, Jerusalem, the Temple, a Mans Head) are Oaths, and are Obligatory.

And so by Parity of Reason the Swearing by any other Creature is interpretatively Swearing by God, because it hath a Relation to him as its Maker, and Creator, and Upholder. This is our Saviour's Doctrine: and accordingly that Mode of speaking (which hath been, and is still used by some when they are attesting the Truth and Certainty of a thing) by the Light, or by this Light that shines, is properly Swearing, though some Persons will by no means be persuaded that it is so, and tell us that all the meaning of that Form of Speech is no other than this, What I say is as true as this is Light, or as the Sun shines. But our Saviour, who is the best Casuist, determines the Matter on our side, for he hath taught

taught us that the solemn mentioning of a *Creature* in such a case is tacitely an Oath by *God*, because it relates to him, who only and properly can be invoked in Testimony: he lets us know that swearing by *Heaven*, or by the *stars*, or *Light* (which belong to Heaven) is swearing by *God*. It is an indirect calling of God himself to witness, these Creatures being so many Symbols and Testimonies of God's Presence in the World. But you will say, where is God appealed to as an *Avenge* (which is requisite to an Oath) in such Forms of Words as these [by this *Light*, or by the *Stars*]? Any observing and unprejudiced Man may see that there is an *Imprecation* included in them, for he that in the attesting of a thing swears by the *Light* or *Stars*, doth in effect say, *Let this Light* be extinguished, and may I be condemned to *Darkness* if this that I say be not true: May these *Stars* withdraw their *Light*, or may their malevolent Influence be upon me, if I falsify in the matter which I now utter. Thus you see it is *virtually* an Oath, but an unlawful one.

3. To swear by any Gifts and Endowments of the Body or Mind, or by the Life and Soul of our selves or others, is utterly unlawful. For the Reason before mentioned holds good here, *viz.* that none but God himself is to be appealed unto in an Oath. Therefore to swear by *our Faith*, or by *our Truth*, is an unjustifiable practice; though some Men are pleased to think otherwise, yea to persuade themselves that these are no Oaths at all, but that the meaning of such Speeches is only this, I desire to be believed, and I desire to be thought to speak Truth: so that these Terms are mere Asseverations, but no Swearing. I grant indeed that all Speeches which have *in* with an Accusative Case, or *per*, or *by*, are not Oaths, and therefore I do not argue from the *mere Form* of the Words; but that which I urge is this, that here is not only the Form, but the Force of the words, which shews them to be an Oath. For whence have Words and Speeches their Force and Sense but from Custom, and from the Intention of the Speaker? Now, it is certain that both these concur to make these Forms of Speech, Swearing. The Speaker pronounces these Words as an Oath, and they are so by Use and common Esteem, and therefore they are an Oath to all Effects and Purposes. If it could be proved that these Words are not Swearing in the proper and genuine Sense of them, and that *by my Truth* is no more than *in truth*, and *by my Faith* is no more than *faithfully* and *truly* (which are not reckoned as Oaths) yet because the others are reputed so, we must not use them; for Words and Modes of speaking are to be taken according to the general Usage and Acception. It may on good grounds be believed, that these Forms of Speech were designed by those ill Men that first used them to be *downright Oaths*, for as they swore by other things, so they took the same liberty to swear by these. And here is a tacit invoking of God to bear witness that they speak in Faith and Truth, and to punish them if they do not. Say not that the Name of God is not expressed, therefore this is no Oath: for our Saviour hath assured us (as we heard before) that if we swear by any thing that belongs to God, or hath reference to him, it is a Swearing by God himself, tho' the Name of God be not expressly mentioned.

Dr. Saunderson de Obligatione Juramenti.

So those Forms of Words *by my Life* and *by my Soul*, are not (as some imagine) bare Asseverations or Obtestations, but in the true Sense and Interpretation of them are Oaths: and there is an *Execration* implied in them, *viz.* May God damn my Soul, or take away my Life, if I speak not the truth, or if I do not what I promise. There is Swearing likewise *by the Life of another*, as *Gen. 42. 15, 16. By the Life of Pharaoh*. This (as well as other preceding Forms of Speech) is thought by some to be only a strong Asseveration or Protestation. *Joseph* did not swear, saith a * Learned and Reverend Writer, for *by the Life of Pharaoh*, was as much as, *As sure as Pharaoh lives*. It is like that in *1 Sam. 1. 26. & 17. 55. & 20. 30. 2 Kings 2. 2. As thy Soul liveth, i. e. as certain as thou art alive*. In the same manner *Joseph* confirms what he saith by *פרעה חי* *Pharaoh lives*, or, *As Pharaoh lives, i. e. as sure and certain it is that Pharaoh lives, so sure, &c.* Others fancy it to be a serious and earnest Wish, equivalent with, *So may Pharaoh live*, or, *as certainly as I desire the Life of the King*.

But these Interpretations come short of the Meaning of the place, for those Words [as thy Soul liveth] were the common way of speaking between Man and Man, whether inferior, superior or equal: but this other [by the Life of *Pharaoh*] is a peculiar and singular way of Address; and from what we meet with in the most antient Historians, it appears to be the proper Stile of Subjects

with

with reference to their King, and to be a kind of *Swearing* of great Antiquity. Thus the *Persians* used to swear by the *Head of their King*, and the *Arabians* not only by the *Head*, but by the *Power* and by the *Life of their King*. And so did the *Jews*, though they were better principled. The *Romans* also swore by the *Life of their Emperor*, and by his *Health* and *Genius*. And this was the Custom of other Nations generally, and was at first founded upon this, *viz.* that they looked upon their Kings and Princes as *Gods*, and called them so, and accordingly swore by them. Thus *Joseph* swears by the *Life of Pharaoh*, or (as the LXX render it) by the *Health of Pharaoh*. It is not to be doubted that it is an *Oath*, and of the very same Form with those before mentioned.

If it be doubted whether it be so, because the Name of *God* is not in it, we may satisfy our selves as to this from the Case above-mentioned, and decided by our Saviour himself, who tells the *Jews* that if they swear by any of *God's Creatures*, or any thing that is not *God*, it is an *Oath*; and though they make no mention of *God*, yet it is interpreted to be a *Swearing* by *God* himself. Whence we learn that it is not necessary that *God's Name* should be expressly used to make an *Oath*. If it be said, who is called to be a *Witness* here? and what *Execration* and *Revenge* are implied (which are comprehended in an *Oath*)? I answer, that those who first invented this kind of *Swearing*, took their Princes to be *Gods*, and in using these Words did as it were call upon them to be both *Witnesses* and *Judges* of what they said. And thus it was a true *Oath*, although a very unlawful and impious one; because a *Creature* instead of *God* is mentioned as appealed to here. *Joseph's* using it doth not make it otherwise; for though he was a good Man, yet herein he did very ill, and sinfully complied with the modish *Prophaneness* of the Court and whole Kingdom at that time. Once and again he swears by the *Life of his Royal Master*, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, and other *Pagan People* whose Custom it was to swear by the *Life* and *Health* of their Kings.

But you'll say, Is not the same recorded concerning the *Primitive Christians*, and how then is it unlawful? *Tertullian* tells us that the *Gentiles* swore by the *Fortune* of their Emperors, and by their *Genius*, which the *Christians* refused to do, but yet * they swore by the *Health* or *Safety* of the *Cesars*. *Minutius Felix* testifies * Jura-
the same. But what was this their *Swearing* by the *Life*, or *Health*, or *Safety*, (for mus, sicut
they are the same) of the Emperors? If you consult that Place, and examine the non per
Scope of the Author, you'll find that he meant by *Swearing* by these no other than genios
Praying or *Wishing* for them. Hoc saluum esse volumus, & pro magno id juramento Cæsarum,
habemus. The *Christians* reckoned it as good *Security* to the Empire, and as great a luteum eor-
Sign of their Loyalty to the Emperour as their *Oath* could be, to wish well to both, rum, quæ
and to desire *God* to grant unto the latter long *Life*, *Health*, and *Prosperity*. est august-
This was instead of *Swearing* with them; which may be gathered from another ior omni-
† Passage in the same Author, where he saith, the *Christians* sacrifice for the *Health* busgeniis.
of the Emperour, but he adds that it is by pure Prayer. As this is a kind of Sacrificing, Tertull. A-
so it is a kind of *Swearing*, but in an improper Sense, which is not unusual with pol. c. 32.
this and others of the *Primitive Writers*. We cannot think that those religious and † Ad Sca-
pious Men swore (in the strict and proper Meaning of the Word) by any Man's pulam.
Life or *Health*, because a lawful *Oath* is an invoking of *God* alone; therefore to swear by any other Person or Thing is unlawful. And it is as unreasonable as it is unlawful, because it is in vain to make him or that an infallible *Witness* and *Judge* of what we say, when they know not our Hearts, and therefore cannot tell whether we speak *Truth* or no; and consequently cannot punish our Failure in it. So much concerning the third Particular.

4. Seeing an *Oath* is to be used only in some weighty Matter, (as was said in the Definition of it) it follows that *Swearing* in common Discourse, or upon a vain and trifling Account, or rashly and unadvisedly, is unlawful. First, I say, it is highly blameable and wicked to swear in our ordinary Conversation and Discourse. Which yet is the reigning Vice of this Age; for there are great Numbers of Men every where that can scarcely open their Mouths without an *Oath*. Every Sentence almost is larded with this hellish Language. There is a vile sort of Men * who make every thing that happens and comes in their Way the Matter of their Oaths, and by a wicked Custom they pour these out most plentifully and unprovoked. These (as *Philo* descants on the Practice of such Men) think their

* Ἐθεὶς παντὲς καὶ ἀκρίτως καὶ ἀνεξέλεστος ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τυ-
χεῖσιν. Philo de Decalog.

Speech

† Τα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ
περὶ ἀναπληρῶντες ἑακοίς. Ibid.
|| Ὡς ἐκ ἀμεινον ὅν ἀποκοπὴν
ῥημάτων, μᾶλλον ὅ καὶ ἀφενίαν
ὑποσῆται πάντεσσι. Ibid.

Speech is defective if it wants Oaths, and therefore they study to supply themselves with this Rhetorick, and † fill up their Discourse with it, || as if it were not better (as he adds) to leave their Speech lame and imperfect, nay wholly to be silent, than to use such Expletives as these. The only Proof of these Mens

Acknowledging such a Being as a God, is their *Swearing* by him: and yet this Swearing is a Proof that they own no God: for if they did, certainly they would not be customary Swearers, and thereby continually prophane the holy Name of the Most High, and unhallow so sacred a thing as an Oath, which is not to be made use of but on very solemn Occasions, and in Matters of very great Importance.

Secondly therefore, It cannot but be very vitious and criminal to swear upon every trifling and vain Account, on every slight and trivial Occasion, in every light and ludicrous Matter; which yet is the Usage of the prophane Men of these times. In the most foolish and ridiculous Occurrences God's Name is made use of. Whilst they are at their Recreations and Games, in the midst of their Jestings and Laughing they will not forbear to do this. This is truly to take God's Name *in vain*, i. e. as that Hebrew Phrase sometimes imports, to usurp it *without Cause*, to swear when it is wholly unbecoming the Matter which is spoken of; for an Oath should be one of the most serious and solemn Acts of Religion, and should never be used but when there is some Necessity for it; therefore to mix it with Raillery, and to droll and swear at the same time is most horribly profane, and no Man that hath a Sense of Religion, especially of Christianity, can brook the Thoughts of it, much less connive at any that practise it.

Thirdly, to swear, though it be in a weighty and serious Matter, *rashly* and *unadvisedly*, is a great Crime. For this being (as hath been said) a religious Act, it requires Deliberation; and being proper only on very important Occasions, we ought to be exceeding thoughtful and considerate when we are about undertaking such a Work. That of Solomon, Eccl. 5. 2. *Be not rash with thy Mouth, and let not thy Heart be hasty to utter any thing before God*, hath partly Reference to this as well as to Prayer, as may be gathered from the 4th and 5th Verses; for a *Vow* is a *promissory Oath*. It is as much as if the wise Man had said, you ought to be very composed in your Minds, and you ought duly to weigh the Nature of an Oath: you must consider how sacred a Performance it is, and how solemnly you oblige yourselves by it. You are likewise to examine the Lawfulness of that particular Oath which is tendered unto you; you are to satisfy your selves concerning the Necessity or Expediency of it in your Circumstances, that so you may conscientiously enter into that Engagement, and that afterwards you may not repent of what you have done, and reflect on your selves that you have by reason of your Haste and Precipitation abused God's Name by Swearing.

4ly, Seeing Oaths must be in a *lawful Matter* only, (as you may remember it was one part of the Definition of an Oath) it follows that such Oaths as these are absolutely unlawful;

1. To swear things that we know to be false. And accordingly you'll find that the Hebrew Word *Shua*, (which with a Preposition before it, is here rendered *in vain*) is the same with *false*, Ezek. 12. 24. Hof. 12. 9. and is therefore rendered *Pseudis* by the *Seventy*. Taking God's Name in vain then is Swearing falsely, lyingly, in Defiance of the Truth. And thus it is explained in another place, *Ye shall not swear by my Name falsely*, Lev. 19. 12. which our Saviour thus expounds, Mat. 5. 33. *Thou shalt not forswear thy self*, i. e. thou shalt not lie in Swearing; for that is the true Notion of *Perjury* or *Forswearing*. Now, this is either, 1. in bare *Affertions* or *Negations*, when we say or deny a thing, and confirm it by an Oath, contrary to our Knowledge. Or, 2. in *Promises* and *Engagements*, when we by Oath promise what we never intend to perform; or, though we intended it, yet we do not perform it. A Man then is guilty of the Sin of *Perjury*, either in an *Affertory* or a *Promissory Oath*, i. e. when he swears a thing to be true which he knows to be false, or when he swears to do that which at the very time when he takes the Oath he purposes not to do, or after he hath taken it, doth wilfully break it. Of this last I shall speak when I come to treat of the *Affirmative Part* of this Commandment. But now we are speaking of *Perjury* as it respects the Oath it self, and not the Breach of it. He forswears himself, and is properly guilty of *Perjury*, who takes a false Oath, and on a false Account, and that wilfully and intentionally. I add this,

this, because a Man may swear that which is false, and yet not be perjured or forsworn; but if he swears a Falshood, and that wittingly, it is Perjury, it is calling God to witness to an Untruth, to a Lye. This is directly against the Commandment *Jer. 4. 2. Thou shalt swear in Truth*; and therefore that Oath is not lawful which is not attended with Truth, but with Falshood and Lying. Yea, not only direct Untruth, but all Equivocation must be avoided in an Oath, for this is *swearing deceitfully*, as the Psalmist expresses it, *Psal. 24. 4.* Nor must we venture to swear things that are *uncertain* and *doubtful*, and which we have not a perfect Knowledge of, for even here we abuse God's Name by swearing falsely.

2. To oblige our selves by Oath to do that which is not in our Choice and Power, is unlawful. Such are the Vows of *Celibacy* among the *Papists*, for every one is not capable of entering into such strict Engagements, and there are no Persons that know whether they are able to perform such an Obligation. Therefore this is not the lawful Matter of an Oath, because it is not in our Power.

3. An Oath which is prejudicial to our Neighbour's Right is unlawful, because the Matter of it is so; for it is against the Law of God and Man to bind our selves to any thing that we know will prove injurious to another. *Thou shalt swear in Judgement (or Justice) and in Righteousness*, *Jer. 4. 2.* therefore to swear to do unjustly cannot be lawful. Such was the Oath or Vow of *Corban*, which is mentioned by our Saviour, *Mat. 15. 5.* and is taken Notice of by some of the *Jewish Rabbins* afterwards, as a Practise in use among the *Jews*. When their Parents asked Relief of them, they were wont to tell them that they had bound themselves by a sacred Tye not to relieve them, because they had consecrated the Over-plus of their Estate to the Temple. Under Pretence of Piety they fostered their want of natural Affection and Charity. Much more all positive Acts of Injustice and Uncharitableness are excluded from being the Subject of an Oath. All Swearing to act revenge, whether it be merely rash, as that of *David* to destroy *Nabal*, *1 Sam. 25. 22.* or malicious, as the *Jews* binding themselves with an Oath of Execration to kill *Paul*, *Acts 23. 12.* It cannot be doubted whether such Oaths be sinful, because the Matter of them is wholly unjust. Besides, where there is no Obligation to keep the Oath, as it is impossible there should be in this Case, there the taking of the Oath it self was unlawful.

And under this Head all *Cursings* and *Imprecations* used towards others (which generally go along with prophane Swearing) are to be condemned; for they are in their own Nature impious, unjust, inhuman, yea diabolical. And it is certain that if we must not use Execrations towards others, we must not use them towards our selves; which shews the horrid Impiety and hellish Guilt of those that call to God to *damn them* and *confound them*. And tho' they use this Language of course, and so customarily that they scarcely know when they pronounce the Words, yet because they willingly indulge themselves in this Prophaneness, their Crime is inexcusable.

Lastly, to sum up all, you may conclude that to be an unlawful Oath which engages you to commit any Sin, to do any immoral or irreligious Act, any thing that is derogatory to God's Glory and Honour; for every thing of this Nature is evil in it self, and consequently we are forbid to oblige our selves by the Solemnity of an Oath to do it. But of this I shall speak further when I come to discourse of the *Performance of our Oaths*.

I proceed now to the *Third* thing I undertook under the *Negative* Consideration of this Commandment, *viz.* to endeavour to *disswade* from the Practise of unlawful Swearing, by shewing the *Heinousness* of it. And here I will distinctly refer to both the kinds of Oaths before-mentioned; those used in *common Conversation*, and those that are *false* and injurious to our Neighbours. First, as to those which are used in common and ordinary Discourse, think of it, how high a Prophanation they are of God's Name, which ought to be used with all Reverence. What an impious Age is this we live in! Swearing is commonly made the Preface and Close of Men's Discourses; and it is impossible to imagine that ever Men's Mouths were wider opened with blasphemous Oaths and Execrations. A single Oath or Curse will not serve; wherefore their Way now is to tack one to another. And that which is a great Aggravation of this Enormity is, that it is grown *fashionable* in our Nation, especially among Gentlemen, for they think it a Mark of Gentility, and being well bred. They esteem Swearing a Grace of their Speech, a singular

gular Embellishment of their Language. Many are so far from being ashamed of this Epidemical Vice, that they boast of it, they glory in their prophaning the Holy and Blessed Name of God, and of his Son *Jesus Christ*. Is it not strange, that in a *Civilized Nation*, yea a *Christian* one, where the Gospel is so constantly preached, so heinous a Sin should reign? Is it not monstrous and unaccountable, that Men should bow at the Name of *Jesus*, and prophanely swear by it? that God should be oftner named in their Oaths than in their Prayers?

* Bera-
coth ha-
them.
Selden de
jure Nat.
& Gent.

It hath been well observed, that there is no Temptation to this vile Sin. The Devil and Mens own Hearts strangely move them to this against all Arguments and Excuse. The corrupt Nature of Man can alledge something for other Vices, but the irreverent abusing of God's Name hath nothing to tempt Men to it. It satisfies no Appetite, no vicious Affection or Inclination, as Covetousness, Lust, Pride, Ambition, Revenge, &c. Which shews that it is an inexcusable Crime, and that nothing can be pleaded for it. It is certain then that it is highly unreasonable, it is a Violence to the Law of Nature, and absolutely affronts it. Whence this was one of the seven Precepts given by God, say the *Jews*, to the Sons of *Adam*, viz. that they should * *not blaspheme his Name*. And if it be against the Light of Nature, it is much more against that of Christianity, which is a more exact and perfect Dispensation than that of Morality. It is observable that *Peter* in the High Priest's Hall, lest he should be taken for one of *Christ's Disciples*, fell to *Cursing and Swearing* as fast as he could. Then he knew he should not be thought to be a *Follower of Christ*. Such was the Weakness of this Apostle, that he acted thus to disguise his Christian Profession: but many in these degenerate Times think *Swearing and Cursing* consistent with it, otherwise certainly they would not indulge themselves in it. They lay claim to Christianity, and yet abuse God's Name by prophane and impious Oaths.

But be not so sottish as to list your selves in this Number; call not your selves *Christians*, whilst you give way to this Vice. Either abandon your Oaths, or that glorious Title. And that you may effectually do the former, consider seriously of this, that to take God's Name in vain is a Crime of an extraordinary Nature. To prophane any thing that is holy argues a great Height of Wickedness; but it is the very utmost Pitch of Prophaneness to abuse God himself, the Holy one, to rend his Holy Name with rash and blasphemous Swearing and Cursing. Surely any Man that hath but the least Sense of Religion and Goodness, cannot but be sensible of this, and accordingly he will not be guilty in this kind. Let it be our Care, that we not only abstain from this Sin our selves, but that we shew our selves concerned at the Miscarriage of others in this kind. A disgraceful and reproachful Word is highly resented among Men, and oftentimes followed with Revenge: and shall God's Name be hourly blasphemed, and we not be sensible how he is wronged and injured by it? O let it be known that you cannot brook such an Affronting of Heaven. You must boldly and undauntedly check such Criminals, you must severely censure and condemn their Impiety, and when there is Opportunity, report their Fault to the Magistrate, that they may not sin with Impunity.

* Quibus
Iusjuran-
dum jo-
cus est,
Testimo-
nium lu-
dus. Cic.

Hitherto I have spoken of such needless Oaths as are used in common Talk and Converse. Next, I am to remind you of abstaining from those which are of a higher kind, viz. Oaths of Falsity, which are not only blasphemous in themselves, but are always injurious and detrimental to others. Reflect upon your selves, and consider whether you have not been guilty in this respect. There are many now-a-days * who play with Oaths, and jest with God's Name in Courts of publick Jurisdiction, whilst they there openly bear false Witness, and confirm those things by solemn invoking of God, which they know to be untrue. And this also is too often the Miscarriage of some Men in Trade and Business: they swear falsely, that they may more effectually cheat and defraud others. You find both these conjoined in the Prayer of the Wise Man against Poverty, *Lest I be poor, and steal, and take the Name of my God in vain*, Prov. 30. 9. They are ready to swear falsely, to cover their Theft and Fraud. But be thoroughly apprehensive of this gross and impious Behaviour, and never dare to make God's Glorious Name a Broker to your worldly Profit and Advantage. Yea, never think to advantage your selves by dishonouring God, never attempt to increase your Gain by diminishing and prophaning God's Name and Glory.

To this Purpose consider further, that he that swears falsely injures God, his Brethren and himself. He is injurious to the first, and that in general, because he prophanes that Name which ought to be sanctified; and more particularly, because when he appeals to God, and yet swears to a Lie, he either imagines that the divine Being knows not the Truth, and so imputes Ignorance unto him to whose Eyes all things are naked and open; or he perswades himself that he is not displeased and offended with Falshood, and so he denies his Purity and Holiness; or else he derogates from his Power, and implies that he is not able to be avenged on the Liar. On all which Accounts it is evident, that to call God to witness to a Lie, is a most horrid Crime, and the very Daughter of *Atheism*; for he that questions the infinite Knowledge, Holiness, and Power of God, denies God himself. Secondly, he is injurious to his Neighbours; because hereby all Converse is spoilt, all Society is ruined. * *An Oath being an End of all Controversy* (according to the Apostle's Determination) and the last Refuge in doubtful Cases, he that takes a false Oath thereby weakens the Credit that is given to an Oath, which must needs be hurtful to all Societies of Men, because they cannot be maintained and upheld unless they believe one another. And if a Man cannot be believed on his Oath, it is not probable he should gain Credit on his bare Word; and consequently all Benefit is taken away, and there is no Heed to be given to what Men say, which must needs prove the Bane of all Commerce. Therefore it was well said by one of the Antients, † that swearing falsely is as mischievous to Mankind as Faith and Truth are beneficial to them. The one increaseth human Society, and makes it flourish, and the other destroys it. Thirdly, a false Swearer injures himself, he apparently hazards his own Soul; for he binds himself over to the just Judgment of the Almighty, yea, he solemnly calls upon God to execute this Vengeance upon him.

* Heb. 6. 16.

† Pejeratio tantum incommodi humano generi affert quantum salutis bonae fides praestat. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 6.

Let the Thoughts of these things prevail with you to detest all false Oaths in any Case whatsoever; and that you may effectually do so, call to mind what I said to you under the former Head. Avoid all rash and unnecessary Oaths (of which I spoke before) such as are used by too many in common Conversation, that you may not thereby dispose your selves to use God's Name in false Swearing. For that of Philo is found to be true, || *From frequent Swearing arises Perjury*, this being the Height and Improvement of that. By common Swearing Men come at last to forswear themselves, because that is a Disposition to this; and consequently if a Man would avoid this, he must take Care to shun the other.

|| Φύει γὰρ ἐκ πολλῆς ὀρκίας ἡ ἀδοξία. De Decalogo.

Thus having done with the Negative Part of this Commandment, wherein hath been shewed what the Sins are which we are to abstain from, I proceed to the Affirmative, where I am to shew what is enjoined us. And what is it but this? namely, to exercise and perform the contrary Virtues and Duties: That is, we must vigorously assert the Being and Essence of God; we must reverence his holy Name, and more especially when we have occasion to make use of it in lawful and necessary Oaths. We must mention God's Appellations and Titles with Seriousness and Awe. His glorious Attributes and Perfections (as his Power, Truth, Wisdom, &c.) are to be discoursed of with Reverence; and so are all his Actions and Works, whether of Creation or Providence, or Redemption. In this Commandment is required that we worship God with a due Sense of his transcendent Majesty, that we decently and solemnly behave our selves in all Parts of divine Adoration, that we celebrate the Ordinances and Institutions of Christ in a becoming Manner; that we be reverent, hearty, and fervent, in all our religious Addresses, and that we worship God in Spirit and in Truth. We are to treat the holy Scriptures with due Respect, and to revere them as the Word of God, and the Oracles of Salvation, and the Charter of Heaven, and the Code of the Great Emperor of the World. We must never speak of God and the things that appertain to him but with great Devotion and Veneration. * At all times we must maintain a religious Disposition of Mind, but chiefly then when we speak or hear any thing of God, as a Christian Father saith well. And it was a Saying of the old Stagyrice, (as Seneca reports) that † *We ought never to be more modest than when we are treating about God and divine Matters*. It is fit we should express our selves with profound Submission concerning Religion and all the Mysteries of it, concerning

* Πάντα χρὴ μὲν διαβεῖναι διὰ νοίας δὲ, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν περὶ θεῶν λέγωμεν τι ἢ ἀκράωμεν. Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Epist. ad Hebr.

† Nunquam nos verecundiores esse debere quam cum de Diis agitur. N. Quæst. l. 7. c. 30.

what is sacred, and whatever hath immediate Relation to the Service of God. In brief, we are engaged by virtue of this Commandment to do every thing in Religion in a becoming Manner, to honour our high Calling with a holy Life, to conciliate Respect and Credit to Christianity by our blameless Behaviour, to be sincere and upright in our holy Profession, and to abhor and avoid all Hypocrisy, Pretences, and Frauds, in so sacred a Cause; in a word, to do all to God's Honour, Praise and Glory. All these things may be said to be *commanded*, because they are included in the *Affirmative Part* of this Commandment.

But the main things which are *directly* and more *immediately* contained in it are these two, 1. Invoking of God's Name by solemn Oaths when we are called to it. 2. Performing the Oaths we make. These I intend to discourse of largely; and because they are of so great Use and Concern for the satisfying our Minds, and directing us to our proper Duty enjoined by this Commandment, I purposely reserved them to this Place, that I might distinctly speak of them.

First, By Virtue of this part of the Decalogue we may, and we ought to swear on lawful Occasions. It requires us to invoke God's Name in the Way of religious Oaths. For these were always a part of Religion; whence *Swearing* is sometimes put for God's Service and Worship, and the open Profession of it, *Eccl. 9. 2. Jer. 12. 16.* In an Oath Praise and Honour are given to God; to his infinite Knowledge and Wisdom, that he knows what we say; to his Holiness, that he loves Truth and abhors Falshood; to his Power and Justice, that he can and will avenge the latter. Thus *Swearing* is a great Act of Piety and Worship, if it be performed as it ought to be.

Further to evince the Lawfulness of this Practice, I will appeal both to *Scripture* and *Reason*. As to the former, it is evident that Swearing is commanded as a Duty. In *Dent. 6. 13.* it is not only said, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, but thou shalt swear by his Name.* If you think your selves obliged by this Text (as certainly you are) to fear and serve God, you are equally engaged by it to swear by his Name, *viz.* when you are lawfully called to it; for this latter Injunction is of equal Authority with the former one. This Duty likewise is implied in the Law, *Exod. 22. 27, 28.* *If Money or Stuff be delivered to a Man to be kept, and it be stolen out of his House, he must be brought unto the Judges, to see whether he hath put his Hands to his Neighbour's Goods, i. e. he must be bound to clear himself by Oath before the Judges.* And again, in all such Cases it is said, *An Oath of the Lord shall be between them both, i. e. between him that delivered any Goods, and him that kept them, Ver. 11.* Here we are plainly authorized by God to swear, when there is Occasion. In the Case of Jealousy it is said, *The Priest shall charge the Woman with an Oath.* It is twice said, that we may not mistake it, *Num. 5. 19, 21.* and that we may thence infer that a lawful Oath imposed by lawful Authority ought to be taken. This is also included in that Supposition of Solomon, *1 Kings 8. 31.* *If any Man trespass against his Neighbour, and an Oath be laid upon him (i. e. be required of him) to cause him to swear;* for it is necessarily implied here that an Oath may be laid upon a Person, and that he may be caused to swear, when there is good Ground for it; for it is a Duty on that Supposition. It might farther be added, that the Scripture commends and praises him who swears lawfully, *Psal. 15. 4. 62. 11.* which is an undeniable Attestation of the Innocency of this Practice, yea and of its Usefulness and Necessity in some certain Circumstances. Lastly, This is not only enjoined by this Third Commandment (which I am now speaking of) but it belongs to the Eighth Commandment; for by Swearing we bear Witness to the Truth, which is the affirmative Part of that Precept.

Again, this is grounded not only on positive Commands in Scripture, but on the *Examples* and *Practice* of holy Men recorded in those sacred Writings. They swore themselves, and they caused others to swear. There are abundant Instances of the former, *Gen. 21. 31. 26. 31. 31. 53. Jos. 14. 9. 1 Sam. 20. 3. 24. 22.* The latter is confirmed by several Examples, as that in *Gen. 24. 3.* (where is the first Mention of giving an Oath in the Bible) *I will, saith Abraham to his Servant, make thee swear by the Lord, the God of Heaven, and the God of the Earth; and accordingly his Servant swore to him, Ver. 9.* Jacob adjured his Brother Esau, *Gen. 25. 33.* and afterwards his Son Joseph, *Gen. 47. 31.* If the Master made the Servant swear, and the Father the Son, and one Brother another, (as appears by these Instances) then the Magistrate questionless may enjoin the Subject to do the same. And accordingly Joseph took an Oath of the Children of Israel, *Gen. 50. 25. Exod. 13. 19.*

for here we must look upon him as their Ruler and Governour. So when *Ezra* was reforming the Abuses among the People returned from the Captivity, he made the chief Priests and the Levites, and all Israel swear that they should do according to his Word: and they swore, *Ezra* 10. 5. *Nehemiah* followed his Example, and obliged the People by a solemn Covenant to make Restitution of what was unlawfully gotten, and he took an Oath of the Priests that they should do according to this Promise, *Neh.* 5. 12. And afterwards, upon their marrying of strange Wives, he made them swear by God that they would reform that Miscarriage, *Ch.* 12. Ver. 25. From these eminent and notable Examples it is evident, that it is just and equitable to impose and require an Oath on a good and religious Account; and that when such an Oath is required by lawful Authority, it is lawful to comply with it, yea that it is an Offence not to do it.

But it will be said, Though under the *Old Testament* they swore, and caused others to swear, and though it was lawful to do so then, yet it follows not thence, that it is lawful in the times of the Gospel. I answer, 1. The Consequence is good, because in things of this Nature the Obligation is the same now that it was before, for swearing by God's Name was not a legal ceremonial Usage, and consequently was not appropriated to that Dispensation; but it was a moral Act of Religion, and therefore may be exerted in the Times of the Gospel. 2. This is proved from *Isa.* 19. 18. 65. 16. where 'tis prophesied, that under the Evangelical Dispensation (for of that those Texts speak) Christians should swear by God's Name. Therefore it is not a legal but a Gospel Duty. 3. It is abundantly evident from the very Writings of the *New Testament*, that Swearing is a lawful and commendable Act even in the Times of the Gospel. We read of an Angel swearing by him that liveth for ever, *Rev.* 10. 6. which I conceive is some Proof that Oaths are not laid aside by Christ's Coming; for if they were, those blessed and glorious Ministers of Heaven would not have made use of such Language; for without doubt they would not by their Example teach Men that which is unlawful. But more directly to prove the Matter, I will produce *St. Paul's* Words and Practice. The former occur in *Heb.* 6. 16. Men verily swear by the greater (i. e. God): And an Oath for Confirmation is to them an End of all Strife. Where this great Apostle approves of that Swearing which was among his Country-men in those times, viz. in Courts of Judicature, or on any solemn Occasions, when an Oath was useful and requisite to put an End to Controversies, and so to make Peace among Men. The latter, viz. the Apostle's Example is evident in *Gal.* 1. 20. Behold, before God, I lie not, which is a plain Oath. For he having related several things which were Matters of Fact, but such as could not be proved by Reason or Argument, nor by producing of Witnesses, and yet were of great Moment and Importance, especially as to the Subject he was to treat of; he therefore confirms them by appealing to the Testimony of God himself, who was the Beholder of all his Actions, and the Judge of all his Sayings and Doings: He takes his solemn Oath upon what he writes and speaks. The like is done by him in *2 Cor.* 1. 23. I call God for a Record upon my Soul. And in another Place he uses this or the like solemn Way of appealing to Heaven, to establish his Doctrine, and create Belief in those whom he writes to. At other times he most sacredly calls God to witness, as in *Rom.* 1. 9, &c. And those Words in *1 Cor.* 15. 31. I protest by your Rejoicing, seem to be a tacit Oath, as much as [I protest by God who causes you to rejoice.]

In Imitation of *St. Paul* (as well as of the holy Patriarchs before mentioned) the Christians in the Primitive Times refused not, when there was great Necessity for it, to confirm what they said by this religious Way of attesting God. * One who made it his Business to inform himself concerning their Manners, tells us that they were wont to oblige themselves by Oaths not to steal, not to commit Adultery, not to break their Promises, and the like. And afterwards, when Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, it is well known they swore in publick Courts, and as Witnesses upon Oath declared the Truth then in question. And this hath been the Practice of Christian Men in all Ages since. Wherefore our Church pronounces this as her Judgment, † "As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian Men by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and *James* his Apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit but that a Man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a Cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's Teaching, in Justice, Judgment and Truth.

* *Plin.* 1.
10. Ep. 97.

† *The* 39.
Article.

Secondly,

Secondly, Not only *Scripture* but *Reason* obliges us to make use of *Oaths*, in a pious and religious way. There are laudable *Grounds* and *Ends* of Swearing, which render it a *Reasonable Service*. I have already shewed, that it is an Act of Worship towards God; an Acknowledgment of his Omniscience, Purity, Power, Justice; and it is as certain that it is (when rightly used) an Act of Charity and Righteousness towards Men. For it is sometimes absolutely necessary for discovering the Truth, for the detecting of wicked and villanous Actions, for helping Men to recover their Rights, and to be reinstated in what is their own. Oaths are (as the Apostle observes, *Heb. 6. 16.*) to be a Remedy against Disputes and Controversies, and therefore are of great and singular use in dubious and litigious Cases. They are sometimes requisite as a Badge of Loyalty and Subjection, and to express our Obedience to Princes, and they are serviceable for securing the Peace of Kingdoms, and the Publick Safety. How then can Swearing be unlawful in it self?

Again, this is to be considered, that there is an *Obligation* laid on Men by an *Oath*: it really in it self ties Mens Consciences, where there is a Sense of Religion; and therefore it is needful for that End for which it is used. And it is evident that the Sense of taking a solemn Oath affects a Man, and works upon his Mind and Conscience; for 'tis known that some have before-hand brag'd, that they would assert such and such things by Oath, but when they came to it, they refused it, the Reverence of an Oath having that Effect upon them. And as an Oath hath this Influence on those that take it, so it is useful to those that are concerned in their taking it, as in Matters of Law. The *Judge*, the *Jury* are affected by this. It produces Credit in them, it tends to the right Decision of the Case: for if the Sense of an Oath generally provokes Men to speak Truth, and to discover it, then it is as reasonable to think that the same will powerfully invite the Hearers to give assent to the Truth so laid open, and to act accordingly.

Besides, God is hereby worshipped in Civil Courts, and Religion is owned in the face of the World. The Name of God awes the Court and Bench; and it would never fail to do so, if Oaths were administred always with Reverence, Gravity and Devotion. Then Courts of Judicature would in a manner become Temples, and the Magistrates Tribunal an Altar. Thus, I say, it would be, if Swearing were used on good and lawful Occasions, and in a due manner: It would be useful to our selves, it would advantage the Community, and it would redound to God's Glory and Honour.

From what hath been said we may resolve these following *Questions*, viz. Whether Swearing had its Beginning from Mens Degeneracy and Unfaithfulness? Whether there were any Oaths at first, when the World was not so corrupted? Whether Swearing was wholly occasioned by the Vices of Men? Or, whether it be an intrinsic Duty, and part of Divine Worship? The Answer I give in these three Particulars: First, It is plain that even the *Godly Patriarchs* used Oaths among themselves, and therefore the imposing of Oaths is not wholly derived from the *Degeneracy* and *Corruption* of Mankind. The Use of Oaths was thought needful, even among those that were Men of Truth and Honesty. Which confutes their Opinion, who think that if there were no Lying, there would be no occasion for Swearing. But secondly, It is granted that the Use of Oaths hath become more frequent since the general Depravation of the World, than it was before. Men are incredulous and distrustful, and the Reason is, because so many are false. Hence to beget Belief, they are put upon Swearing. Thirdly, Tho' it be partly occasioned by this Degeneracy of Mankind, yet this renders it not *unlawful*. For now it may be made useful, yea and necessary in the present Circumstances. It is true, it would be better for the Christian World, if there were no need of Oaths, for it would be a Sign that Dissembling and Lying are discarded, that Jealousies and Distrusts are banished, and that Simplicity and Open-heartedness take place among Men. But as the Case now is, as the World now stands, there is a Necessity of Swearing; and this Necessity, tho' it be partly introduced by Sin, may be made use of to good and lawful Purposes. Community of Goods was once practised by the Christians, and might be so again, if Christian Love, and Industry, and Faithfulness prevailed every where. But, for want of these, Community now is impossible, and every Man hath a distinct Propriety, and it is lawful to preserve and maintain it. So it is with abstaining from Swearing, it might very well

well be done, if the World were arrived to a Perfection of Honesty and Integrity ; but till that happy Day comes, it is proper and useful to have recourse unto Oaths on lawful Occasions, and we may reasonably uphold the use of them : for they are not only charitable, but necessary ; and therefore I conclude that *we may swear*, yea, and that *we must*, if we are summoned to it by lawful Authority.

But here it will be *objected*, that Swearing cannot be allowed of under the *New Testament*, because our Blessed Saviour's Words are, *Swear not at all*, Mat. 5. 34. Here seems to be an absolute Prohibition of all Oaths whatsoever. He who knew very well what was lawful, and what not, determines here against Swearing, and forbids us to swear at all. And St. James seconds our Saviour, Chap. 5. Ver. 12. *Above all things, my Brethren, swear not.*

As to what our Blessed Lord saith, I answer *in general*, that he here forbids all unlawful and sinful Swearing, and no other. I have proved before that both the Old and New Testament approve of innocent and lawful Oaths, and therefore these cannot be forbidden here, but only such as are vicious and unlawful. More particularly I answer that our Saviour condemns here *Swearing by any Creature*. The *Jews* used to swear by Heaven, by the Earth, by *Jerusalem*, by the Temple, by their Heads, all which *Christ* here specifies. *They swore by them that were not God*, Jer. 5. 7. This prophane and wicked Custom is that which is reprov'd by our Saviour, he forbids them to swear by any thing whatsoever that is not God. Observe it, he doth not say, *Swear not at all by God*, but *swear not at all, neither by Heaven*, or any of those things immediately after mentioned. Which Prohibition strikes at the vain *Jews*, who had a Custom of swearing not only by *God*, but by the *Creatures*, and particularly it was their Usage to swear by the *Heaven*, the *Earth*, *Jerusalem*, &c. It is utterly unlawful, as well as absurd, saith *Christ*, to swear by these, because they cannot be Witnesses whether the Truth be said or no, nor can they be Revengers of a Lie. In the Name of God all Oaths must be, because he sees and knows all Things, and is able to punish the Forsworn. It is therefore an Abuse of God's Name to swear by any other than God. It is well noted by a * Learned Critick on the place, that these Words are to be read together, * Heinf. *Swear not at all neither by Heaven, nor by Earth, &c.* and not, as they are generally Exercitat. read, *Swear not at all*, and then making a stop, as if the Sense were compleat, and in Mat. 5. afterwards proceeding to the next Words. They who take those Words absolute- 34. ly, and separate them from what follows, grossly pervert *Christ's* Meaning. Therefore the composure and ordering of the Words tells us what *Christ* means, viz. that we must not swear at all so as to use any of those Forms of Swearing which he presently after adds. The Adverb *ὅλως* is to be explained by the *Subject Matter* here.

Which may be illustrated by an Example of the like sort, 1 Pet. 2. 13. Those Words, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of Man*, are not to be taken simply and absolutely, but with relation to the subject Matter: therefore we must read the Words together, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King, as Supream, or unto Governours, &c.* i. e. to all that are in Power. This restrains it, otherwise *Masters* must be subject and submit to *Servants*, for this is an *Ordinance of Men*. And a hundred more Instances of the like nature might be produced out of the Sacred Writings. Thus it is in the present Case, The following Words are a Restriction and Limitation of what is said. *Swear not at all*, viz. by those Forms of Swearing used among the *Jews*. *Christ's* words have particular reference to that Abuse of Swearing among that People at that time, viz. Swearing by *Creatures*, and therefore *ὅλως at all* is to be applyed to that Species of Oaths immediately after mentioned, as swearing by *Heaven*, &c. and things of the like sort : *Swear not at all*, saith *Christ*, by these, for God hath commanded that we swear only by *his Name*.

Thus if we mind what the Intention of our Saviour was in these Words, it will plainly appear that he forbids not all Swearing, but principally the frequent Custom among the *Jews* of swearing by *Heaven*, &c. Which sort of Oaths they thought were not obligatory, and therefore they looked upon themselves as not engaged to perform any thing that they had promised upon such an Oath. But our Lord acquaints them that herein they were mistaken, for tho' they were not exprefs and plain Oaths, because the Name of God was not used, yet they were in effect Oaths ; for they swore so that God was in some manner invoked in them, because

because *Heaven is God's Throne, and the Earth is his Footstool, and Jerusalem is the City of the Great King*, that is, God; and consequently they might be said to swear by God when they swore by these, and therefore this very swearing was obligatory. And further this is to be said, though *Christ* doth here principally forbid swearing by *Creatures*, yet there is also included in these Words [*Swear not at all*] a Prohibition of all other unlawful Oaths, viz. any of those before-mentioned, as in common Discourse, on light Occasions, and all Oaths of Falsity and Perjury.

Having thus given a full and satisfactory Answer to the *Objection* drawn from *Christ's* own Words, it is easy to reply to what is objected from *St. James*. He leaves out the Word *ελας*, which our Saviour made use of, and only saith *swear not*; and in the next Words he explains himself, telling us that it is unlawful to swear by any of the *Creatures*, or by any other Oath, namely of the like nature, any other Oath that is not lawful. And he then uses the Words of our Saviour, *Let your yea, be yea; and your nay, nay*: which was a form of Speech usual among the *Jews* (for we find it frequently among the *Rabbins*) and it signifies the plain affirming of what is to be affirmed, and the plain denying of things that are to be denied. As much as to say, Candour, Ingenuity, Study of Truth, and Hatred of a Lie, become Christians: therefore as you profess your selves to be such, accustom your selves to a plain and sincere way of speaking, and do not in your common Discourses use any Asseverations, much less Oaths: especially use not these latter, unless there be a Necessity of them, unless God's Honour or the publick Good be concerned. So much in answer to the *Objection* from the fore-said Texts of Scripture. And I think I have made it evident that *St. James's Swear not*, and *Christ's Swear not at all*, exclude not the lawful Use of Oaths in the Times of the Gospel.

It may moreover be objected here, that *Pagans, Jews, and Christians* have condemned all Swearing. As to the first of these, it is to be granted that there have been some Brave Men, as *Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Antoninus*, who thought it best to abstain from Swearing: but if we will take pains to consult their very

* "Ορκον ἀπαγορεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ οἰνῇ, εἰς ἅπαν' εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκ τῶ ἐνόοντων.

† Τίμα δὲ σέβας ὀρκον.

Words, we shall find that they held it not to be absolutely unlawful, yea, that in some Cases it was necessary, * *Avoid Swearing*, saith *Epictetus*, if you can, altogether: if not so, as much as you are able. *Pythagoras* allows of the Religion of an Oath in his † *Golden Verses*.

The *Pythagorean Philosophers* swore by the Number *Three*, which was as mystical and sacred with them, as the *Blessed Trinity* among *Christians*, and perhaps it was a Specimen of this. And others of them looked upon an Oath as a solemn Bond in all Societies. This shews they condemned not all Swearing: but it is true, some of the gallant Men among them boggled at an Oath, because they would have the Integrity of Men to be trusted without that common Evidence.

* Πᾶν μὲν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὄρεται. Τὸ δὲ ὁμνῶν αὐτοῖς πείσασθαι, χείρον τι τῆ ἐποικίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12.

* Maimonides.

It is not to be denied, that among some of the *Jews* (or such as were reputed *Jews*) all Oaths were rejected. * *Their sole Word*, saith *Josephus*, was of more Force and Authority with them than Swearing, nay this was thought worse than Perjury by them. And *Philo* (another *Jewish Writer*) relates how conscientiously these *Essenes* abstained from all Swearing. But you must know (according to the Character given these Persons by the forenamed Writers) these were a sort of retired Men, a kind of early *Monks*, who conversed with themselves, and were Strangers to all that lived about them. They kept out of all Company, and had peculiar Laws and Rules of their own, which they acted by, but they concerned not themselves with the rest of Mankind. Whereupon they were all of a piece, they confided in one another, they had no Quarrels and Controversies, but perfectly agreed in the same Opinions and Practices. If we could say this of the rest of the World, there would be no need of their appealing to God by Oaths: but because we cannot, therefore this Appealing is useful and necessary. There was indeed * one of the most famous of the modern *Jews*, who gave it as his Judgment, that it is best for a Man to abstain from all manner of Oaths: but we cannot thence infer that he held all Oaths to be unlawful, for tho' he approved of not swearing as best, yet he did not condemn all Swearing as vicious.

Among

Among *Christians* there are Great Examples of Persons that counting their Word as firm and obligatory as that. And I confess it seems to be asserted by * *St. Jerom*, † *Chrysostom*, and ‖ *Basil*, that Oaths are unlawful under the Gospel. I read in *Gregory Nazianzen's* Life, that as soon as he was baptized, he made a Vow not to swear as long as he lived; and kept it even to the last. According to his own Judgment and Practice he advised others ** to refrain from Oaths: and he pronounces it †† a very wicked thing either to cause others to swear, or to swear our selves. There are many Passages in ‖‖‖ *Epiphanius*, ‖* *Theodoret*, ‖† *Theophylact*, *† *Isidore of Pelusium*, and in *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Athanasius*, that seem to condemn all Swearing.

But we must not thence absolutely infer the Unlawfulness of it: for, 1. It is known to those that are acquainted with the Writings of those Antients, that they are not always consistent with themselves: the things which in some places they deliver, are in others contradicted by them, or at least seem to be so. 2. It is likely that some of these Godly Men were in their judgment against taking of Oaths, and particularly before a Magistrate, their Perswasion proceeding from a singular Tenderness of Spirit. *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, seem also to be of this way: and they were afterwards followed by the *Waldenses*, by *Wickliff*, and some of the *Martyrs* in *Queen Mary's* Days. They were prepossessed against this Practice, because they saw that the constant Use of Swearing hath been very prejudicial to Religion: but they had no reason to run into another Extreme, i. e. to hold all Oaths unlawful. 3. The main thing which is to be returned in answer to the *Objection* is, that if we consider the Words of most of the forecited *Fathers*, and compare them with what they say at other times, we shall perceive that their Design was not to condemn all Swearing, but only the frequent Use of it. For they seeing how Oaths were abused, either by Mens rashly or falsely Swearing, expressed their Dislike of this, and advised their Hearers to shun all Swearing as much as they could, and admit of no Oaths, but when it was impossible to avoid them, when there was an absolute Necessity of taking them. This is all they meant, and this is that which every good and conscientious Man should do at this day.

There have been some of late that have been wholly averse to all Oaths, declaring them to be in themselves unchristian and unlawful, and no ways to be tolerated under the Gospel, tho' under the Old Testament they were. Of this Opinion are some of *Socinus's* Followers, and some *Anabaptists*: but the *Quakers* are the most resolute Asserters as well as Practisers of this Doctrine. Notwithstanding they find it so frequently used in the Old Testament, yet some of them are so far from acknowledging it to have been an Appointment and Institution of God, that they say it was only by Sufferance and Indulgence, as God permitted Divorce for the Hardness of the *Jews* Hearts. Accordingly they are against all Use and Imposition of an Oath, on any account whatsoever. But we have little reason to attend to what these Men either say or act, for I have sufficiently proved that it is lawful in it self to swear, and that it is approved of by the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament.

But notwithstanding this (to speak with all Freedom and Impartiality) I am clearly of opinion that these two things are included and meant in the Words of our Saviour and the Apostle *James*, 1. That *Christians* should as much as possible abstain from Swearing. 2. That these Professors of the purest and perfectest Religion should attain to such an Integrity and Uprightness, such Faithfulness and Sincerity, that an Oath should be altogether unnecessary, and that *Christians* should be believed and trusted upon their bare words.

First, I say, those Words of Christ and of the Apostle imply, that Men should now under the Gospel refrain from all Oaths as much as may be. There is not now that Freedom to swear, that there was under the Old Testament; for our Perfect Law-giver hath laid a Restraint upon us, and so hath *St. James*, not as to the thing it self, as if Swearing were wholly forbidden and disallowed of by them, but as to the Frequency of it. Whether it be Assertory or Promissory, it is to be used with great Circumspection, lest it should prove an Occasion of Sin, lest there should be some Mixture of Evil in it: for the Evangelical Rules, which caution us against

shun'd an Oath,

- * Comment. in Mat. 5.
- † Homil. 15. in Gen. Hom.
- 17. in Matth.
- ‖ Homil. in Psal. 14.
- ** "Ορκον ὅ περὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν
- Tetralich.
- †† "Ορκος κακίστην διδόναι καὶ
- λαμβάνειν. Carm.
- ‖‖ Hæres. 59.
- ‖* Epit. Div. Decret. c. 16.
- † In Mat. 5.
- *† Epist. 155. l. 1.

all Appearance of Evil, oblige us to beware of this. It cannot but be lamented, that among Christians there should be need of multiplying of Oaths. No less than four Oaths, viz. of Supremacy, Allegiance, Canonical Obedience, and against Simony, are taken by every one that is to be instituted into any Benefice; and if it be a Vicarage, a fifth is required, viz. of Residence. And in our Times how many Oaths have been tender'd to the People? How are all Sides careful to tye Persons to them by these solemn Bonds? Whereby Oaths are made cheap, and Swearing is abused, and God's Name is prophaned, and Religion it self rendred contemptible. This is the Effect and Result of often Swearing. In the Multitude of Words, (saith Solomon) there wanteth not Sin, but he that refraineth his Lips is wise, Prov. 10. 19. If you apply this to much Swearing, it is most eminently true, there wants not Sin in that Multitude of Words: for which reason a wise and good Man will refrain his Lips, he will be very wary and cautious of an Oath.

* Plutarch. Rom. Qu. 28.

† Pythag. Aur. Carm.

* Τὸ μὴ πυκνῶς, μηδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε χρῆσθαι τῷ ὅρκῳ, μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαῖσι, μηδὲ εἰς ἀναπαλήρωσιν λόγου, μηδὲ εἰς πίσωσιν διηγήματι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις ἅμα καὶ τιμίοις. Hierocl.

honourable Matters.

He is not for refusing an Oath altogether, but he would have it revered, i. e. never used but when there is great Necessity. St. Chrysostom had at last brought the People of Antioch to this; after his frequent Dissuasives from all customary and vain Swearing, he takes notice of their Reformation, that instead of using God's Name in Swearing in their Contracts and Commerce with one another, they now use themselves to plain Affirmations or Negations, * They have no other Language in their Mouths but Yea and Nay, and Believe me.

* Τὸ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐκ, καὶ τὸ πισδεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ὅρκῳ φέρεται. In Par. 18. Mat. 24.

Secondly, This is intended by Christ, and by the Apostle James's Words, That it becomes Christians to be of such Integrity and Faithfulness, that their bare Word should be as valid as an Oath. Their Meaning in this and the like Precepts is, that Christians should be better than other Men. They should be so respected and revered for their Honesty and Truth, that there should be no occasion to put them upon their Oaths. For these are a Disgrace to Christianity, especially if they be frequently used, because they argue Deceit and Hypocrisy, they shew that Christians cannot be credited, unless they confirm their Assertions or Promises by such a solemn Engagement. It is no small Disparagement to Christians, that Swearing hath been made a Trade among them, and that all Parties have dealt too much in it, for thereby they proclaim the great want of Faithfulness and Sincerity. But we should strive to remove this great Scandal, and labour by the Testimony of

* Καλοκαγαθίαν ὅρκῳ πιστοῦ ἔχειν. Laert. in Solone.

† Σωκράτης λόγῳ ὅρκῳ ἔσω βέβαιον, ἀκλινὲς, ἀψάδῳ, ἀφ᾽ ἑρμηνείας ἀληθείας. De special. Legib.

* Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.

a holy and blameless Life to gain Belief to what we say, and assure Men of the Truth and Certainty of it by that alone. * Think Honesty to be firmer than an Oath, was Solon's Advice. † What a good Man saith and voucheth, ought to be believed as much as an Oath, because his Word is inflexible, void of all Falsity, and founded on a sure Basis, Truth it self, saith the Excellent Philo. And if Gentiles and Jews talk after this rate, then let not Christians come short of them; let them aspire to this, to behave themselves so faithfully and uprightly, that an Oath may be useless, that they may be believed always without Swearing. Let them think of that Instance among the Pagans, namely Xenocrates, of whom it is said that, * whereas the Testimonies of others were always taken upon Oath in the Athenian Courts, they permitted him to give in Evidence without Swearing: they had such an Opinion of his Integrity, that they believed him tho' he swore not. And shall not Christianity produce such Examples in the World? Shall not the Professors of it discover such Faithfulness in their Lives, that their meer Word shall be as great a Caution and Security as their Oath?

But till that happy Day arrives, we must be content to conform our selves to the present State of the World: that is, when there is a necessity of it, and we are

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are lawfully called to it, we may safely confirm what we say with an Oath; and thereby (as the Case now stands) we may at once do an Act of Charity, of Justice, and of Devotion. But though we are not to refuse an Oath, yet we are not to venture upon it inconsiderately, rashly, and irreverently. This is a matter that is to be transacted with great Seriousness and Religion. The Reverence of the Almighty's Name should make us use it most sacredly, and the Sense of the Obligation of it should cause us to behave our selves very solemnly and devoutly. Both these things ought to be well considered by those especially who are concerned in Courts of Judicature, *viz.* *Witnesses*, whose Business is to swear to what they have heard or seen, to what hath fallen under their Senses; and *Jury-men*, who go further; for they are to swear to what they can infer from the Testimony of the *Witnesses*. The one use their Senses, the other their Understanding, as a * Learned Lawyer observes. But both are to use a good Conscience in attesting * *Judge* by Oath what they have any Knowledge and Apprehension of, for they appeal *Vaugh-* to the All-knowing Deity, the Searcher of Hearts. *an's Re-*

And one thing I would here mention, seeing Swearing is so solemn an Act of Religion, seeing an Oath is so sacred a thing, it should not be tendred to those that are known to be *Profligate* Persons. It is adviseable that in Publick Courts on Life and Death, and Estates, and any other Trial of Great Concern, no Man should be put upon his Oath that is of a very lewd Life or Atheistical Principles. Such a one values not Swearing, he hath no sense of an Oath, therefore it is unreasonable to administer it to such a one. He for a Sum of Money (and that but a mean one), or out of Malice and Ill-will, or to gratifie a Neighbour with whom he is in confederacy, will not boggle to swear any Man out of his Inheritance, or any other Civil Right, yea out of his very Life. When such a one offers himself as Witness, the Magistrate upon Information is concerned to take notice of him, and not to admit him to an Oath. It is a known Rule, * A Scanda- * *Repel-* lous Infamous Person is barr'd of his Oath, and accordingly he may be challenged *litur a Sa-* by the Party whose Case is before the Judge. It were well if this reached not on- *cramento* ly to Persons convicted of Perjury, but to others of Impious Principles and Man- *infamis.* ners, such as are known to have no Sense of Religion, or any thing that is Sacred. This is used in the *Civil Law*, and hath been the Custom and Practice of former Ages, not only *Christian* but *Pagan*. This would be one good way to keep up the Credit of an Oath, to maintain the Religion and Reverence of it, and to cause Men to make Conscience of it. Thus I have finished the First grand thing contained in the *Affirmative Part* of this Commandment, *viz.* using God's Holy Name in solemn Swearing. We are authorized by this Precept to have recourse unto *Religious Oaths* on lawful Occasions.

The Second Great thing enjoyned us is this, *To perform our Oaths, to do according to what we swear.* It is required of us by Virtue of this part of the *Moral Law*, that we Act according to our Oaths, that we be careful to Accomplish them. Both the Negative and Affirmative Branches of this Commandment are thus represented to us by our Saviour, *Mat. 5. 33. Thou shalt not forswear thy self: thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine Oaths.* This latter is that which I now urge, *viz.* that we take care, after we have sworn, to act according to that solemn Obligation. Let us remember that there is no dallying here. An Oath is an Engagement of the highest nature imaginable, and therefore it must be a very heinous Offence to slight and neglect it, much more to violate it. Therefore we are to be very careful here, and conscientiously to perform our Oaths. What-ever we have by this Sacred Tye bound our selves to, we must punctually observe, unless it be in these following Cases,

I. Unless it be in a matter that is *Unlawful in it self.* The sense of the Obligation of an Oath had a mighty influence on King *Herod*, as he pretended; he must needs murder *John the Baptist*, because he had sworn to do so. And generally the *Jews* thought an Oath legitimated any Action, were it never so wicked. But this is a great mistake, for an Oath, if it be not in a thing Lawful, obligeth not. We may, nay we must break that Oath which cannot be kept but by committing a direct Sin. Particularly, if the fulfilling of our Oath will prove hurtful and mischievous to any Persons, we are not to fulfil it, for no Man is obliged to do Mischief to another, yea he is obliged to the contrary, *viz.* to be beneficial and charitable to others. And if it be unlawful to injure my Neighbour, it is

so likewise to injure my self, *i. e.* in such a degree and measure as I shall thereby ruin my self, and make my self incapable of discharging my Duty in the World; for as for some lesser Detriment, we are not to set that against an Oath. This then is the first Limitation I lay down; We are always obliged to perform what we have sworn, supposing the Oath was of a thing lawful and honest: *scilicet* it is not Perjury to break our Oath, but it is our Duty.

2. An Oath is obligatory, unless it be of such Persons who at the time of their Swearing were not *Sensible* of what they did. Thus the Oath of a Child, of a Mad-man, of one wholly made Insensate by excess of Drink, of any one that hath no Understanding of what he doth, obliges not. Thus such rash Oaths as commence from extreme Passion and Rage are not binding. Such an Oath was that of David against Nabal, 1 Sam. 25. 22. though that moreover was sinful in it self, and on that Account was not valid. Some understand Lev. 5. 4. after this manner, *Whatsoever it be that a man shall pronounce with an Oath, and it be bid from him, i. e.* if he was not sensible of what he swore by reason of his Perturbation of Mind, because in such a case a Man is not himself, and his Oath cannot be said to be his proper Act. But that Rashness or Insensibleness which proceed from mere Ignorance are not here meant: thus Joshua and the Princes of Israel held themselves bound by their Oath made to the Gibeonites, though they knew not their Circumstances when they swore to them. And it is clear hence that even those Oaths which are produced by Fraud and Circumvention, are to be kept. Again,

3. In some Cases an Oath is not to be looked upon as obligatory, if it was imposed by mere Violence and Compulsion, and the Party was not left at all to his freedom and choice: for then it is not a Voluntary Act, and consequently not a Moral or Human one, and therefore is of no force and virtue.

4. We must faithfully perform what we have sworn, unless the Person or Persons to whom the Oath was made will remit the Performance of it. We cannot release our selves; but if he or they will recede from their Right which they have in our Engagement, then we are no further engaged.

5. Our Oath binds us, unless there was a Condition tacitly implied in it. For it is certain that there are some Conditional Oaths, in which if one Party wilfully breaks his Promise, and performs not what he engaged to do, the other Party is at liberty; for in all Contracts and Agreements where one Party is bound to the other by Oath to such and such Performances, if one of them violates his Oath, the

* Frustra fidem quis postulat
servari ab eo, cui fidem à se præ-
stitam servare recusat.

† Non adstringitur quis jura-
mento ad implendum quod ju-
ravit, si ab aliâ parte non im-
pletur, cujus respectu præbuit
sacramentum.

other stands not obliged, according to that Rule in Civil Law, * It is unreasonable to expect that another should keep his Promise to me, if I refuse to keep mine to him. And again they say right, † No man is tied by his Oath to perform what he hath sworn to another, if that other performs not the thing which he swore on his part, and which was the Consideration or Motive which induced him to swear to the other. In such a case it is lawful and equitable to quit the perfor-

mance of an Oath. Why? because it obliged the Person to do something only on a certain Condition and Supposal. These are the Limitations and Exceptions concerning Oaths and their Obligation which I had to offer.

But if there be none of these Restrictions in the Oaths you have taken, if upon deliberate Thoughts and Examination you are perswaded that the Oaths in themselves are lawful, *i. e.* that they oblige you to nothing but what is in it self Just and Honest; if you are satisfied that they were Voluntary Acts, and proceeded from Choice, and not from mere Force and Violence; if the Person to whom you swore will not release you of your Oath; or supposing it to be conditional, if you be not acquitted that way, then there is no reversing and disclaiming of it, you are under an absolute engagement of performing the Matter of your Oath. It is in vain to use any Evasions and Shiftings: the Religion of an Oath is not to be dispensed with, and if you have any Tenderness of Conscience, you will not offer to struggle. The Obligation of this sacred Tye is such that it is indissoluble. It is made part of the Character of a Religious and Holy Man, that he sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not, Psal. 15. 4.

The last thing I undertook to treat of, is the Reason of this Commandment, For the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain. Which contains in it these two things, 1. That God will not clear such a one of the Fault, *ε μὴ καθαρῶς*, 23

as the LXX. interpret it, he will not look upon him as a pure, innocent Person, i. e. (according to the frequent Stile of Scripture) he will reckon him a guilty Person, a Criminal, one that is a great Sinner. This being added to this Commandment, and none of the rest, marks out this Sin of taking God's Name in vain, as a very heinous and flagitious one. 2. It is more plainly comprehended in this Clause, that God will not clear such an Offender from Punishment: he will severely animadvert on those that blaspheme his Holy Name by Vain or False Swearing, he will be avenged on all that are thus guilty.

The Holy Scriptures yield us sufficient proof of this: there we read that Blasphemy was punished by God's Appointment with Death, under the Law: there we read that the Breach of Sacred Vows and Oaths hath not gone unpunished. It is said that Samson's strength went from him, upon shaving off the Locks of his head, Judg. 16. 17, 19. the meaning of which is, that his Vow or Oath of Nazaritism was thereby broken, and God thereupon justly deprived him of that wonderful Strength which he had given him. If his Strength had lain in his Hair, as some have fancied, then other Nazarites who nourished their Hair would have had the same Strength, but we read of no such thing: therefore we may conclude this extraordinary Strength of Body which Samson had, to have been the peculiar Gift of God. But he knew that if he wilfully broke his Vow which he was under, by letting his Hair be cut, God would punish him by subtracting from him that Gift; that should be the Recompense of his violating his Oath.

The Sacred History acquaints us that Saul's Breach of Faith with the Gibeonites was punished with three Years Famine, 2 Sam. 21. 1. Ahab and Jezebel were severely recompensed for their suborning of Swearers against Naboth. King Zedekiah is a most remarkable Instance of the Divine Vengeance which attends the Breach of Oaths, Ezek. 17. 13. He was set over the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, and he swore Allegiance to him, but in a short time he violated his Oath, and turned Rebel, notwithstanding the Prophet Jeremiah advised him to the contrary, and set before him the Sinfulness of it. But what was the Effect of this Perjury, what followed upon breaking his Faith and Promise to the King of Babylon? It was no other than this, he was justly seized upon by the Chaldean Army, who put out his Eyes, and carried him Captive to Babylon, and with him the Ten Tribes of Israel, 2 Kings 25. 1, &c. Tho' it was an Oath made to an Heathen Prince, to an Idolater, yet you see the Breach of it is mentioned as a notorious and execrable Crime, Ezek. 17. 15, 16, 18, 19. and as God expresses his Abhorrence of it, so we find that he severely punished it.

Because of Swearing the Land mourneth, saith Jeremiah, chap. 23. ver. 10. The Hebrew Word signifies Cursing as well as Swearing, and so we may join them both together, because of Swearing and Cursing the Land (the whole Nation of the Jews) mourneth. There is an Elegancy in the Original, because the Word *Alah*, which is used here for Swearing, signifies also (according to the Chaldee Use of the Word) Howling and Lamenting, Joel 1. 8. Lamentation and Swearing go together, and therefore it is fitly said the Land mourns because of Swearing. It hath never greater occasion to lament and mourn than now, for this is such a Sin as brings the greatest Judgments with it, and causes Mourning and Sadness in a Land. No less than some common and national Calamity will attend so Epidemical a Sin.

There is a flying Roll against Swearers in Zech. 5. 1: which is very frightful and amazing, for a dreadful Curse is written in it: I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of Hosts, and it shall enter into the House of him that sweareth falsely by my Name; and it shall remain in the midst of his House, and shall consume it, with the Timber thereof, and the Stones thereof, Ver. 4. Goods gotten by swearing falsely and by Breach of Faith, are like the Leprosy spoken of in the Law, that infected even the Walls of the House; they are the Ruin of the Family, they are a Curse upon whatever is enjoy'd or possessed. Ananias and Sapphira pretended to devote their whole Estate to Religious Uses, but the Violation (tho' but in part) of that solemn Engagement, proved fatal and destructive to them. Arius recanted his Heresy, and with an Oath confirmed it, but afterwards he relapsed into his Heretical Doctrines, and we are told how remarkably he was punished for his Perjury. God will not be mocked, he will take notice of the Prophanation of his Name, and he will not always let Impunity be the Attendant of it. Which is the Purport of St. James's Words, chap. 5. ver. 12. Swear not either by Heaven or by the Earth, or any other Oath; but let your Yea

be Yea, and your Nay, Nay, (i.e. use plain Affirmatives and Negatives in common and usual Discourse, without adding any rash Swearing) lest ye fall into Condemnation, lest you incur God's Judgment, as it is threatened in the Third Commandment.

This was the Apprehension of those that were wise among the Pagans, and therefore to prevent and hinder the Commission of this Sin, which is of so pernicious a nature, they awarded no less than a Capital Punishment against those who were guilty of it, as we learn from

* Καὶ τὸ ἐπιτιμῶν θάνατον
ἢν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς
δύο τὰ μέγιστα ποινὰν ἀνὴ-
μα, θεὸς τε ἀπέδωκεν καὶ
μεγίστην τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἐν
ἀναξαρτίῳ. Diodor. Sic. l. i.

† Perjurii poena divina, exi-
tium; humana, dedecus esto.
Cic. de Leg. l. 2.

an ancient Writer, who tells us, that among the Egyptians

Death was inflicted on perjured Persons, as those who had committed two of the greatest Enormities, viz. Impiety to-

wards God, and subverting of the greatest Faith and Security among Men. How hateful this Vice is to God and Men, the

Old Romans thus expressed in one of the Laws of their Twelve Tables, † Let the Divine Vengeance pursue it with Destructi-

on, and let perpetual Infamy wait upon it among Men.

Among Christians there have been severe Penalties affixed to this Crime. Among us of this Nation our Law hath made it chargeable, shameful and painful.

But know and remember this, that tho' you should escape the Legal Penalty, yet you shall not be able to avoid the Displeasure of the Almighty. Either here or here-

after you shall certainly feel the dire Effects of it. Be very careful and circum-

spect therefore, consider what you do when you take your Oath on that Sacred Book, the Word of God, in which is contained this particular Commandment,

Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord, &c. And in that Book are recorded other Threatnings (as you have heard) against profane Swearers and Blasphemers, all which shall assuredly be accomplished. Think of this also, that if you wilfully forswear your selves, you renounce the Mercy of God in Christ, which that Book holds forth.

And as for other ways of prophaning God's Name, they certainly bring Guilt and Punishment with them; and even in this Life we sometimes see the deplorable Effects of them. Luther relates that a Frier in the Pulpit gave St. Paul the

Lie, and impiously told the People they were not to believe the Apostle. At which very instant of his uttering these Words, he fell down stark dead in the

Pulpit. A Popish Priest made a Vow to oppose the Protestant Religion, and said in a desperate manner, If that be God's Word, I wish I may be consumed with

Thunder. On Trinity Sunday a Tempest arose, and he was struck dead with

Thunder. He relates this Passage likewise, One of the City of Magdeburg uttered blasphemous Speeches against the Gospel, and bound himself under a Curse, and

said, If I receive the Protestant Faith, I pray God the Thunder may destroy me; and the same Day he was killed with Thunder. He tells us further, that the Chan-

cettor of Triers, who blasphemously said, they must be very idle that receive the Gospel, &c. died suddenly in speaking those Words. These Examples of Divine

Vengeance happen'd in Germany in Luther's time, as we read in his Colloquia Mensalia, chap. 39. And something we meet with of this nature in Mr. Fox's Martyrology.

But this is not thought of by those vile Wretches who indulge themselves in their prophane Speaking, and in Cursing and Execrations: yea, they persuade

themselves that they shall never be endamaged by them. Nay, as Pliny saith of a

* Si cum
maledi-
ctis sera-
tur. Nat.
Hist. l. 19.
c. 7.

certain Herb, that it was believed by the foolish People of old, that * it came up

the faster, if it were sowed with Curses, so perhaps some of them think they shall

thrive the better for this vicious Practice. One would imagine they entertain

some such Thought, when he observes how vigorously they addict themselves to

this prophane Language, and will not be prevailed with to abandon it. But let

† Antiq.
Jud. l. 12.
c. 2.

such deluded and hardened Sinners know, that they shall in due time, to their ex-

treme Sorrow, own the Truth of this latter Clause of the Commandment, they

shall find that God will not hold them guiltless. † Josephus mentions a Poet who bor-

rowed something out of the Holy Bible, and inserted it into a Tragedy which he

made, and thereupon he grew blind: and another attempted to mix some part of

that Sacred Volume with some of his Writings, and ran mad. I cannot vouch the

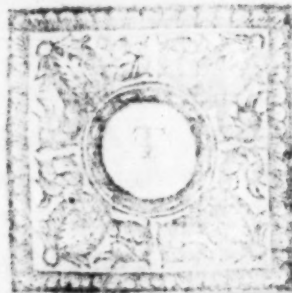
Certainty of this Relation, but this I am sure of, that the Prophane Mixing of

God's Holy Name with impious Curses and Oaths, will be followed one time or o-

ther

ther with some signal Mark of God's Displeasure and Anger. Those who use this mixture are *blind* and *mad* already, else they would not be thus Prophane: but they may expect farther Tokens of God's Judgments upon them, either on their Persons or Estates, on themselves or those they are concerned in, their Family and Posterity.

To conclude then, think of the *Penalty* annexed to the *Commandment*, and let that deter you from the Commission of this detestable Vice. The Prophanation of God's Name shall never prove successful and prosperous, whatever some presumptuously think. If you dare thus affront God, he will certainly recompense it. If you proceed to take God's Holy Name into your unhallowed Mouths, you shall by a dreadful Experiment know what is the Punishment of it. God will vindicate his Honour, especially when you call upon him to do so; for in every Oath you invoke God not only to be a Witness, but an Avenger.



FOURTH COMMANDMENT.

Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou labour, and do all thy Work: but the seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any Work, thou, nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant, nor thy Cattel, nor thy Stranger that is within thy Gates. For in six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh Day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath Day, and hallowed it.

In the Discourse on this Commandment there is shewed what was the Primitive Design of instituting the seventh Day Sabbath: That the Substance of this Commandment is Natural and Moral, and of perpetual Obligation: That the Change of the Day is reasonable: What is the particular Manner of observing the Lord's Day.



THE First Commandment is the general Basis of the three following ones that belong to this Table. That is the Substance, and these are the Circumstances: That determined the right Object of Worship; these specify the right Manner of it. As thus, Thou shalt worship one God, viz. without using Images, without blaspheming and prophaning his Name, by devoting a certain Day of the Week to him. So that this 4th Commandment, (which is the last of this First Table) directs us to observing the right Time of God's Worship, the special Season to be employed in his Service. This is the peculiar Design of this part of the Decalogue. To give a full Account of it, I will 1. Explain the several Parts of the Commandment, where I will shew what the seventh Day or Sabbath was first instituted for. 2. I will shew how this Commandment concerns us, and why we are to observe it. 3. I'll give an Account of the Change of the Day. 4. I will (as I have done in handling the other Commandments) let you see what is particularly forbidden, and what is required here. And lastly, I will apply all.

I. I will explain this Precept, and shew what was the primitive Institution and Design of the Sabbath. Here we are to take Notice, 1. Of the Precept it self. 2. Of the Reasons of it. In the former are observable these two Things, 1. A Rest. 2. The Sanctifying of it.

First, Here is commanded unto us a Rest, for that is the Meaning of the Word Sabbath, and consequently the Sabbath Day is a Day of Resting, a Ceasing from Work and Labour; which you find enlarged upon in the following Words: Six Days shalt thou labour and do all thy Work, but on the seventh Day thou shalt not do any Work, &c. Here six Days are allotted for Labour; not but that,

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1. Some Part of every Day should be spent in religious Exercises. As under the Law there were set Portions of every Day consecrated to divine Worship, i. e. the Service of the Tabernacle or Temple.

2. Not but that some Works might be done on the seventh Day, the Day of Rest. They circumcised their Children on this Day. They killed Beasts for Sacrifice, and several other bodily and external Works were done at that time. The Commandment therefore forbids not any Labour which hath immediate Subserviency to Religion, but only all such Works as are secular and worldly.

3. Not but that some whole Days may be solemnly set apart for returning Thanks unto God upon the Receipt of some great Mercy or Deliverance, or for the imploring the Favour and Goodness of God in time of Distress. If the Precept were absolute, and without Limitation, then no human Authority could appoint Days of Publick Thanksgiving or Humiliation, yea, all time taken out of the six Days, and employed in pure Exercises of Religion, would be unwarrantable and unlawful. But there need be no Fear or Scruple about that, for we read that God himself enjoined the Observation of other Days besides the seventh, *Exod. 34. 18, 22. Lev. 23. 2, 4. Num. 28. 11.* On some part of the six Days he was pleased to command a Cessation from Labour and Work; therefore working on those Days is not absolutely and indispensably required. This Commandment doth not forbid us to set a-part other Times, and keep other Days religiously. All that is enjoined us in this Clause of the Words is, that we labour not on any other Day but these six. What Work we have to do, must be done in those Days, that so we may not be hindred on the seventh from serving God solemnly. And indeed it is supposed, that by six Days Labour Men have made such Provision for themselves, and theirs, that they may be wholly without Care of Providing on the seventh Day, that they may rest then without Distraction.

Observe further the Extent of this Commandment, *Thou, nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, nor thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant*, shall do any Work on this Day; for it is a Day not to be violated and prophaned by any sort of Persons, of what Rank soever. It is supposed here that every Master of a Family is obliged to take Care of those that are under him, and to see that they neglect not the Service of God.

It is added, *Nor thy Cattel*, 1. Because of shewing Mercy to these, for a righteous, (i. e. a merciful) Man regardeth the Life (and Welfare) of his Beast, *Prov. 12. 10.* 2. Because it is presupposed that if the Cattel labour, Man must be employed also.

'Tis moreover said, *Nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates*. Not only Natives but Foreigners (if they were *Proselytes*) were obliged by this Precept; for there were among the *Israelites Strangers*, who took upon them the observing of the seven Precepts of the Sons of Noab, and these dwelt among them, whereas *Gentiles* were not permitted to inhabit with them. These Sojourners, these Aliens were tied by this Law to keep the Sabbath Day, that there might be no Confusion, but an uniform Face of Rest, as well as Religion, throughout the Nation. This then is said to let us understand that the Observation of this Day was *universal*, that nothing should hinder them from keeping this Day; that all Persons in their Families, and within their Gates, were equally concerned in it.

The second Thing remarkable in this Precept is, the *sanctifying* of this Rest. Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. There must not only be a Rest but a holy Rest. For as the Apostle saith of *bodily Exercise*, so it is as true of *bodily Rest*, it profits but a little; and therefore some greater thing is designed here, and that is expressed by *sanctifying* or *keeping holy* this Day. It hath been observed by the Judicious, that the Notion of *Sanctity* or *Sanctification* in Scripture, is derived from *separating* or *setting things a-part*, so as to assign them a peculiar Use and Property. Holy Persons, Things, Places, Times, are such by *Segregation*, by being distinguished and set a-side from other Persons, Things, Places, or Times. To prophanize is expounded by *not putting a Difference*, *Ezek. 22. 26.* The Apostle speaking of the Prophanation of the Lord's Supper, expresses it by *not discerning the Lord's Body*, *not making a Difference* between that and a common Feast, *1 Cor. 11. 29.* Thus Common is opposed to Holy, *Heb. 10. 29.* and signifies *prophane* or *unholy*: But what is Holy is not Common, and is to be used in a peculiar and different manner from other things. And so here to *sanctify* or *keep holy* the Sabbath Day, is to account it holy, and to set it a-part to sacred Uses. This Day is not to be used as other Days are,

but in a far different Manner; it is entirely to be spent in God's Service. The Primitive Design of the first Consecration of this Day will ascertain us of this, as I shall shew anon.

But there are *Reasons* added to the Precept, of which I will speak next. The Duty of keeping holy the Sabbath Day is enforced,

1. From the Propriety of this Day, *The seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.* It is God's Sabbath, it is *the holy of the Lord*, Isa. 58. 13. and therefore must be entirely dedicated to him. We must *turn away our Foot from the Sabbath*, as *Isaiab* expresses it, we must not encroach on God's Time, we must not trample on his Day, we must not usurp upon his proper Right.

2. From the Equity of observing it; which is contained in God's free giving us *six Days for Work*, and secular Business; therefore we may well afford to give him *one*. He having indulged us such a large Portion of Time to make Provision for our Bodies; is it not highly reasonable that we should dedicate a Day particularly to his Service? Which by the way shews how great our Offence is, if we be so base and disingenuous as to deny God his own peculiar Share of Time when he hath so liberally provided for us. It aggravated our first Parents Fault that they refused to abstain from one Tree, when all the rest were granted them. So *Nathan* aggravates *David's* Sin from this, that he took the poor Man's Ewe, although he had a whole Flock of his own. In like Manner it must needs mightily enhance our Crime if we withhold from God his Right of Worship on this particular Day, which is but one in seven.

3. From God's Example. *In six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh Day.* Here is a double Example, of Working and Resting, and they are both set before us for our Imitation. As God employed six Days in the Works of the Creation, so we are to make use of that time in our lawful Works and Calling. And as he ceased from his Works, so we are in some Manner to imitate him in that Respect; we must on the seventh Day, or on one in seven, make a Truce with our worldly Business and Employment, and celebrate a holy Rest.

4. This Duty of observing the seventh Day is enforced by a particular Sanction and Ordinance; *The Lord blessed the Sabbath Day and hallowed it*; which is the same with *Gen. 2. 3. The Lord blessed the seventh Day, and sanctified it.* He consecrated it as soon as he finished the Creation, to these two Ends and Purposes. 1. To be a Day of Refreshment to labouring People. This Cessation from Work was appointed on a *Civil* Account, that Men might not be wearied out with continual Pains and Toil, but that they might have some Ease and Relaxation. 2. It was ordained on a *religious* Account, and that,

First, More particularly with respect to our *first Parents*, who were then newly created, and therefore this Sabbath was very proper and suitable to their Condition; now they were fit to celebrate their *own Production* as well as the *Creation of the World*.

Secondly, More generally it was designed for a perpetual *Commemoration* of the *Works of the Creation*, and the *Resting of God from them*. It was intended that on the Sabbath we should for ever remember that God made the World in six Days, and then put a Period to his Works; he made no new Species of things afterwards. *Man* was his last and most consummate Work, and that wherein he summed up all the rest. He therefore was made to praise and celebrate God's Name for all these, and accordingly this Day was set a-part to preserve the Memory of the Creation, and that then we should make a solemn and publick Acknowledgment of this first external and visible Act of God's Goodness and Bounty.

Thirdly, This Day was sanctified and set a-part to be employed wholly in the *Service and Worship of God*. These were absolutely necessary, Man being created for this very Purpose, *viz.* To serve and worship God; which that he might the more solemnly do, it was fitting there should be a set time assigned, it was convenient that a certain determinate Day should be appointed, and that that should be observed in all future Ages of the World.

It is not to be questioned, but that this hath been kept from the very Beginning of the World, because we read of the express *Institution* of it, *Gen. 2. 2, 3.* and there is no Reason to doubt whether they practised according to that Institution. It is true, the Fathers before the Flood are not said to have celebrated it,

not

nor do we read of it in the History of the Patriarchs after the Flood ; but we cannot infer thence that it was not kept ; for *Moses* hath omitted many things concerning the Church of God in those Times. Wherefore, from the not mentioning the Observation of this Day, we must not conclude that *Adam* or *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and the other Patriarchs observed it not. But though we do not expressly read that it was religiously set a-part by them, yet there are Reasons to induce us to believe that it was, as I have shewed in *another Place, to which I refer the Reader. And we may certainly collect so much from *Exod.* 16. 23, &c. where we find that the *Israelites* gathered a double Portion of Manna on the sixth Day, because they were to rest on the seventh Day, the holy Sabbath unto the Lord, and not to gather any Manna. This was before the giving of the Law, and therefore is no Judaical or Ceremonial Usage : But you may observe that in the foresaid Place, and in two Verses afterwards, the 25th and 26th, it is spoken of as a thing practised of old, an Institution well known. Indeed it was of great Antiquity ; for it began from the Creation of the World ; it was first instituted in Paradise, and in the State of Innocence, and was kept ever after by all the faithful Worshippers of the true God, and at last was renewed and confirmed by a special Commandment on Mount Sinai, and was inserted into the Decalogue.

* Survey of the different Dispensations of Religion, ch. 1.

Some make use of these Words, *Deut.* 5. 12. *Keep the Sabbath Day to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee* ; whence they would infer that there was a Commandment for it before the publishing of the Law ; but I conceive this refers to *Ex.* 20. and therefore cannot be made use of here. I think what I have alledged already is sufficient to prove that the seventh Day was observed by *Adam* and the following Generations ; for there is an express Institution of this Practice, and a particular plain Instance of it before the Delivering of the Law. Nor is it unlikely that the Word *Remember* in the Front of this Commandment denotes to us as much. The Use of this Term seems to imply that this was an Injunction given before, but now renewed, and therefore they must call it to Remembrance, which they could not do if it had not been something past, something that was wont to be observed before. Remember this, saith God, and keep it holy, as a publick Testification of that Homage and Worship which are due to me, especially on this Day, which I have sanctified and set a-part from the Beginning of the World, and which hath in all Ages been kept by my Servants. Thus you see the Reasons of this Commandment.

II. How doth this Commandment concern Us ? What Obligation hath it upon us *Christians* ? † Some will have it to be wholly Ceremonial, and consequently of no Use under the Gospel. It was accommodated only to the Jewish Oeconomy, saith || another, and therefore concerned the Jews only. Others make it wholly Moral, and will not allow of any thing Judaical in it. Both these are Extremes ; and we may find the Truth in the Middle of them ; that is, this Commandment is partly Ceremonial and partly Moral ; or rather I would express it thus ; there is contained in this Commandment something that appertains to a Positive Law, and something that belongs to a Natural or Moral one. Take it in these two Propositions, 1. The Circumstances of this Commandment are not Natural or Moral, but are a Positive Institution. 2. The Substance of it is purely Natural and Moral.

† Volkel. de V. R. l. 4. c. 14. Smalc. de Divin. Christi Catech. Racov. || Dr. Spencer de Leg. Hebr.

First, I say, the Circumstantial Part of this Commandment is not Natural but Positive ; which will appear from these three Things :

1. It was Occasional ; for we read that the Rise of it was from God's Resting on the seventh Day from the Works of Creation ; thence this Day of Rest was enjoined to *Adam* and his Posterity ; this was a Motive on which God took Occasion to set a-part the seventh Day for a Sabbath. But if the Precept had been wanting, God's Cessation on that Day would not have made it a holy Day. The first Original of the Limitation to the seventh Day in order, was God's Resting on that Day, and this by a Positive Law founded on that Resting. For that is the Nature of a Positive Law, that it commands or prohibits Things which before the Constitution were indifferent. They become good or evil by the Command, and not otherwise. So it is here ; for God might have chosen what Day he pleased for ending the Works of the Creation, and for Resting ; and consequently our Resting on a seventh Day is not a Natural or Moral Observance.

2. The Sabbath in a particular and peculiar, though not exclusive Manner, belongs to the *Israelites*. There are *some* things in the Institution of it which refer to *them alone*. Thus it was designed and appointed to be a peculiar Mark to distinguish God's People from the rest of the World. *It is a Sign between me and you, throughout your Generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that sanctifieth you, Exod. 31. 13.* And this is repeated *Ezek. 20. 12. I gave you my Sabbath to be a Sign, &c.* And in other Places, the Sabbath is represented and mentioned as a Sign and a Covenant between God and the *Israelites*. This is one of the federal Tokens whereby he distinguishes between them and other Nations. They shall be known to be his by this particular Badge.

Again, the Sabbath was enjoined in Memory of a special Mercy bestowed upon them; for you find this added to the Commandment, *Deut. 5. 15. Remember that thou wast a Servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence — therefore the Lord thy God commandeth thee to keep the Sabbath Day.* It is evident then that this Day was partly appointed for calling to mind the Deliverance at the Red Sea; which it is probable was on this very Day, *Exod. 12. 15, 16, 17.* Mr. Mede was perswaded (and the Reader may see in his Writings the Grounds of it if he pleases) that it was on the Morning of the Sabbath Day that God overthrew Pharaoh and his Host, and delivered the *Israelites* from the *Egyptians*. This therefore might be one Reason or Occasion of the Law concerning the Resting on this Day, because then they were rescued from the *Egyptian* Bondage, then they rested from their Servitude. Therefore not unfitly are they commanded to cease from their Labours on this Day. Thus it is not to be denied that the Observation of the seventh Day is further enforced on the *Jews* from the Consideration of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and their resting from their Bondage there. So here is something in this Commandment belonging to the *Jews*, and proper to them. They were upon this Day to commemorate their wonderful Redemption from *Egypt*.

But when *Grotius* and some others infer hence that the Sabbath was in Remembrance of this Deliverance only, and that the Rest was appropriated to the *Jews*, their Inference hath no Foundation; for though this was a secondary Reason of instituting a Cessation from all Work and Labour on that Day, yet it is to be remembered that there was a primary Reason and Ground of this, *viz.* God's ceasing from his Works, of which I spake before. And though the sacred History mentions not this exact Abstaining from all Work on this Day among the Primitive Patriarchs, yet this Negative is no Argument, for the Reason which I assigned before. We may conclude then, that the Observation of the Sabbath was from the Beginning placed in the strict Ceasing from all Work whatsoever on that Day; though I grant that this Intermision of their Labours was yet further enjoined them upon occasion of their being delivered from their Labour and Toil under the *Egyptian* Slavery, and so this Command of Rest was partly in Memory of their former State, when they had no Cessation from their Labours. But we cannot argue hence that this Injunction was proper to the *Jews*, and that Resting from all servile Work is not still obligatory: We have rather Reason to believe that this Commandment, as to this Particular, obliged not only the *Jews* but *Christians*, yea all Mankind, for they have all of them an Interest and Concern in the Creation of the World, and the six Days Works, from which God resting on the seventh Day, ordained it to be a Time of Rest among all the Sons of Men.

3. There is something Typical and Mystical in this Command; for, 1. It represents *Christ* our Lord, our Rest, our Center, our only Satisfaction and Happiness. Thus the Apostle informs us, that *the Sabbath was a Shadow of things to come, but the Body is of Christ, Col. 2. 17.* He is the Substance which this Shadow, this Type represents. 2. It signifies the great Sabbath of the New Testament, the blessed Time of the Gospel, wherein we rest from the servile Rites and burdensome Ceremonies of the Law. 3. It denotes our ceasing from our own Works, our Works of Sin, *Heb. 4. 10.* which are the greatest Slavery, and our being delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God, wherein we shall freely and chearfully yield Obedience to him. 4. It is a Fore-runner and Type of the everlasting Rest; for the Apostle tells us that this and the like Observances of the Old Testament were a Shadow of heavenly things, *Heb. 8. 5.* And more particularly he applies this to the future Happiness and Glory of the Saints, *Heb. 4. 9. There remaineth a Rest to the People of God. They shall keep an eternal*

eternal Sabbath in the highest Heavens, which far exceeds the Rest here below, which the *Rabbins* thus express, The Rest of the Sabbath Day is sixty Times less than the Rest of the Sabbath of the other World: Thus we see how far the seventh Day Sabbath is a *Positive Command*, and depends on the Will and Appointment of God.

The second Proposition is this, that the *Substance* of this Commandment is *Natural* and *Moral*, and of perpetual Obligation. That which is *Substantial* in this Commandment is this, that God should be solemnly and publickly worshipped, and at some set time more especially. A *Moral Command* is founded on the Principles of Nature, and enjoins or forbids things good or evil in respect of their own Nature; and such is this, for it is natural to set a-part some Time for God's Service. This also is of the Substance of this Commandment, that some Refreshment should be allowed to the Bodies of Men. One End in instituting the Sabbath was to teach us Humanity, to restrain us from using others hardly, and wearying them out with incessant Labour and Drudgery. So that our Resting, and causing others to do so on this Day is grounded on the Law of Nature and Reason, it being beneficial to Men as well as subservient to the Ends of Religion. It is a charitable as well as a pious Act.

I do not say that the Observation of a seventh Day, as such, is a Law of Nature, for no Man by Natural Reason can tell that he is to rest on a seventh Day rather than on a sixth or eighth. Though it is true that we find in *Authors* a general Consent of Nations as to the seventh Part of time, yet that was only in Imitation of the *Jews*, who kept this precise Time, and whose Rites and Usages were by Travels and Voyages well known to most People. Some have thought that one Day in seven (tho' not that very seventh which is the *Jewish Festival*) is Moral; and this they gather from the Honour, Privileges, and Excellencies of this septenary Number. * *Philo* the Jew indeavours to shew that it transcends all other Numbers of things either in Heaven or on the Earth, or in the Waters; and in all things in the Universe, whether Natural or Moral, he thinks he finds the Pre-rogative of this Number. And some of the *Christian Fathers* have imitated him in this. But a considerate Person will upon Examination perceive, that their Reasons are curious and fanciful, rather than solid; and he will soon see that the true Reason of the Exaltation of this Number is this, that from the Beginning the seventh Day was consecrated to Joy and Thankfulness by God himself; because then he ceased from the Works of the Creation, and finished all the Species of Things which he designed to produce. There is then nothing Moral in the Number Seven, and consequently not in a seventh Day, any more than in a 4th or 5th, or any other; which perhaps is all that *Calvin* meant when he said, that † the Church is not tied to the Number Seven. Nor is there any Morality or natural Goodness in that particular determinate seventh Day which the *Jews* observed, as we may gather from the Alteration of that Day. We see the Day is changed, which could not be if there were entire Morality in that seventh Day.

* De Opif. Mundi.

† Neque sic tamen septenarium numerum moror, ut ejus servituti Ecclesiam astringam. Instit. l. 2. c. 8.

But though no intrinsic Reason, or Principle of Nature bids us celebrate this or any other seventh Day, yet Nature and Reason tell us that there should be some Ease and Respite from bodily and worldly Labours, that thereby the Service of God may be attended, and the Interest of Religion be secured and promoted. That this is a Natural Dictate is evident from what even the Pagan Geographer saith of the Institution of the antient Festivals, or Days of Cessation from Labour. Of which he assigns this Account, || That Intermision, saith he, of their Labours draws off the Mind from human and secular Affairs, and turns it towards God. Which shews the Reasonableness of Appointing some select Time and Season for religious Purposes. It is fitting that some certain Time should be set a-part for God's Worship, that some special Season should be allotted for devoting our selves more solemnly to his Service. In short, the Observing of such a set Time for Exercises of Religion is a Dictate of Reason, and a Part of Natural Religion.

|| Ἡτε ὁ δὲ ἀνεσις ἡ νῦν ἀπαύρις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀσχολημάτων, ἡ δὲ ἔτι νῦν τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. Strabo, Geogr. l. 10.

Moreover, I will add this, that though the Quantity or Proportion of Time comes not within the Command of a Law which is merely Moral, yet the Ground or Reason of keeping not only a Day, but a seventh, seems to have something of Morality in it. Reason tells us, that seeing God was the first Author of this Day, seeing he instituted it, we are obliged by Virtue of this to acquiesce in it, and to believe

lieve the choosing of this particular Proportion of Time is a rational and equitable thing. All Days are a-like in themselves, but God's particular Institution makes a Difference. And who is fitter to choose and fix that Day than He? yea, and what Day was fitter than the seventh to be set a-part for the calling to mind God's Works? Wherefore, though the limiting of this certain Day was *occasional*, yet it binds still; for the Reason of the occasional Part is not ceased, which was this, [In six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, &c. and rested the seventh Day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath Day, and hallowed it.] Now this Reason of the Commandment can never be removed, therefore the Command must ever continue. Whence that of the judicious Hooker, * We are to account the Sanctification of one Day in seven a Duty which God's immutable Law doth exact for ever. An unchangeable Reason makes a Precept unchangeable; and this is such: There is as much Reason for a seventh Part now as ever; there is as much Cause for celebrating the Works of the Creation finished in the six Days as there was at first. And if you consider it a-right, you'll find it to be a Moral Reason, for the Creation contains in it God's Wisdom, Power and Goodness, and other Divine Attributes; therefore solemnly to commemorate these is certainly a part of Moral Religion, and was designed by God to be an eminent and illustrious Instance of it. It must needs be an high Act of Worship to acknowledge and praise God at the Remembrance of these his Excellencies and Perfections. For this Reason the Law of the seventh Day may be called Moral as well as Positive.

* Eccles.
Polity,
Book 5.
N. 70.

Some think the Moral Tendency of this Commandment may be collected from this, that even Strangers and Profelytes were obliged to keep the Sabbath. But then we must grapple with † Mr. Selden, who hath proved by an Amassment of several Quotations out of the Jewish Doctors, that it is the Opinion of the Jews, that the Profelytes of Righteousness only, and not the Profelytes of the Gate, were obliged to the Observation of the Sabbath; so that here we shall scarcely have any sure Footing.

† De Ju-
re Nat. &
Gent. l. 3.

Some would argue from the Gentiles keeping this Day among themselves. But here the foresaid || Author makes Head against us, who endeavours to prove that the Heathens had no notion of the Sabbath or Seventh Day, they did not hold it to be sacred. But though I conceive this learned Gentleman is mistaken here, yet it doth not follow from some of the Pagans observing this Day, that it was a Law of Nature, for they might borrow it (as I have shewed in another Place) from the Jews, from whom they derived several other Usages.

|| Ibid. c.
13, 14.

I think it is sufficiently clear from what I have already suggested, that the Ground of this 4th Commandment is Moral. I will only add this Consideration further; that if it were a meer positive Law, or a Ceremony, it would not have had its Place in the midst of Moral Precepts, as we see it hath here in the Decalogue.

* Perkins,
Usher.
† In Ire-
land, A.
D. 1615.
See their
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From all which I gather that the Fourth Commandment is in Force still as to the Morality of it. As the keeping a Day is Moral, so the keeping a seventh Day is partly of that Nature, the particular affigning of this Time being grounded on a Moral and Religious Consideration, as you have heard. On this Account it may be reckoned not as meerly and simply Positive, but it may be said in some Measure to partake of a Natural and Moral Injunction. For this Reason the Morality of the Sabbath hath been asserted not only by * single Writers of good Judgment and Repute, but by a † whole Convocation.

But here it will be demanded, How doth this Precept concern us, seeing we keep not that seventh Day which was kept from the Beginning of the World, and to which this Commandment refers? What I have said already, may give Satisfaction to this Query; because I have shewn that even the Proportion of a seventh Day is reasonable, and therefore we need not be very inquisitive and solicitous what seventh Day it is that we are enjoined to observe. But because the Day is changed from that of old to another, though bearing the same Proportion to the Week, it will be requisite to give an Account of the Change of the seventh Day into the first, which is the

III General Head I propounded to speak of. Why do we Christians solemnly worship God on another set Time? What is the Reason that the Day was altered in the Apostle's Times? The Answer is manifold.

I. This Change was then of Course. For this being reckoned among the Judaical Rites (for as to some Circumstances it was partly of that Nature, as I have shewed

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shewed before) it was to be laid aside with the rest of them. The *Mosaick Services* (at that time usually performed) were abolished by *Christ*, and so the Seventh Day was changed into the First. To this purpose are those Places, *Rom. 14. 5. Gal. 4. 10, 11. Col. 2. 16.* which are directly against the observing the *Seventh Day Sabbath* (as some fondly do) now under the Gospel.

2. The Occasion of the Change of the Day was *Christ's* rising from the Dead on this Day. All the Evangelists particularly and expressly mention this, that he rose ** on the first of the Sabbaths* (for so 'tis according to the Greek) which we rightly render in our Translation *on the first Day of the Week*, for the Week-days were called in a general way *Sabbaths* in honour of the Seventh Day, which is not to be wondered at, for among the *Latins* we may observe the like, *Feria prima*, and *Feria secunda* are so called from the chief *Feria* or *Holy Day* in the Week. Now, I look upon this as a sufficient Argument of the Change of the Day, that the Day of *Christ's* Resurrection is called, *the First Day of the Week*, and that by the four Evangelists. For we may observe that in the Texts referring to this Matter it is called the *First Day*, in contradistinction to their *last Day of the Week*, on which the *Jewish Sabbath* was kept: to acquaint us, that now the *first Day of the Week* is to be kept as the *Christian Sabbath*, because *Christ* rose from the Dead on that Day. And here further, we may take notice of the Analogy between these: the other Day was kept in remembrance of the *Creation of the World*; this is observed as a *Commemoration* of the *New Creation* wrought by *Christ Jesus*. The Memory of this latter is chiefly designed in the instituting of this Day, tho' we are also to call to mind and gratefully acknowledge the other at this time.

3. We read that the Apostles and Disciples, after *Christ's* Resurrection, and whilst he was on Earth, assembled together on this Day, *the first Day of the Week*, *John 20. 19, 26.* Why is this particularly taken notice of and recorded? Why is this peculiar Time of their Meeting together here specified? And why is it now, after our Saviour's Resurrection, and never before, called *the first Day of the Week*? To let us see, without doubt, that the Order of the Days of the Week was changed, and that the Sabbath was altered from the Seventh to the First Day. There can be no other Reason given than this, and it sufficiently authorizes the Change of the Day.

4. For the same Reason it is recorded by the Evangelists, that *Christ* himself appeared not only on the very same Day that he rose, but that when the Day of his Resurrection came about again, he appeared to his Apostles, and conversed with them, *John 20. 26.* After eight Days again his Disciples were within, that is, on the Eighth Day after *Christ's* Resurrection, the very next Lord's Day, they met together, and *Christ* came into their Assembly; still to determine them to the *first Day of the Week*, and to settle the Change of the Seventh Day into this. And the Lord's Day is rightly called the *Eighth Day*; for as 'tis the *First* in regard of the Week following, so 'tis the *Eighth* in respect of that going before. Hence by *Hilary*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Explanation of the Psalms*, 'tis called the *Eighth Day*; and *Augustine*, in his 119th Epistle, saith 'tis both the *First* and the *Eighth Day*.

5. After his Ascension he sent the Holy Ghost on this very Day, *Acts 2. 1.* and because the Apostles expected him at that solemn Time, it is to be observed (which confirms what was said before) that then they were assembled together, it being the usual and set Day of their Meeting, it being the Christian Sabbath. They were all with one accord in one Place, as you read in the forenamed Text.

6. And afterwards it is particularly recorded, that the *First Day of the Week* was the Time when the Disciples came together to break Bread, that is, to celebrate the Lord's Supper, *Acts 20. 7.* And they came together to hear the Word on this Day, for in the same place 'tis said, that then *Paul* preached unto them. This is a very remarkable Passage, and 'tis the rather to be taken notice of by us, because few have done it. It is said in the foregoing Verse, that the Apostle and his Company abode at *Troas* seven Days, which lets us know that they tarried in that Place on purpose so long, that is, till the *First Day of the Week*, as 'tis called in the 7th Verse, because that was the solemn and set Time of Meeting; otherwise they might have chosen any of the preceding Days. So that it appears that this is a very clear Proof of the Observation of the Lord's Day by the Apostles in those early Times.

7. We read in 1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. that the Collection for the Saints was on the First Day of the Week, that being the Day appointed for their solemn Meeting, and substituted in the room of the Jewish Sabbath.

8. The Practice of the Primitive Churches succeeding the Apostles ratifies this Observation. They constantly kept this Day in memory of our Saviour's rising, and perhaps partly of the Holy Ghost's descending on that Day. It is true, Constantine the Great * commanded by Edict that the whole Roman Empire should observe the Lord's Day: but this implies that the Day was observed before, and known by the Name of the Lord's Day. He commanded it to be observed for the future by all Persons in the Roman Empire; but none can rationally gather thence (as some have vainly attempted) that this was the first time of its being practised. Some alledge, that in the first and earliest Times, Saturday, as well as the Lord's Day, was kept as a Day of Rest and solemn Worship: and they infer thence, that there is no more to be said for the observing of the latter, than there is for the former. But this is a groundless Inference, for tho' 'tis true that for some time in the Eastern Parts Saturday was kept holy, yet it was merely for the sake of the Judaizing Converts, and at the same time the Lord's Day was also observed: and besides, 'tis well known that in the Western Churches Saturday was not observed at all as a Festival, yea, it was a Fast-day: and Sunday was the only Day that was kept holy, as a Day that succeeded in the Place of the Jewish Sabbath, and in remembrance of Christ's Resurrection.

* Την ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες ἡ συνέλευσιν πορεύμεθα, ἐπειδὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.
† Stato die. Plin. Epist. lib. 10. Epist. 97.

Thus one of the most ancient Writers of the Church, when he was giving an Account of the Publick Worship of the Christians, acquaints us that * they all met together on Sunday (for so he and some of the Fathers called the Lord's Day) because on that very Day our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the Dead. And when a noted Pagan Writer tells us that the Primitive Christians were wont to meet together very early † on a set Day to sing Praises to God, it is not to be doubted that the First Day of the Week is meant by him. For it was the universal Practice of the Christians to meet together on that Day to worship God in a more solemn manner: and they derived it (as I have shewed before) from the Apostles, without the Intervention of mere Human Authority. Here then St. Augustine's Rule holds good, That which is held by the Universal Church, and was not instituted by Councils, but was always retained, is certainly believed to have been delivered by Apostolical Authority. This then was of that nature, for the First Day of the Week was observed as a Festival by the Universal Church before the Decrees of any Councils. This is confessed by those who have no regard at all to the celebrating of this Day. The Quakers, who profess that there is no Obligation to keep the First Day of the Week more than any other, yet acknowledge that || the Apostles and Primitive Christians used it for these Purposes, viz. to wait on God, to be freed from outward Affairs, to be eased from Labour. One would think that the Practice and Authority of the Apostles is argumentative; for from this we may gather that the Keeping of this Day was enjoined by Christ, or by his Holy Spirit, for they did nothing without special Order from God, and they were immediately inspired and directed by the Holy Ghost.

|| Barclay's Apology.

But besides these things which I have alledged, the Reasons before mentioned for the observing of the Seventh Day, even that which was instituted from the Beginning of the World, are valid for the keeping of the First Day of the Week: as namely,

1. The Equity of the thing. Six Days we are to labour, so many are permitted us for our secular business: wherefore One may well be given and wholly devoted to a higher Employment. The Reason is still the same here that it was before. And tho' the keeping of the first Day of the Week be not expressly and formally commanded in the Fourth Precept of the Decalogue, yet even thence we may gather the Equity of observing that Day. Though the Letter of the Commandment enjoins not this, yet the Reason of it doth: though the Speciality of the Fourth Commandment be not in force under the Gospel, yet the Natural and Moral Tendency of it is. This then we may say, that the Observation of the Lord's Day is founded on this Commandment as to the Equity and Analogy of it, for we are to take this Injunction in its Latitude, and so it doth not restrainedly respect the old Jewish Sabbath, but it is applicable even to the Christian Sabbath. It commands a Seventh Day's

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Day's Rest in general, and therefore we by virtue of this Commandment are to keep one Day in seven now.

2. Propriety here, as well as before, may be pleaded. The former was God's Day, and signally called his: and semblably this is the Lord's Day, Rev. 1. 10.

3. Example is to be alledged here as well as in the former case. They rested from their Works on the Seventh Day, because God was their Pattern therein. So here Christ ceasing from the Works of his Humiliation, by his rising from the Dead, bids us in some measure imitate him, by resting from our Works of Labour and bodily Employment.

4. Here is God's Ordinance and Institution. Christ who was God himself commanded this Practice. For who else could do it? Who could change the Order of the Days of the Week? The Jews would not do it, because they so strictly revered their own Sabbath: the Christians would not presume to undertake such a thing without Christ's Approbation and Order: therefore from him alone this Change proceeded. St. Paul taught nothing but what he received of the Lord, 1 Cor. 11. 23. Wherefore when we find that he chose the first Day of the Week to preach to the Christians upon, Acts 20. 7. and gave order to the Churches of Galatia to make their Collection for the Saints on that day viz. when they solemnly used to meet together, 1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. we may gather that Christ himself instituted the Observance of this Day. And it is probable that this was one of those things which our Saviour taught his Disciples, when, in the time between his Resurrection and Ascension, he spake to them of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, Acts 1. 3. For this reason without doubt the Lord's Day is mentioned by St. John, Rev. 1. 10. as a thing then in use and well known, as being an Ordinance of Christ Jesus. It is not to be questioned that both the Lord's Supper and the Lord's Day were so called, because they were instituted by the Lord Christ Jesus. The Apostles have not in their Writings set down expressly the Institution or Command, but it is supposed as that which was well known to the Christians in those Days. They were all satisfied that our Lord himself gave order concerning the observing the first Day of the Week, and that he himself observed it (as I have shewed before) because he gloriously rose from the Dead on that Day. Thence this came to be a special Day for the solemn Assemblies of the Christians. Thence the Jewish Seventh Day was turned into the Christian Sabbath. But a particular Injunction or Command for this is not necessary. The being satisfied that the Day was changed by Christ, is enough.

I will here adjoin what Our Church saith, and it is well worth our observing; * In the fourth Commandment (saith she) God hath given express Charge to all Men, * Homily that upon the Sabbath Day, which is now our Sunday, they cease from all weekly Labour, of the Time And again, in the same Place, We must be careful to keep Sunday, which is the Christi- and Place an Sabbath, for that it is the express Command of God. Which plainly shews it to be of Prayer. the Sense and Judgment of our Church, that the Lord's Day is to be kept by virtue of the Fourth Commandment, and that the prophaning of the Lord's Day is a Transgression of this Commandment. And I will observe this further; that when according to the Direction of our Church we pray that God would write all these Laws in our Hearts, it is not meant that a Ceremonial or mere Jewish Law should be writ in our Hearts; no surely; therefore it is implied that this Fourth Commandment is a Moral and Perpetual Commandment.

Having thus shewed what is the General Nature of this Commandment, and how it concerns us that are Christians, and why there was an Alteration of the day, I proceed now to the

IVth General Head of my Discourses on this Commandment, viz. to let you see (as I did before in the other Precepts) what is the Negative part of this Law, and what is the Affirmative, or (which is the same) what are the Sins forbidden, and what are the Duties enjoined. The Sins against this Commandment are,

1. To work on this Day, or to set others about any servile Employment. There were Days set apart among the Gentiles which were in high Esteem, and we are told that their Religion (such as it was) taught them * to do no Work on these * Cic. de Leg. 1. 2. their Holidays and Festivals. And shall not the stricter and purer Religion of Macrobi. Christians teach them to abstain from all secular Business on that Day which was Saturn. 1. set apart by their Blessed Master? This is no Day for the Works of their ordinary Calling, for any worldly Labour and Enterprize. Thou shalt not do any Work,

saith the Commandment : thou shalt not do or suffer to be done any kind of bodily and laborious Work whatsoever. If the *Jews* were forbid to travel on their Seventh Day any further than the distance of the Ark from the Camp (which is the meaning of a *Sabbath Days Journey*) then we cannot but think ourselves obliged to abridge ourselves as to this particular, and not to take unnecessary Journeys on the Christian Sabbath. The poor Labourers and Servants who have worked all the Week, are to be refreshed by their resting from Labour : and both they and all others are to *cease* from their ordinary Employments, that they may the better attend on God's Service. For which reason it is likely this Day retained the Name of the *Sabbath Day* among some of the Christian * Fathers, and is so called by our *own Church*.

* Greg.
Nyssen,
Austin,
Hilary.
† Can. 70.

2. We are forbid by this Commandment to spend the Lord's Day in *Idleness*. For though this Christian Sabbath be a Vacation, yet we must not be idle on this Day. In memory of God's Rest from the Works of the Six Days this is hallowed into a Sabbath, but it must be no Day of resting or ceasing from Acts of Religion, because the grand design of instituting of it was in order to this, *viz.* that we should be at leisure for God's Worship and Service. Be persuaded then of this, that to be idle on this Day, is to keep the Sabbath of an Ox or an Ass, not of a reasonable Creature. Let this be thought of by all that have any Sense of Religion, any Reverence for God's Name and Honour, that if they spend the Lord's Day in Sloth and Idleness, they make a less account of it than of the other *Common Days*, for lawful Labour and Business cause any of those to be well spent : but to spend this Day in Sleep, or doing nothing, or in foolish and impertinent Actions, is mere Prophaning of it. Let us remember this then, that as we must not labour, so we must not be unemployed on the Lord's Day.

|| Buxtorf.
Synag.;

3. This Commandment forbids all *Recreations* and *Sports* on this Day. It was common with the *Jews of old*, as some credible Writers relate, to Feast and Play, and indulge themselves in all Sensual Mirth on the Sabbath Day. And the *Modern Jews*, if we may believe || One who was very inquisitive after their Manners, exceed them, for they provide themselves with all Delicacies on this Day, especially in the close of it, they give themselves up to excessive Pleasure and Jollity, which they endeavour to prove lawful from *Isai. 58. 13. Call the Sabbath a Delight*. But we must not imagine that the Christian Sabbath is to be kept thus: it was not set apart for such mean and unworthy Uses. The very talking of worldly Business is prophaning the Lord's Day, for *we must not speak our own Words*. Much more are unseasonable and extravagant Actions a prophaning of it, because they make us incapable of using this Holy Day aright. Too liberal Eating and Drinking, as well as Work, unfit Persons for God's Service. Lavishing the Time in unnecessary Dressing themselves, walking and gadding abroad, making idle Visits, spending the Hours in Vain Company, minding those Pleasures which at another time are lawful, all these are plain Violations of this Day, because they are wholly unsuitable to the Design and Purpose of it, which is to dedicate ourselves wholly unto God and the Exercises of Religion. It was the Judgment of St. *Augustin* that *† it is better to plow than to dance on the Lord's Day*. And so we may say of all other Recreations and worldly Diversions, it is more tolerable to exercise ourselves in the ordinary Work of our Calling than to practise *them*, for they wholly disable us from the Business of Religion, and will not let our Minds be serious and composed. If Working then be forbid on this Day, it is not to be doubted that Playing is much more, for this is inconsistent with the actual Service of God.

† Quanto
melius est
arare
quam sal-
tare in
Sabbato ?
In Titu-
lum 91.
Psal.

|| In the
16th Year
of King
James I's
Reign :
and after-
wards in
the Reign
of King
Charles I,
A. D.
1633.

It is sad on this occasion to recount that a Declaration for Liberty of *Sports* and *Recreations* on the Lord's Day was || published heretofore among us. It must needs be a Sin of a high Nature, when not only the Civil but Ecclesiastical Rulers agreed to countenance and promote such a Disorder. The Judgment of God followed them for this heinous offence, and I fear will light upon those at this Day who are desirous to see those *Declarations* retrieved. For it is observable, that some of those Men who are most zealous for those things for which there is *no express Command* from God, are Despisers of the *Lord's Day*, which is of *Divine Institution*, and they are forward to do any thing on that Day. But they should remember that Sports and Pastimes are unfit Entertainments at such a time, because they dispose the Mind to undue Mirth, they render us incapable of attending on God, they take off our Thoughts from what is serious and solemn. There is no Recreation lawful

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lawful on this Day but *Resting from Labour* (which is expressly commanded) and a moderate Refreshing our Bodies with Meat and Drink, and a cheerful enjoying of the good things God hath given us, so far as it is consistent with the proper Duties of this Day.

4. Here is forbid the *despising and neglecting of the Outward and Publick Worship of God*. Not to come to the Solemn Assemblies of the Faithful, not to appear before God in the Congregations of his Servants, is here condemned. For the setting apart of a Day was in order to this, to cause Religion and the Name of God to be revered, and to commend these to the World. A Sabbath is to be kept holy, that the External Profession of Religion and Godliness may be kept up and maintained, that God may be publicly owned in the World, and that the Church may be made Visible by it, and that Glory may thereby redound to the Supreme Being. Wherefore those that deride the open Worship of the Deity, and refuse to joyn in the Service of God with the faithful Worshippers of him, are guilty of the Breach of this Commandment.

5. To spend the Day in *Sin and Vice* cannot be denied to be a gross and palpable Violation of this Precept. For as it is not a Time to do nothing in (as you have heard) so much less is it to do Vitiously. Therefore those who follow Gaming and Debauchery, or pursue any other wicked and impious Designs on this Day (as a great number of Men do) are most manifest Offenders against this Holy Law, whereby a Day was separated from the rest of the Week to be devoted to Religious and Holy Uses, and no other.

6thly and lastly, To keep the Day *Superstitiously and Jewishly* is a Transgression against this Part of the Decalogue: for to keep it holy, and to use it to *Superstitious Purposes*, are contradictory. It is true the *Jews* of old were forbid to dress any meat on the Sabbath, *Exod. 16. 23, 24.* and though they might have without doubt a Fire or Light to warm themselves, and to see what to do, yet they were not suffered to kindle a Fire, to boil or roast any Meat, *Exod. 35. 4.* But it is reasonable to believe that this was in the *Wilderness* only, when they had their Provision from God, and needed not to take care about it. These Texts have reference to that particular Juncture, and were not obligatory afterwards. For we read that our Saviour himself being invited, went to a Feast on the Sabbath-day, *Luke 14. 1.* But superstitious Men are taken with these small Matters, and accordingly some of the Modern *Jews* have been faulty here, who (as we are told) put not out their Lights all the Sabbath-day, nor must they snuff them lest they should thereby break the Sabbath. Nay, they hold that the Sabbath is broke not only by snuffing a Candle, but by killing a Flea. And in other things of the like nature they shew themselves very nice and fondly superstitious, whilst in other things they take a Latitude, and that a very vicious one, as you have heard. This is that which we must avoid in observing the Lord's Day, which succeeds in the place of the *Jewish Sabbath*: we must not think that the Observation of it consists in little and trifling things.

The not attending to this was the Rise of a warm Controversy heretofore among us; * some Persons very earnestly contending for the keeping the Lord's Day in a * Bound, *Jewish* manner. But if we soberly weigh the Case, we shall soon discern the Cartwright, Unreasonableness of Judaizing in our Opinion of the Christian Sabbath; we shall Broughton, find that we are not tied now to the *Jewish Rest*, that is, so far as it was proper Ainsworth, only to the *Jews*: The Commandment binds us not under the Gospel to Ceremonial and Legal Strictness, but it holds as to Evangelical Strictness, and sanctifying of it. All *Festival Days* among the *Jews* began from the Evening or Sun-set (as the *Chaldeans* and *Persians* began theirs from Sun-rising) and so they reckoned to the next Evening: and especially their *Sabbath* was kept after this manner, according to that Injunction, *From Even unto Even ye shall celebrate your Sabbath, Lev. 23. 2.* And this indeed was the way of reckoning Time at first, *Gen. 1. 5.* The Evening and the Morning were the first Day: where we see that the Evening had the Priority. But it is not necessary that we should strictly observe this Computation, for it is certain that the same Seventh Day, or First Day of the Week, cannot be kept thus every where: it cannot be observed in all Parts of the World at the same time: for where there are different *Meridians*, the Day arrives sooner or later, and so the Day begins not alike in these Places, and consequently the same individual Time cannot be celebrated. There is an Impossibility of it in all Climates and Regions

(as those that are acquainted with the Situation of the Earth in respect of the Sun, know very well) for in many Places there are no such Weeks and Days as the Fourth Commandment speaks of.

Therefore we are not to be nice and curious, scrupulous and superstitious about the precise Time, particularly about the Beginning and Ending of the Lord's Day. Some begin it on Saturday Evening, and end it at the following Evening, because this was the Primitive Reckoning of Time: and yet they pretend not to keep the whole natural Day, of which the Night is a part, which they pass away in Sleep: and besides, all that part of Time which intervenes between the second Evening and their going to their Rest, is not kept holy. Let us not think our selves obliged to the strict following of the Jewish Account concerning the Beginning and Ending of the Sabbath, seeing among these Northern Nations the Evening is always taken to be a part of the preceding Day, or to be an Appendix to it. Let us be thoughtful concerning the Lord's Day before it comes, and be preparing for it, and when it arrives, let us spend all the Time, from the Morning till we betake our selves to Sleep (only with the Intervals of lawful and innocent Repast and Conversation) in the immediate Service of God, or in the Works of Mercy and Necessity (of which I shall speak anon) and then we have kept the Day well, and we have fully observed the Commandment. But to be over-nice, and to confine our selves to those Strictnesses about the Day, which either were Temporary, or limited to the Jewish State, or cannot universally be observed (i. e. by all Christians in every Country) this may be justly reckoned as favouring of Superstition, and therefore is excluded by this Commandment.

The Affirmative Part follows: where I must shew *what is commanded*. The General Duty (as hath been often hinted) is this, that we set apart some special Time for God's Service. As we ought to dedicate our whole Life to him, and so make every Day a Sabbath, so some particular Portions of Time more peculiarly are to be devoted to him. Wherefore to this Commandment is reducible the Observation of all Set Times for *Abstinence and Humiliation*, as in the case of approaching or imminent Judgments, and for *Thanksgiving and Rejoicing*, as when great and extraordinary Blessings are conferred upon us, which are appointed by the Civil or Ecclesiastical Power. These I may call Occasional Sabbaths, and they had this Denomination of old, as we find in the Writings of the Old Testament. More particularly, this Commandment requires that we set apart *one Day in seven* in every Week, and particularly the first Day of the Week, and that we celebrate it, 1. By *Resting on this Day*. 2. By *employing it in Exercises of Religion*.

First, We are engaged by virtue of this Commandment to *rest* on this Day from all ordinary Labour and worldly Business. But because in the *Explication* of this part of the Moral Law (which was the first thing I undertook) I have spoken concerning this *Rest*, I will in this place (that we may understand our Duty aright) assign those *Exceptions and Limitations* which belong to this Doctrine. Though we are enjoined to *rest* on this Day, yet,

1. Works of Necessity may be done. If an Enemy invades or assaults us, we may lawfully resist him on this Day, as we read that the Maccabees refused not to fight on their Sabbath, *Macc. 1. 2.* And long before this, as the Jewish Writers tell us, the Overthrow of *Jericho* was on the same Day, which seems to be grounded on *Josh. 6. 4, 5.* where 'tis said, *They shall compass the Place six Days, and on the seventh Day the Walls of the City shall fall down flat.* The Sabbath then was not profaned by Civil and Martial Employment which was absolutely necessary, and could not be omitted without Danger of their Lives, as in the former Instance, and which was made necessary by God's particular Appointment, as in the latter. And so all other Works of Necessity are allowed by this Commandment. Thus though Travelling be forbid on this Day, yet if a Man be abroad, and ill, and cannot be provided for and looked to in the Place where he is, and his Illness increases, he may ride home on the Lord's Day to come to his own House, if he be satisfied that his delaying to go home will prove very dangerous to him. For the Hebrew Masters say well, * The Sabbath is not to be kept when there is any Danger of Life. And then a thing is said to be necessary on this Day, when it cannot be deferred, and done on the next Day. This is a general Rule, and we may apply it to Particulars. I will mention only one. You may know by this whether the Husbandman may fetch home his Corn on this Day, when he fears it will

* Omne
dubium
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rain, or when it is actually rainy Weather. If it be the latter, then the Corn is wet, and so is not fit to be brought in: if there be only the former, that is, a Probability of wet, he must trust God, it may be fair Weather next Day. But in case of a Fire, or any the like imminent Danger, we are not to question but that it is absolutely a Work of Necessity to use all Care and endeavour to hinder the Growth and Progress of it, for Delay here is very fatal.

2. Though we are commanded to *rest* on this Day, yet this doth not exclude Works of *Charity*. Christ cured the Diseased on the Sabbath Day, and he defended the Fact when the *Jews* murmured against him, *Mat. 12. 10.* So if their Neighbour's Beast fell into a Pit, it was lawful by their own Practice, and by our Saviour's express Allowance, to lay hold on it, and lift it out, *Ver. 11.* And if Beasts being in Distress may be helped and relieved on this Day, then it is not to be questioned but that we may lawfully relieve one another. All Enterprizes and Acts, that are Offices of Love and Benevolence (though they be never so laborious and servile) may be done; if they be no Impediments to the publick Exercises of Religion; yea, though they hinder the present Performance of them. This latter especially is to be observed when our Works of *Charity* are also Works of Necessity, as in some Cases it happens.

3. Actions of *common Life* are not unlawful on this Day, and particularly those which tend to the Sustenance of our Bodies. The Disciples being hungry rubbed and eat the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath Day, and our Saviour rebuked the Pharisees for condemning this Practice. Moderate Eating and Drinking are no Breach of this Commandment, because they are for the necessary supporting and refreshing of our Bodies. That we may provide for our selves necessary and convenient Repast is plain from what our Saviour allows with respect to Beasts. He doth not enjoin the fetching in of Water the Night before, to give the Cattle to drink, but expressly approves of *loosing of the Oxe or the Ass from the Stall, and leading him away to Watering*, *Luke 13. 15.* If Beasts then may be supplied with what is for their Sustenance on that Day, we cannot think that Men are denied the like. It is certain that if we may sleep on the Night belonging to the Sabbath Day, which I do not find any averse to, we may also do such things as are of the like kind, such as are requisite for the upholding and relieving of our frail Nature. Nay, I will add, that on this Day, being a Day of Thanksgiving, it is convenient to have better Food than ordinary, to have more than usual Provision; this seems to be agreeable to the Solemnity of the Season. * *We allow of Rejoicing on this Day*, saith *Tertullian*. † *We count it unlawful to fast on the Lord's Day*, saith he in another Place. And therefore *Aerius* and his Followers, who affected Abstinence on this Day, were condemned by the Primitive Fathers.

* *Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus.*
Apol. adv. Gent.
† *Die Dominico jejuna-re nefas ducimus.*
De Cor. Mil.

But when I say it is not unsuitable to this Time to rejoice and to refresh our selves with God's good Creatures, these three things must be remembered and practised, or else we shall prophane the Lord's Day. 1. We must exclude all Immoderation and Excess, and we must not take Liberty by any Means to indulge our selves in Sensuality and carnal Pleasure. 2. All Excess of Labour and Toil in providing Meats or Drinks must be strictly avoided. 3. Our bodily Refreshment must be consistent with the spiritual Employment of this Day. Our Eating and Drinking must be of that Nature that they be so far from hindring us in the Exercise of Religion proper to this Day, that they make us more ready and forward in the performing of it. We should be careful to keep our outward Man in such good Order, that the spiritual Part (which is our chief Concern) may find the Benefit of it. And so I pass to the next thing mentioned.

The second and main thing required by this Commandment is, that we *dedicate this Day to Religion and Devotion*. || Some Writers have been of Opinion that nothing was enjoined in this Commandment but resting from Labour; no Act of Religion or Worship or Service of God was intended by it. All that was required was to sit still and do nothing. But I confess I wonder how one of these Authors (the last of them) could so vigorously contend for the Sabbath's being a *Commemorative Sign* (as he styles it) of the Creation, and that the Day was set a-part to call to mind that great Instance of the Divine Power and Goodness, which must necessarily stir Men up to Acts of Religion, and yet maintain that this Day was not designed for religious Duties. He is followed by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Commentary on *Exod. 20.* where this Writer tells us, that all that was meant by *keeping holy*

|| *Cajetan, Bonfrenius, Dr. Spencer.*

the

the Sabbath Day was, 1. Resting from Labour. 2. Recreation, Mirth and Feasting. 3. A Sacrifice on that Day more than usual. Nothing else doth God command any where in the Law, saith this Author, who herein treads in the Steps of some of his Socinian Brethren. But Philo the learned Jew, and who in this Case is a better Judge than some others, tells us plainly what is the Intent of the Fourth Commandment, viz. that || religious Exercises and Works of Piety should be done on that Day. And he that reads Isa. 58. 13. will be convinced of the Truth of this; for if they were enjoined to honour the Lord on the Sabbath, and not to do their own Ways, nor find their own Pleasure, nor speak their own Words, surely it cannot be denied that the Sabbath was designed for Religion. And now much more under the Gospel, the Day of resting from bodily Labour which Men are employed in, is for this Purpose, that they may be at leisure to serve God more entirely. They are to cease from Work, that they may attend holy Duties. They leave off worldly Business that they may have a Freedom for divine Affairs, and be employed in the Works of God. The great Business of this Day is Religion and Holiness. Here then the grand thing to be undertaken (and which indeed is the principal in this Commandment) is to shew particularly how this Day is to be kept holy, how we must consecrate it to religious Uses, to Exercises of Piety and Devotion.

We are to do this:

1. By preparing our selves for it. The Eve of the Sabbath, or the latter Part of the Day before it was called the Day of the Preparation for the Sabbath, Luke 23. 54. It may be observed that Nehemiah ordered the Gates of Jerusalem to be shut when it began to be dark before the Sabbath, Neh. 13. 19. which is justly imitable by us. Markets and Trafficking are not to be continued too long on the Day preceding the Christian Sabbath. We must not sit up and follow our worldly Business too late, lest thereby we indispose our selves for the religious Performances of the Day ensuing, lest our Thoughts being incumbered with secular and earthly Affairs, we mix even these with our spiritual Service; which is a gross abusing and prophaning of it. None must think of their Trades and worldly Commerce when they are in God's House. Christ whipped the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple. He will not suffer you to make the publick Assemblies of Religion a Place of Merchandize by your Thoughtfulness about worldly Gain and Profit. Your Business here is with the great God only; you are to attend to nothing but his Service. And in order to that, you must free your Minds of earthly Thoughts and Cares before hand.

Again, we must prepare our selves by possessing our Minds with a holy Dread and Awe of the Divine Majesty. Serving God acceptably, and serving him with Reverence and godly Fear go together, Heb. 12. 28. Then our spiritual Offering will be regarded, when we have upon our Souls an awful Sense of the great God with whom we have to do. And nothing in Religion must be undertaken without this. For which the holy Penitent may be our Pattern, Psal. 5. 7. In thy Fear will I worship towards thy holy Temple. This Divine Passion will so govern us that we shall always be afraid of doing any thing unworthy of that God whom we serve.

The next way of preparing our selves, is by purging of our Consciences from all Defilements. Even among the Heathen Worshippers none of them dared to employ themselves about Sacrificing till they were purified; for this was a received Law, that no prophane Person was to be admitted to this sort of Worship. And accordingly, both among the Greeks and Romans, the Priests made this Proclamation: Let all wilful Delinquents, Transgressors, and prophane Persons, stand off and come not near these sacred Rites. And shall we think that the Christian Sacrifices may be performed by those who are of defiled Consciences and polluted Lives? No certainly; it is absolutely requisite that we be cleansed and purged. I will wash my Hands in Innocency, and so will I compass thine Altar, Psal. 26. 6. Every true Worshipper and Sacrificer will be careful to approach with Innocency and Purity, as knowing that hereby he shall gain the Character which the holy Patriarch had, He pleased God. If this Preparative be wanting, all the most pompous and costly Hecatombs, all the most solemn and magnificent Services will signify nothing, nay they will be detestable. To what purpose is the Multitude of your Sacrifices? who hath required these things at your Hands? Bring no more vain Oblations, Isa. 1. 11, 12. Observe those last Words, vain Oblations, or (according to the Hebr.) Oblations of a Lie, such as mere mocking of God, lying, false, deceitful Oblations;

tions; and if they be of that Nature, it is no Wonder that they are not accepted. But this shews us on the contrary how we are to prepare our selves, in order to our finding Favour with God.

Further, Prepare your selves by expecting God's Presence and Blessing, and by praying for the Enjoyment of them. This is a Day on which Divine Largeſſes and Favours are scattered with a plentiful Hand; therefore wait for your Portion of them, and perswade your selves that you shall have them conferred upon you in the due Celebration of the Duties of this Day. Enlarge your Hearts therefore with big Hopes and Expectations, yea Assurances of receiving abundant Advantage by this Evangelical Institution, by a conscientious observing of this Day's Solemnity. And fit your selves for the peculiar Mercies and Benefits of it, by earnestly desiring and imploring them, and by being sensible that they will not be conveyed to us without our hearty begging of them.

2. Sanctify this Day by repairing to the publick Assemblies; for this is a Day more especially set a-part for the publick Worship of God. And look to your Charge, and all under you, for so the Commandment obliges, [*Thou and thy Son, and thy Daughter, thy Man-servant and thy Maid-servant.*] All Persons that you are concerned in, and have an Influence upon, are to be reminded by you to devote this Day to the publick and solemn Worship of God. Instruct them about the great Work they are to be employed in; and exhort them to be devout and reverent in their Behaviour, and to demean themselves a-right in all the Parts of God's Service; of which I will give you a particular Account in the next Place.

3. Therefore, Sanctify this Day by publick Prayer and Supplication. Now with all pious Affection beg Personal and National Mercies, Temporal and Spiritual Favours, but especially Grace and God's Spirit, and the Pardon of your Sins. Sincerely join with the Congregation in your religious Addresses, and that with much Fervency and Zeal; for it is a Prophanation of God's Name to make Prayer a formal Work. And I will add this, to the rest of your Petitions remember to subjoin a hearty Prayer for him who is over you in the Lord, your constant Minister and Pastor; for you cannot expect a Blessing on his Endeavours and Performances, unless you commend him to the Throne of Grace by your ardent Supplications and Intercessions.

4. Keep this Day holy by Publick Thanksgiving, and Offering of Praises to God. All Blessings, of what Nature soever, call for a Commemoration this Day. But more particularly it is the Sabbath Day's Employ to admire the Works of the Creation, and to extol God for them; for to this Purpose the Day was set a-part at first. Celebrate and laud God's Goodness and Wisdom in the Frame of the World, and in all the marvelous Operations of his Hands, which of themselves declare the Glory of God, as the Psalmist speaks. The Title of Psalm 92. is, *A Song for the Sabbath Day*, which you will find consists in Praising of God for his great Works of Providence, both with Respect to the Good and to the Wicked. This then is the proper Duty of this Day, to rejoice in God's Works, and in his Glory redounding thence, as God himself did on the seventh Day. But this is not all, we must join the Creation and Redemption together. Let it not seem strange, if I say, that the seventh and first Day of the Week are to be united. Some Christians at first observed both Days; but we may observe both in one Day, whilst we praise God our Creator and Redeemer. Especially as he is this latter, he is to be commemorated by us on this first Day of the Week, it being a Memorial of Christ's Resurrection, which was the Consummation of our Redemption.

Wherefore, in my Opinion, it was an Over-sight that our Lord's Day Service hath not so much as one Word of Prayer and Praise relating to the great Occasion of instituting this Day, which was Christ's rising from the dead. Certainly, seeing this Day was appointed for commemorating of this, there ought to be inserted into the Liturgy some Remembrance of this Blessing, with a particular Respect to this Time. There should be a proper Collect and Office for this Purpose, because Christ's Rising again was the Ground of Changing the seventh Day into this first, and making it a distinct and peculiar Solemnity. The 118th Psalm, which treats of this great and glorious Transaction, may be used as an Hymn on this Occasion; or some other more express setting forth of this second Creation (much more wonderful than the first) may be taken into the solemn Office of this Day. I conceive the Lord's Day cannot be compleatly celebrated without Praises offered unto God for this and all other

* De A-
nimâ.

other spiritual Blessings vouchsafed to the Church. * *Tertullian* speaking of the pious Exercises of this Day, reckons *Singing of Psalms* among them; and without doubt it is the proper Employment of this Day. It becomes us to sing with Grace in our Hearts to the Lord on this Holy Festival, it being the Memorial of the joyful Resurrection of our Saviour, and of all the unspeakable Benefits that flow from it. This Recreation is lawful on the Lord's Day.

† Apol. 2.
ad Anto-
nin.

5. Sanctify this Day by hearing God's Word publicly read and preached. St. Paul preached to the Christian Converts at Macedonia on the first Day of the Week, Acts 20. 7. it being the proper time for that Work. † *Justin Martyr* describing the Primitive Usage of the Christian Church, tells us that on this Day they met together, not only to pray but to hear the Prophets and Apostles Writings read to them, after which the Minister made an Exhortation to stir them up to imitate those good and holy things which were read to them. And in all the succeeding Ages of the Church this hath been accounted an indispensable Employment on this Day. Now especially the spiritual Manna is distributed (tho' we || read that the other in the Wilderness was with-held on this Day). Let it be your Care to gather it diligently, and to lay it up in your Hearts and Memories. Take heed how you hear; let it not be done slightly and formally, but with singular Attention, Concernedness and Reverence; receiving with Meekness the ingrafted Word which is able to save your Souls.

‡ Ex. 16.
27.

6. Sanctify this Day by Celebrating the Lord's Supper. For questionless this Time was in a special Manner appointed for this End. That the proper Work and Exercise of this Season is to celebrate this Sacrament, may be gathered from that fore-cited Place, Acts 20. 7. and others, where we read that the Christians met together to break Bread, by which is meant the Sacrament of Christ's Body. I mention not this as a necessary Part of Worship on every Lord's Day, but you are to reckon it your Duty to perform it frequently, to come often to this Table of the Lord; that is, accordingly as you find your Hearts disposed and fitted for so great a Work. And you are to consider what a holy Ordinance it is, and to fit and prepare your selves for it. Here you commemorate the Passion and Death of our blessed Lord, and therefore you must approach with mortified and crucified Affections. You come to partake of the Benefits of Christ's Undertakings and Sufferings; wherefore you must resolve to do and suffer any thing for his sake, and to abandon all your Lusts and sinful Delights, though they be as dear to you as your Lives. In brief, never let this holy Day be prophaned by your unworthy Receiving of this Sacrament; but on the contrary, honour this Day and this Duty, by an awful and reverent, by an humble and devout Celebrating of so divine an Institution.

7. Sanctify the Christian Sabbath by Works of Charity. As I told you that Resting on this Day exempts us not from these Works; so now I am to let you know that these are inseparable Attendants of this Day, where there is a fit Occasion for them. The Apostle ordered the Collection for the Saints of Corinth to be made on the first Day of the Week, 1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. And in the same Place he acquaints us, that the same Practice was in the Church of Galatia. So afterwards, in the Publick Assemblies of the Primitive Christians it was always thus, as *Justin Martyr*, in his *Apology* to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, relates. They constantly in the Close of their Service and receiving the Sacrament, distributed their Alms to the poor Brethren. We are obliged on this Day, having Leisure and Opportunity, to visit the Sick, not meerly to see them, but to administer seasonable and pious Counsel to them, to relieve the Poor, to succour and help the Distressed; as knowing that all Acts of Mercy and Bounty are agreeable to the Solemnity of this Day, which being a Day of Joy, we fitly shew it in Works of Kindness and Liberality, whereby we refresh our Brethren, and make them rejoice likewise.

Besides these Publick Duties, there are those that are to be performed in your Families. Besides your coming to the publick Place of Worship, and there acting according to the fore-going Directions, you are obliged to do what is enjoined you at home. After the Publick Worship is finished, after you are returned from the solemn Assemblies, you are to take Care to instruct your Charge, your Children, your Servants, in Christianity. Take an Account of what they have heard, and help them to understand what hath been delivered to them, but especially to be affected with it, and to live in the Sense of it. Call them together on this Day,

and

and catechise them, *i. e.* teach them all the Principles of Religion out of the Word of God, and require them to give you an Account of their Proficiency in that Knowledge. Read the Bible, and such Books as will build you up in your most holy Faith : Speak to one another of what you read, and converse together about it. Pray with your Family, and teach them how to pray.

And as you must *together* serve God, so you must do it *alone*. As you are to converse with one another, so you must *commune with your selves*. There are secret Duties between God and your own Souls, which are required of you this Day. Enter into your Closets or Chambers, and there betake your selves to a strict Method of Devotion. First, bless God for the Opportunity of this Day ; be very thankful to him for vouchsafing you so great a Favour ; and let it be your sincere Desire and earnest Endeavour to improve it. Then proceed to examine your selves, and to search into your Hearts and Lives ; rifle your Consciences, and thoroughly acquaint your selves with your own State and Condition. Then, pour out your Souls before God, in the free, humble, and penitential Confession of your Sins, and laying open all your Pollution and Guilt, and in an importunate Craving of Pardon and Forgiveness for the Merits of Christ Jesus. To Prayer join Meditation, *viz.* on what you have heard this Day, especially what more particularly concerns your Condition ; urge that upon your Thoughts. Contemplate (as you have Time) the Works of God, his wonderful and amazing Creating of all things out of nothing ; his wise and gracious Preserving, Governing, and Disposing of all Things and Persons ; his Redemption of lost Man by the Blood of his Son. This latter especially you must dwell upon, and endeavour to imprint it with the deepest Characters on your Souls, and never to lay a-side the Remembrance of it till it hath filled your Hearts with a most affectionate Sense of so great a Mercy, and with firm Resolves, through Divine Assistance, of behaving your selves suitably to it.

And when you come from your Retirement, spend the rest of your Time in religious and charitable Performances, in a loving and Christian Communion with one another, in a thankful Enjoyment of the good Creatures of God ; and finally shut up the Day with Prayer and Thanksgiving, with imploring Forgiveness for all the Failings of that Day, and begging that your imperfect Services may be accepted for the perfect Righteousness and meritorious Intercession of Christ Jesus. This is a brief Representation of what is required of you on the *Lord's Day*. We read that under the Law every Sabbath Day (besides the daily and usual Sacrifices of Morning and Evening) had its proper Service and Oblation, *Num.* 28. 9, 10. There was then appointed an Offering which was different from the ordinary Sacrifices of other Days ; so it is under the Gospel ; there are spiritual Sacrifices and Oblations expected on the *Lord's Day*, which cannot be on any other. The Religion which suffices at other times, will not serve now. There must be extraordinary Duty and Service on this Day. And what that is I have particularly shewed you.

The last thing now remains to be undertaken, *viz.* the *Application* of all. By virtue of the Premises these following Persons are to be condemned : 1. Those who keep the *seventh Day*, and not the *Lord's Day*, as all professed *Jews*, and those that are called *Sabbatarians*, a Sect which sprang up a little after the Reformation. But if the Day be changed by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, (as I have proved) then the seventh Day or Saturday Sabbath is abolished, and is not to be retained under the Gospel. 2. Those who hold that the *Lord's Day* is a meer *Eccelesiastical Constitution*, and the Church may, if it please, change the *Lord's Day*, and order it to be kept on any other. And accordingly * one tells us, that Mr. *Calvin* had a Consultation at *Geneva* for translating the *Lord's Day* from *Sunday* to *Thursday* ; and Dr. *Heylin* would persuade us of the Truth of this. But I have examined this Report, and cannot find that there is any Foundation for it ; yea, though *Calvin* hath dropt some Words in his *Institutions* which seem to disparage the divine Right of the *Lord's Day* ; yet at other times he speaks so honourably of it, that one can hardly think he espoused that Opinion which is generally imputed to him : And it is well known that *Beza*, who was his immediate Successor, held this Day which we now observe, to be *immutable*. But it is well known that the *Roman Doctors*, and *Grotius*, and the fore-mentioned Dr. *Heylin*, and several others of our Churchmen, are of opinion, that the *Lord's Day* is founded on meer Tradition and Ec-

* Barclay.
Parænes.
ad Scot.

ecclesiastical Authority. But what I have before suggested doth destroy this Notion. 3. Those who are of Opinion that there is no Difference of Days, but that every Day (as they express it) is a Sabbath, as *Familists* and *Quakers*, and some other Sectaries hold. This must needs be a false and erroneous Perswasion, because we find there is a certain determinate Day set a-part under the Gospel for God's Worship in a more particular and solemn Manner.

But they put this Question, Doth God require us to be *more religious and godly at one time than another*? I answer, Yes. It is requisite (according to our State and Circumstances in this Life) to give our selves more to Religion at one time than another, (*i. e.*) to shew it by outward Acts of religious Worship. It is true, God is to be served and worshipped *every Day*: We are always to be religious; but the external and visible Exercises of it are not, cannot always be the same. So that it is no strange thing (as some would represent it) that God will be worshipped more at one time than at another; for he hath thought fit to set a-part a certain Season for the most solemn Performance of religious Duties. The Apostle commands us to *pray without ceasing*, and so we must; yet this doth not exclude particular and occasional Addresses to God in private and publick; this doth not prove that all Days are a-like, and that no set times of Religion are to be allowed of.

* We are not against set Times for Worship. Barclay's Apology, p. 245, 246.

† Nullo modo Christus constituit ut diem quem vocant Dominicum, Sabbati loco observemus, cum Religio Christi, quemadmodum alias Ceremonias, uti vocantur, ita quoque defectum dierum prorsus tollat. Catech. Racov. p. 123.

Nay, it is worth observing how perverse and strange some of these Men are, for though they hold the keeping of the Lord's Day as *indifferent*, yet * they declare their Judgment for *set Times*.

But it is farther objected, that under the New Testament † the Difference of Days is quite taken away, as is to be gathered from what the Apostle saith of *Days*, and the Observation of them, *Gal. 4. 10. Col. 2. 16.* and consequently the keeping of the *Lord's Day* is unlawful. The plain and brief Answer is this, that tho' it follows from those Words, that no Christian is obliged to the observing of the *Jewish Sabbath*, or other Days observed by the *Jews*, yet the *Lord's Day* (being an Evangelical Institution) is not at all concerned in those Texts, as will appear from the Scope and Design of them.

Again, it is objected, that there is no *Holiness* in *Days*; one Time is not better than another; why therefore is one kept rather than another? I answer, tho' it is true, one Day is not holier than another *in it self* (as one Place is not more holy in its own Nature than another) yet it is holier in respect of its *Use*. There is a *relative Holiness* in it as it is designed and appropriated to God's Service, and therefore must not be profaned by being employed to uses of our own. Thus the *Lord's Day* is deservedly called *Holy*, because it is *set a-part* to holy Service, that we may not be over-whelmed with worldly Business, that our Souls may be cared for as well as our Bodies, that we may wholly attend on God's Worship on that Day, and more especially commemorate the Resurrection of Christ. Thus the Difference of this Day from others is not taken away by the Gospel.

But not only these forefaid *Opinions* and *Perswasions* are reprovably by that Doctrine which I have established, but the *Practise* of others likewise, *viz.* such as complain on this Day, as the *Israelites* of old, *When will the New Moon be gone that we may sell Corn, and the Sabbath that we may set forth Wheat?* *Amos 8. 5.* They look upon this Day, and all the religious Exercises of it, as irksome and burdensome; and therefore they are extremely glad when there is a Period put to them by the expiring of this Day. There are others who wholly neglect and disregard the Duties of this Season, and waste the Hours in Sleep and Idleness, or vain Diversion. Sloth and Drowsiness hinder their Morning Devotion and Worship; and Pleasure and Pastimes detain them from the publick Assemblies in the Afternoon. And there are a third sort who are more down-right Profaners of this holy Day, and spend the whole Time in Prosecution of their vile and wicked Enterprizes, in Acts of Debauchery, Lewdness and Riot; and (in plain Terms) making this holy Day the Devil's working Day. All these Persons are justly to be reprehended for their inexcusable Violation of the Evangelical Law concerning the Keeping of the Lord's Day.

Having thus shewed who are to be rebuked and condemned, in the next Place I seriously exhort to the contrary Practise, *viz.* the pious observing of this Christian Sabbath,

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Sabbath, the peculiar Time appointed for worshipping God not only as Creator but Redeemer. It was said, * *Come see the Place where the Lord lay*; let it be said * *Mat. 28. 6.* now, Come, observe the Time when the Lord rose from that Place. Observe it so as to make it serviceable to Religion and Holiness. Observe it not only as a Rest from your common Employments, but as a Day in a more especial Manner set apart for God's Honour, and the furthering your Salvation. On this Day, prepare your selves for your everlasting Rest, when your whole Work and Business shall be to praise the Most High, to rejoice in him, and to enjoy him for ever. Free your Hands from Business and secular Employment, abstain from Labour and Recreation, that you may be wholly employed in the Worship of God. Look to your Family, and all that are under your Care, that they be strict Observers of this Day. Set before you the Example of the Primitive Christians, who spent this Time in Prayer, Reading, Hearing, Receiving the Sacrament, Relieving the Poor, &c. And from sundry Passages in the Fathers, especially † *St. Chrysostom* and † *St. Augustin*, we may gather that they most entirely kept this Day, and devoted it to divine Employments. Even our Ancestors in this Nation, the converted Saxons, were eminent for their celebrating this Day; for †† they began it betimes, and continued it long: they used no Pastime all that time, but dedicated it all to religious Offices. * Those that were Delinquents in this Kind, if they were Free-men, were fined; if they were Bond-men, they were whipped. And toward the Close of the Saxon Monarchy we † read that King *Edgar* made a Law against Sabbath-breaking. So *Canutus*, the first Danish King of England, published strict Laws for the Observation of the Lord's Day, and to exclude all secular Business. And I need not tell you that these have been revived and renewed by our own Statutes, and reinforced by several Acts of Parliament.

† Hom.
5. in Mat.
& Hom.
de Eleemo-
synis.
† Tractat.
7. in Jo-
han.
†† Con-
cil. Brit.
* Ibid.
† Leg.
Eadgari.

Wherefore consider these things, and be not so presumptuous as to affront and bid Defiance to the holy Scriptures of the New Testament, to the Practice of the Apostles, to the Pattern of the Primitive Saints, to the Example of our ancient Country-men, to the Laws and Edicts of our own Time. And let this be seriously thought of, that it is one great Badge of a Christian to observe the Lord's Day. The Jews have their *Saturday Sabbath*, which they much glory in. He that denies the Sabbath is equal to him who denies the whole Law, say the *Talmudists*. The *Rabbins* call the Sabbath the *Queen of the Week*, and pay a singular Reverence to it. The *Mahometans* boast of their *Friday*, because it was their Prophet's Birth-day. And though † *Scaliger* observes that there is no express Command in the *Alcoran* † *De e-* concerning the Observing of *Friday*, yet it is well known that they keep it as their mend. *Sabbath*. The *Parthians* observe *Tuesday*; and the People on the Coasts of *Guinea*, Temp. 1. and other Pagans elsewhere, esteem this Day above all the rest. But *Christians*, and they only, are known by celebrating the first Day of the Week, the Lord's Day. This is a distinguishing Mark of a Professor of Christianity. And if it be rightly and duly observed, it is a discriminating Character of a true and sincere Christian. Let every one then that names the Name of Christ, shew himself to be such by his faithful Performing what this Day requires of him. This is the only Commandment that hath a *Memento* prefixed to it, *Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day*; as much as to say, Whatever you forget, do not forget this. It is an Institution that must be diligently and carefully regarded. Give God one Day in seven; and particularly (according to the Appointment of Christ and his Apostles) the first Day, for it is his due, and you must not withhold it from him. God hath allowed you six Days for your own Affairs, and reserved but one for himself: Rob him not of that; let him have it all entire.

To encourage you, think of this, and thoroughly persuade your selves of the Truth of it, that upon the observing of this Day depends generally the Carriage of Persons through the whole Week. If you break this Commandment, it is no wonder that you break all the rest. If you keep not the First Day, it is not probable that you will make Conscience of any of the following ones. If you will not be careful of God's Time, you will not be of your own. But on the contrary, if you resolutely set your selves to the Performance of what is expected from you on the Lord's Day, you will thereby be established in your Duty, you will discharge the whole Work of Religion with Success, and increase every Day more and more in Godliness. Hear those remarkable Words of God by the Prophet, *Jer. 17. 24.* 26. *If ye hallow the Sabbath Day, to do no Work therein, then they shall come from the Ci-*

ties of Judah and all other Places, bringing Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices, and Meat-Offerings, and Incense, and bringing Sacrifices of Praise unto the House of the Lord. That is, the Church and Religion shall flourish, and the Name of the Most High shall be exalted in the World. This may invite us to a strict Observance of our Evangelical Sabbath; it will infinitely redound to the Honour and Glory of our God and Saviour; Christianity will be mightily advanced; and as to our selves, we shall find a great and wonderful Increase of our Graces. If we behave our selves as it becomes us on this Day, we shall be enabled to order our Conversation a-right all the other Days of the Week.

Again, even upon a temporal and secular Account we are encouraged to this Duty, which is thus briefly expressed in *Isa. 58. 13, 14.* *If thou turn away thy Foot from the Sabbath, i. e. if thou cease from Prophaning it, I will cause thee to ride on the high Places of the Earth, and feed thee with the Heritage of Jacob thy Father; i. e. thou shalt prosper; thou shalt be blessed with outward and worldly Favours.* Another Prophet expresses it thus, *Jer. 17. 24, 25.* *If ye diligently hearken to me, saith the Lord, to hallow the Sabbath Day, to do no Work therein, then shall there enter into the Gates of this City Kings and Princes sitting on the Throne of David, &c. and this City shall remain for ever; that is, the Kingdom and Nation shall be blessed with all secular and civil Advantages.* Whatever Astrologers and some Historians observe concerning some Days, that they are to some Persons fortunate, to others unfortunate, (as they are wont to speak) this is a certain Truth, that the hallowing of the Lord's Day proves apparently prosperous, even in respect of the Things of this World. With a good Conscience discharge the Duties of this Day, and you may expect to fare the better all the Week after.

To this Purpose I'll give you the Words of an excellent Person, who spake from his own Experience, and therefore is the more to be attended to. "I have found, (saith || he) "by a strict and diligent Observation, that a due observing the Duty of this Day hath ever had joined to it a Blessing upon the rest of my Time; "and the Week that hath been so begun, hath been blessed and prosperous to me; "and on the other side, when I have been negligent of the Duties of this Day, "the rest of the Week hath been unsuccessful and unhappy to my secular Employments; so that I could easily make an Estimate of my Successes in my own secular Employments the Week following by the Manner of my passing this Day; and this I do not write lightly or inconsiderately, but upon a long and sound Observation and Experience. Thus the learned and pious Judge Hale. And that you may be further assured of the Reality of what he hath said, he, in another Place, speaks to the same Purpose thus; † "I thank God I ever found, "that in the strictest Observation of the Times of his Worship, I ever met with the best Advantage to my worldly Occasions, and that when ever my worldly Occasions encroached upon those Times, I ever met with Disappointment, tho' in things of the most hopeful and probable Success; and ever let it be so with me. It hath been, and ever shall be to me, a Conviction beyond all Argument and Demonstration whatsoever, that God expects the Observation of his Times, and that whiles I find my self thus dealt with, God hath not given over his Care of me. It would be a sad Prefage unto me, of the severe Anger of my Maker, if my Inadvertence should cast me upon a temporal Undertaking upon this Day, and that it should prosper.

I hope the doubled Words of so reverend, serious, and religious a Man, (one skilled not only in the Municipal but the Divine Laws, and even reckoned in the * Catalogue of Divines) will have some Influence upon us, and invite us to begin the Week with God and his Service, that we may be successful and prosperous in all the succeeding Part of it.

But on the contrary, know that if you persist in the Prophanation of this Day, it will at one time or other prove very mischievous and fatal to you in the remaining Part of the Week, and in your whole Lives. If the Violation of the Jewish Sabbath was punished with Death under the Law, (*Exod. 31. 15.*) surely the Breach of the Christian Sabbath shall be followed with some signal Mark of the divine Vengeance; and the rather, because it is not punished by Man, notwithstanding there are so many Laws that enjoin a severe Penalty. I will conclude with that dreadful Denunciation of Judgment in *Jer. 17. 27.* *If you will not hearken unto me, to hallow the Sabbath Day, then will I kindle a Fire in the Gates thereof, and it shall*

|| Judge
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† Judge
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* Wil-
kins's Ec-
clesiastes.
P. 109.

shall devour the Palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched. Which direful Threatning was fulfilled, and Jerusalem by woful Experiment found the Prophecy to be true, as the Jewish and Roman History acquaints us. And doth not the Accomplishment of that Prediction concern Us? Doth not the Blaze and Heat of those Flames reach as far as this Nation? Yes: We have found it to be true. That horrid Commination against Jerusalem hath been fulfilled and executed upon the great and capital City of this Kingdom, whose Inhabitants were as guilty of prophaneing the Day set a-part to God's Service as ever the Jews were. Here this Vice reigned, and here it was punished with a furious and astonishing Fire, which broke forth on the Lord's Day very early in the Morning. And it hath been taken Notice of by some impartial Observers of God's Judgments in the World, that this Sin, viz. the Breach of the Fourth Commandment, the irreligious and prophane Neglect of God's Worship on this Day, and the spending of this Time in open Works of Impiety, hath been signally animadverted upon by Fires that have happen'd amongst us on this Day. I leave it to be enquired whether the Places where this Vice hath been most encouraged, have not had the greatest Share of this Judgment. In a word, so great and heinous a Crime, if it be not repented of, will not only bring down temporal Calamities and Judgments on the Offenders; but it will for ever exclude them from all future Happiness, from the eternal Rest, the everlasting Sabbath of the Blessed.



A
DISCOURSE
BEFORE THE
COMMANDMENTS
OF THE
Second Table,

Grounded on our Saviour's ABRIDGMENT of it in
MATTH. 22. 39. *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour
as thy self.*



HAVING treated of the *Four first Commandments*, which make up the *First Table* of the Moral Law, I now proceed to the *Second Table*, consisting of *Six Commandments*. And as I prefixed a Prefatory Discourse to the *Four first Commandments* concerning the *Love of God*, grounded on the former Part of these Words; so now, before I enter on the *Six following*, I will treat in general concerning *Love to our Neighbours*. For as we are told by our Saviour, that *Loving of God is the first and great Commandment*, i. e. comprises all the Duties of the first Table, so he adds that *Loving our Neighbours is the Second Commandment*, that is, it comprehends all the Commandments of the Second Table. Which is the Meaning of the Apostle, when he saith, *He that loveth another hath fulfilled the Law*, Rom. 13. 8. that is, he hath fulfilled the whole Second Table of the Law. We must shew our Love to our Neighbours by not injuring them in any thing, whether they be our *Superiors*, as in the *Fifth Commandment*, or our *Equals* or *Inferiors*, as in the following ones.

Before I come to display the several Parts of this comprehensive Duty, I will take notice of the *Manner* how 'tis expressed, [*Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*], which is taken from *Lev. 19. 18*. God himself hath made *Self-Love* the Pattern whereby we are to love others. It is true, there is a sinful *Love of our selves*, which is the Cause of all *Uncharitableness* and *Covetousness*: but there is also a *Self-love* that is a natural, harmless, and innocent Passion, placed in Man's Nature for his real Good and Advantage. Of this perhaps the Wise Man speaks, when he saith, *The Merciful Man doth good to his own Soul*, Prov. 11. 17. his *Mercy* and *Charity* begin at home, he consults his own Good and Welfare in the first place. Now the Standard of our Love to others being *our selves*, we are taught hence what kind of Love it should be that we are to shew towards them. First, it must be *Sincere*, for a Man plays not the Hypocrite with himself. Again, if the Love to our selves be the Rule of that which we owe to others, we cannot but be convinced, that it ought to be very *Warm* and *Vigorous*, very *Zealous* and *Active*, for our Love to our selves is for the most part of that kind. Besides, this plainly shews, that our Affection to others ought to be *Constant*. When we cease to love

our

our selves, then, and not till then, it will be lawful to hate and injure our Brethren.

Having briefly premised this, I shall undertake these Three Things, 1. To shew the Nature of this Love which we are to pay to others. 2. To assign the full Extent of it. 3. To propose the Arguments which may induce us to the Practice of it.

The first thing I enter upon, is to shew the true Nature of this Christian Grace of Brotherly Love. It consists first in Good Thoughts and Wishes. They that think Evil of their Neighbours, cannot be said to bear a Christian Charity to them. Therefore the Apostle makes it one Ingredient in Charity, that it *thinketh no Evil*, 1 Cor. 13. It doth not groundlessly suspect Evil to be in others, it doth not foster causeless Jealousies and Surmises: for these are not only inconsistent with Charity, but they are the Marks of Guilt in our selves: for those that are very bad themselves, are willing to think others to be so, or they would have them to be accounted such. What was said in a flattering guise concerning one of the Roman * *Kαλῶς* Emperors, is really true of a charitable Christian, that * *he is not only free from Vice & μόνον himself, but he will not imagine it to be in others.* He is not rash and hasty in giving *αὐτὸς ἐκ* Judgment, but makes fair Interpretations of things, and chuses the easiest Sen- *ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ ἐν ἀλ-* tence. He is favourable in his Opinions of those he converses with, and candidly *λῶ τινὲ ἐνέειναι* construes their Actions, and censures none without evident Cause. The Apostle adds, that Charity *πιστεύει πάντα*, it is not the Parent of that Incredulity, which one of the Antients rightly defined to be || a Suspicion of Falshood and Dishonesty in all Men, and in all Affairs, but it is like that *Wisdom which is from above,* *easy to be persuaded* (*εὐπειθής*) it is forward to give credit to what is honestly pro- *|| Ἀπιστία,* pounded, and hath any Likelihood of being true. As Charity inclines a Man *καὶ ἀπιστίας* not to believe all Evil of another he hears of, so it causes him to believe without *τις ἀδικοῦ* Prejudice all the Good that he hears of others, or can have any reasonable Ground *κίαν καὶ πείσαν.* to believe of them. It is said further, *that it hopeth all things,* even those things *Theophr.* which it cannot believe: for tho' at present it sees no Probability of them, yet it *Charact.* despairs not of them for the future. The short is, that this Christian Charity disposes us to *think* well, and to *wish* all Good to others, and to be desirous of being beneficial to their Souls and Bodies.

Secondly, It is a Grief and Sorrow raised in our Minds by reason of their Wants and Necessities. For as in the Body there are Pains by Consent and Sympathy; when one Part is affected, the others adjoining to it derive their Distemper from it by Intercourse of common Vessels; so is it in the Souls of Christian Men, they mutually suffer by consent, and sympathize with one anothers Miseries. Where there is brotherly Love, there is always this Pity, this Compassion, whereby they communicate their Grievs. This is *Mercifulness*, which is *Love*, as it hath reference to the Calamities and Distresses that Men are in. Of this *Mercifulness* I shall discourse afterwards, being one of those Divine Graces on which our Saviour hath entailed *Blessedness*, and therefore I shall not enlarge upon it at present.

Thirdly, *Rejoicing in the Goodness and Welfare of our Brethren* is another Ingredient of this Love. There is a taking delight in the Prosperity of others: for he that truly loves another, looks upon his Good and Welfare as his own. The contrary of this is *Envy*, which is * a grieving and repining, because another prospers. The envious Man cannot endure † to see others thrive, he shuts his Eyes, or turns away his Head from such a Spectacle; he is displeased at others Happiness. This is called an *Evil Eye*, *Deut. 15. 9. Prov. 23. 6. Matth. 6. 23.* because he that hath it, looks upon his Brother with an evil and envious Mind. But where this uncharitable Spirit possesses Mens Hearts, there can be no brotherly Love. Wherefore the Apostle lets us know, that *Charity envieth not*, it grieves not at others good, it is not displeased at their Welfare and Happiness. But the wretched Temper which † *Invidere* is most directly contrary to this, is *Rejoicing at another's Evil or Hurt*, a delighting *re, non* in the Mischief that befalls Mankind: as *Timon*, the Man-hater, || congratulated *videre.* *Alcibiades*, that he was in good hopes he would bring Calamity enough to the *|| Plut.* *Athenians* in time. This Disposition of Mind is accompanied with Spight, and Malice, and Revenge, and therefore it is wholly inconsistent with that Love I am now deciphering. And the Apostle adds, *It rejoiceth not in Iniquity*; as it is not delighted in the Calamities, so not in the Sins and Failings of others. It argued a very uncharitable Mind in the Pharisee to insult over the poor Publican, *God, I thank thee that I am not as others, or as this Publican.* It shews that he rejoiced at the Badness of

* *Λύπη*
τις ἐπὶ
εὐτυχίᾳ
Αριστοτ.
Λύπη ἐπὶ
ἀλλοδίοις
ἀγαθοῖς.
Zeno in
Laert.
† *Invidere.*
|| Plut.

of others, and was glad that he could discern Faults in his Neighbours: for such Men think to inhance and set off their seeming Holiness by this means; they would be thought to be better than indeed they are, because of the Sins of others. But Charity, as it rejoiceth not in Iniquity, so it rejoiceth in the Truth, according to the Apostle's Character of it, it delights in Integrity and Sincerity; and is glad to see that others do so too, that they live uprightly, and act as faithful Christians are obliged to do.

Fourthly, Tho' it is true that St. John saith, we must not love in Word nor in Tongue, yet this is only opposed to Sincerity, as is plain from the next Words, *in Deed and in Truth*. And then we truly and really love our Brethren, when we give Proofs of it not only by the Disposition of our Mind (as hath been said already), but by our Words and Speeches. Brotherly Love discovers it self in such Language as favours of Good-will and Charity. Accordingly we are to instruct them, when we find them ignorant; we are to advise them when they want our Counsel; we are to comfort them, when they are in Distress; we are to reprove them, when their Actions deserve a Check: for it is observable, that next to that Prohibition, *Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thy Heart*, is added this Injunction, *Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy Neighbour and not suffer Sin upon him*, Lev. 19. 17. When his Actions are good and laudable, we are to commend and encourage him: when others unjustly censure or slander him, we ought to vindicate his Name and Reputation. On the contrary, all Speaking and Communication that tend to the Hurt and Damage of our Brethren on any Account whatsoever, are to be condemned as Uncharitable. And more particularly they that profess Love to their Neighbours, and yet impair their Credit by reproaching and reviling them, by railing and back-biting, and any contumelious words, are under a gross Mistake.

Fifthly and lastly, *Loving Actions* are sure Tokens and Evidences of our Love to our Brethren. And first those which respect their Better Part, their Souls. And here one great Instance of this Love is *Reproving our Neighbours*; which we find expressly commanded in the Old and New Testament. *Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him*, Lev. 19. 17. *If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his Fault*, Mat. 18. 15. *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them*, Eph. 5. 11. The Reason of it is, because this is a plain and necessary Duty appertaining to Brotherly Love. The only Difficulty is to discharge it aright: and here the best Direction that I can offer is this, that we do it according to the different Circumstances of the Persons we are to reprove, and according to the Fitness of Time or Place that we discern. Some must be dealt with mildly, as the Apostle prescribes in Gal. 6. 1. *Brethren, if a Man be overtaken in a Fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the Spirit of Meekness*. Again, 2 Tim. 2. 24. *The Servant of the Lord must be gentle unto all Men, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves*. Our Reproofs must be void of all Bitterness and Passion: we must proceed tenderly, and with Lenity and Moderation, as knowing that this will render our Admonishments more successful. But there are others who are to be reprov'd with Sharpness, with Zeal and Ardour, and great Severity. It was not enough that Eli rebuked his Sons in that soft manner, *Why do ye such things? nay, my Sons, 'tis no good Report that I hear*: this was not sufficient, he should have taken them up roundly, and plainly and impartially told them of their scandalous Behaviour. It is Kindness to be thus severe: 'tis Mercy to be thus seemingly cruel. But whether the Reproofs be managed with Sharpness or Lenity, they must always proceed from a Principle of Love and Charity: which is the meaning of the Apostle in that Rule which he gives concerning an Offender in the Church, *Count him not as an Enemy, but admonish him as a Brother*, 2 Thess. 3. 15. Our fraternal Correction should shew that we are so far from bearing Ill-will to him, that we look upon him as a Friend, and reprove him out of tender Pity and Compassion.

Then as to the Time, we must take care to chuse that which is fittest and most proper for the discharging of this Office. To reprove a Drunkard when he is in his Cups, and amidst his Revellings is unseasonable. To reprove a Passionate Man when he is in the height of his Anger, and boiling up with Fury, is certainly very improper. Wherefore with Prudence we must make choice of such Seasons as are most advantageous, we must study to find Opportunities which will be most serviceable to our Purpose. And as our Admonitions should be well Timed, so

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* Δεῖ γ' ὡς νοσή-
ματι ἐκ
εὐπρεπῆς,
τ' ἀμαρτί-
ας τ' ἠθε-
ῖαν καὶ
ἀποκαλύ-
ψιν ἀπ' ὁ-
ρήτων ἐπ'.
Plut.

* Æl.
Lamprid.
in Alex-
and. Se-
vero.

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which he had received from the Christians: he had it writ on several Places in his Palace and Court, and he caused it to be proclaimed by a Crier, when there was occasion of correcting any one for being injurious to his Neighbour. He that truly loves his Brother will govern himself by this Maxim, and therein shew how dearly affected he is to him: but it is from the want of this Principle, that so great Numbers of Men injure their Neighbours, and thereby discover their Hatred rather than Love to them.

But to render this Part of my Discourse as compleat as I can, I will mention those Endeavours and Actions, which respect the Persons, *i. e.* both the Souls and Bodies of our Neighbours, which I distinctly considered before. This is comprehended in these following Characters of Charity given us by the Apostle; First, *She seeketh not her own*: In most actions which have a relation to others, she modestly waves her own Right, and dispenses with her Liberty, to oblige others in the Bonds of Love and Amity. This Grace is noble and generous, and hates all Mercenariness, and it inclines Men to take care of others Good and Profit, both Spiritual and Temporal. Our Charity is seen, when, upon real Offence taken, we abstain from some things for the sake of our Weak Brother. This is *pleasing our Brother for his Edification*, Rom. 15. 2. opposed there to *pleasing himself*. Our Love to others is shewed in denying ourselves, that in some things we may gratify them for their real Advantages. Another Excellency of Brotherly Charity is, that it is not easily provoked, it is not put into violent Fits and Paroxysms, as the Word denotes. It permits not a Man to fall into immoderate Heats and Distempers of Anger upon every Provocation; but it moderates all Fierceness and Choler, it abates the Boilings and Aestuations of distempered Minds. It is the *Courteous Bell* to extravagant Wrath, and bids Men put out that fiery Passion betimes, which would lead them to Eternal Flames.

It beareth all things; it suffers the greatest Affronts patiently, and makes no returns, unless those of Prayer and Blessing: for Charity and a Desire of Revenge are inconsistent. It endureth all things, it willingly undergoes some Pain and Trouble, to procure the real Good of others. Charity suffers long and is kind: it is the first thing in the Apostle's Description of Charity in 1 Cor 13. It is the Property and Commendation of this Virtue, to be so far from wronging others, that it teacheth Forbearance, and enables Men to forgive Injuries; it is tender and compassionate, and abates of Rigour, and declares against Extremity and the sharpest Proceedings, and loves to wave the cruel Execution. Charity vaunteth not it self, doth not behave it self saucily and petulantly; it is not guilty of foolish Elation of Mind, of Ambition and Ostentation, which are most ungrateful and offensive to all sober Minds. It is not puffed up; it doth not make Men confident and conceited: it suffers no Man to over-value himself, or to despise and vilify another. Humility is the genuine Effect of Christian Charity. If we truly love our Brethren, we shall discover it by a humble and lowly Carriage, by all Acts of Condescension.

Lastly, in that incomparable Pourtraiture of Evangelical Charity and Love drawn by St. Paul, it is said, that it doth not behave it self unseemly: for 'tis part of the Office of this Christian Virtue, to teach us how to carry our selves with Decency both in Words and Gestures, towards our Brethren, that we may not offend them: for Love condescends even to these lesser things, and knows what is fit and decorous on every Occasion, and avoids all that is indecent and uncomely. The short is, Love to our Neighbours is desiring, endeavouring, and actually doing all things that are Obliging and Beneficial to them, all things that may tend to their real Good and Felicity both here and hereafter. This is the Love to our Neighbours, which is required of us.

I proceed next to the Second General Head of this Discourse, *viz.* to treat of the Extent of our Love. We must know then that Loving our Neighbours (which is the Duty that is before us) is loving all Men, of all Nations, of all Religions, of all Degrees and Conditions. Our Saviour taught us this in his Answer to the Lawyer's Question, *Who is my Neighbour?* Every one that needs Mercy, or shews it, is our Neighbour, tho' he be a Samaritan, one that is neither of the same Country or Religion with us. Here our Saviour struck at the known practise of the Jews, who confined their Charity to those of their own Nation and Religion, yea, they were wont to express a great Averfation to others, and not to be so much as Civil to them.

* *Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.*

* Juvenal,
Sat.

But the Christian Mercifulness must not be after the Jewish Standard, after the contracted measures of that People, who professed kindness only to those of their own Country and Persuasion. This was a poor and stingy Compassion, and is unworthy of so excellent an Institution as the Christian, which dictates a Love that is universal and reaches to all Mankind. And so the whole Second Table (of which *Loving our Neighbours* is the Summ) if it be taken in its true Extent, reaches to all Persons, even to our Enemies. Our Parents and Superiours are to be honoured, tho' they shew themselves averse to us. We must not take away the Life of any Person, we must not violate the Chastity of any; we must not take from any Man what is his own, we must not bear false Witness against him, we must not covet our Neighbours Goods, or any thing he hath tho' he be our Enemy. The Reason of which is, because we are to *love our Enemies*, which we cannot do, if we behave our selves towards them after that manner. Now, that *Loving our Enemies* is our indispensable Duty, will appear from these ensuing Particulars.

1. This was required under the Law, Lev. 19. 17. *Thou shalt not hate thy Brother* (which is a general Term, and takes in all Persons) *in thy Heart*. But more positively, it was commanded by Moses, that they should do Offices of Love to their Enemies. Thus Exod. 23. 4, 5. *If thou meet thine Enemies Ox or Ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou seest the Ass of him that hateth thee lying under his Burden, thou shalt surely help with him.* If this Duty then was obliging under the Mosaic Law, we cannot but grant that it is obligatory to Christians under the Gospel.

2. The best Heathens were not averse to this. I grant that this was not generally recieved in the Gentile World, and it was rarely practised by any of them: which gave occasion to one of the Antient Fathers to say, * All the World have arrived to this, to love their Friends, but 'tis peculiar to Christians only to love their Enemies. Yet we may gather from what some of the most improved Pagans have said, that it was their Judgment, that no Persons whatsoever should be hated and injur'd. † He is more wicked, saith one of them, who revenges a Mischief done to him, than he who first did the Mischief. And another speaks thus, || Injuring of any Man is so great an Evil, that 'tis better to be injured than to do an Injury. It is plain that these Moralists were of opinion, that there should be an universal Charity, and that even those who do us Injuries are not the Objects of our Hatred and Revenge. Which confutes what a Learned Writer hath advanced, that * the Love of Enemies * Mr. was never any Part of their (meaning the Heathen Moralists) Speculations, they rather Kellsey's thought it a Fault, as contradictory to the Laws of Justice. Sermon 5. p. 138.

* Amicos diligere omnium
est, inimicos Christianorum.
Tertull.

† Ο τιμωρὸν τὴν ἀδικίαν
τὸ ἀδικῶντες. Max. Tyr.
Diff. 2.

|| Τοσούτον ἡ κακὴν ἀδικία, ὥς
φειστέον ἐν τῷ ἀδικῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν.
Alcin. de doctr. Plat.

3. The Reason of the thing it self dictates this. *Episcopus* grants, that to love our Enemies is according to right Reason, so far as it is commanded us on promise of future Happiness, but otherwise not. To this purpose he tells us, that some things that Reason dictates may be done, but not so as if to do the contrary was in it self intrinsically evil, and utterly unlawful; nay the doing them is the sign of a generous and heroick Mind, and a great Strain of Virtue. The End and great advantageous Consequence of doing them, is the Cause why right Reason puts us upon them. Thus to preserve our Life, and hate our Enemies, it is dictated by Reason that they may be done lawfully, yet it is not dictated that 'tis unlawful and dishonest to do the contrary. If we are ascertained, that the Loss of Life, and Loving Enemies will be rewarded with a better, that is, Eternal Life, and the Love of God, and that the contrary brings Eternal Damnation, then Reason tells us, 'tis best to part with Life, and to love our Enemies: but if it were not for this, Reason would bid the contrary. This is the Episcopian Theology; but if you strictly enquire into it, you'll find that it is unsound: for 'tis in some degree reasonable in it self to love our Enemies. For first, it is the most easy and pleasant thing to forgive our Enemies, to pass by their Affronts and Injuries; because 'tis certain that

that Revenge is uneasy and tormenting. Again, this is the way to win them to us, and to make them our Friends. Moreover, in some cases to neglect and slight their Affronts, is the way to punish them, for nothing more frets them and galls them than this. Thus this Christian Duty is not to be practised merely on the prospect of an Eternal Reward.

4. We are more particularly obliged to this Duty by the Precepts of the Gospel. *I say unto you, Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, Matth. 5. 44.* And 'tis the Apostolical Exhortation, *Let us do good unto all Men, Gal. 6. 10.* whether they be Friends or Enemies. And this is according to the Nature of the Religion which we profess; the whole System and Fabrick of Christianity requires it at our hands. The Religion of the Holy Jesus is a mild and loving Institution, it is courteous and kind, merciful and obliging. It breathes nothing but Peace, and Meekness, and Compassion, forgiving of Injuries, pardoning Offences, doing of all the good we can in the Places we live in, and amongst those we converse with. We are told, that by the Pagans Christ was * called *Chrestus*, and the Christians *Chrestians*, as if they had their Name from being good-natur'd, sweet, and benign. Tho' this was a Mistake of the Name, yet the thing it self is most true: Christ was kind, loving and endearing, and Goodness and Benignity are proper to Christians.

* Tertull.
Apolog.
Sueton. in
Claudio,
c. 25.

5. God makes no difference, therefore we should not. *There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him, Rom. 10. 12.* Our Saviour reminds us of this in *Mat. 5. 45.* *He maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and sendeth Rain on the Just and on the Unjust.* And in *Luke 6. 35.* *He is kind to the Unthankful, and to the Evil.* Tho' we are continually provoking him by our wilful Miscarriages, yet he shews himself to us a God of Compassion, Goodness, and Philanthropy. We therefore in the foresaid Place are justly called upon to *love our Enemies*, and to be *merciful, as our Father also is merciful*, that is, as he is merciful to all Men.

6. And lastly, the Foundation of this universal Love is God's Love to us when we were Enemies. *When we were Enemies, we were reconciled to God by the Death of his Son, Rom. 5. 10.* And didst thou, O Blessed Lord, reconcile us to thy Father by the shedding of thy precious Blood for us, when we were at Enmity against Thee? then there can be no solid ground for the universal Extent of our Love, even to our very Adversaries.

But that I may not be mistaken, I must add this, that what I have said is so to be understood, that all Persons are not to share alike in our Love. Tho' we are to have a general Affection towards all Men, yet that Affection is not to be equally extended to them all. The Love of God is not without distinction, nor must ours be so. *He is the Saviour of all Men, but especially of them that believe, 1 Tim. 4. 10.* So we are bid to *do good unto all Men, but especially to those that are of the Household of Faith, i. e. the true Members of the Church, which is God's Family, Gal. 6. 10.* and the true Members of Christ himself, on which account what is done to them is done to him, as he himself acknowledges in *Mat. 24. 40.* Therefore St. Paul professes his great Joy and Consolation in Philemon's Love, because the Bowels of the Saints were refreshed by him, *Phil. 7.* To these a more particular and peculiar Love is due, because of their near Relation to us: for *whosoever shall do the Will of our Father which is in Heaven, the same is our Brother, and Sister, and Mother, Mat. 12. 50.* All other Kindred and Alliance are mean in respect of this. The Good and Holy are the nearest to us, and therefore the highest Passion must be spent here. But still 'tis true, we must love all Mankind, we must heartily desire their Welfare, we must be grieved for their Misery, and for the Hurt they do themselves by Sin. We must not hate any Man in the World; there is not a Creature of our kind breathing on the Earth, to which we must not wish all Good and Happiness. Brotherly Love is no little, narrow, shrivel'd thing, as some fancy, but it is wide and large, and of a vast Latitude. It speaks not only a Good-will to those of our own Opinion and Party, our Kindred or Relations, but a general and Catholick Affection to the whole World, and a Delight in the Welfare of all Mankind. It is a professed Enemy to Monopolies, and loves not solely to engross any thing which may be advantageous to others. The Fire of Divine Love is in a perpetual Tendency from its own Center, and spreads abroad its chearing Arms to lay hold on

on all that may be benefitted by it. None are out of the Lines of its Communication, none are shut out from its benign Influence. The short is, we must love all Men, but we must love the Brethren, the Saints, the Virtuous and Holy, with a peculiar Love.

I come now to the Third Part of my present Undertaking, viz. to propound such Arguments as are fit to persuade us to the Practice of this Grace. And the first is this, the intrinsic Worth, the absolute and native Beauty of Brotherly Love. It carries with it such Convincements of Goodness, that the best Testimonials and Commendations it can receive, are from it self. Let it appear then in its own Likeness, and stand alone, guarded only by its genuine Glory. There is this illustrious Proof of its innate Excellency, that it is founded in the very Nature of Man. For he is a sociable Creature, fitted for Converse, and must contribute towards the common Good: and for this Association 'tis necessary there be a mutual Love and Charity. Man, by his very Make, is calculated for Friendship and Communion: the very Principles of his Nature are subservient to this Great End. So false and absurd is the Assertion of a Philosopher of our Age (if I may give him that Name) who roundly affirms, that the State which Man is naturally inclin'd to, is a State of War and Hostility; yes, by all means, for 'tis plain that Infants come into the World with their little Hands close shut, and in the Posture of a Fist, as if they were made for Cuffing. So * one tells us, that Scanderbeg was born with a Sword on his Right Arm. These are as good Arguments as any of his, to prove that Mankind brings with him into the World an Averseness to Peace and Friendship, that they naturally fall foul on one another, and fight for what they can get. Certainly he was a very bad Man, and being so himself, believed that all others were of a resembling Nature, and that Violence, and Rapine, and Oppression are entailed upon their very Constitution. He expressly avers, that † what-soever one doth to another, cannot be injurious, if there had been no Compact before. And in the same place and in other Parts of his Writings he maintains, that where there is no Commonwealth, there is nothing unjust.

* Came-
rar. Hor.
Subcil.

† Levi-
ath. c. 13.

One would almost imagine, that Aristotle had foreseen this Author's Plan of Philosophy, and had designedly confronted it by these Words,

* There is something, saith he, that all Mens Thoughts agree about, as common by Nature, namely, what is just or unjust, and this was before any Societies or Compacts amongst Men. This is a direct Thrust against Mr. Hobbs. And such is that of the Roman Philosopher and Orator, † The Acts of Love and Liberality, Gratitude, Doing of good in the World, proceed from the natural Propensity that is in Man to oblige others: and this is the very Foundation and Basis of all Law and Right. Which is

* Εστὶ γὰρ ὃ μαρτυροῦνται τὶ πάντες, φύσει κοινόν, δίκαιον καὶ ἀδίκον, καὶ μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ, μηδὲ σωθῆκεν. Rhet. l. i. c. 14.

† Natura propensi sumus ad homines diligendos, quod Fundamentum Juris est. Cic. de Leg. l. i.

diametrically opposite to what Mr. Hobbes asserts, that Men are naturally made to hate one another, and to be envious, and to do Mischief, and that every Man may do what he thinks best for preserving himself by hurting or killing any other in order thereunto. They are his very Words in his Leviathan. It cannot be sufficiently lamented, that this Author's Writings have spread the Contagion abroad, and that now it is become a received Notion of the Town, that there is nothing good or evil in it self, and that there are no Obligations to Virtue antecedent to Human Laws; Just and Unjust are alterable and arbitrary, and the Reasons of them may be abrogated at the pleasure of the Civil Power. They are no other than what Des Cartes makes the Forms of all Natural Bodies, that is, mere Modifications and flitting Accidents.

But he that will lay aside Prejudice, and attend to the Dictates of sober Sense, will conclude that things are far otherwise, and that Honesty and just Dealing are grafted in the very Nature of Man, and that Men naturally and of themselves are fitted for Human Society and Fellowship one with another, and their Souls are stock'd with Principles of Love and Amity. But Hatred and Malice, Cheating and Forging, Couzening and Extortion, are things that our pure and more primitive Natures recoil at. He that quarrels with his Brother, first fights with his own Faculties, and commits a Rape upon his Reason, and defaces the Image of God upon his Soul. But he that wishes well to all Mankind, and bears a hearty Love to his Neighbour, and forgives the poor Brother-Criminal when he offends him, this Man hath the Image of God visibly ingraven on his Soul, and here the Human
and

and Godlike Nature concenter. Besides, we are precarious and indigent Beings, and stand in need of one another's Help. We depend not only upon God, but upon one another, and therefore mutual Compassion and Love are naturally consequent upon our dependent State. But this bold Man destroys the Order and Constitution of Mankind, and turns the Nature of Man into that of a Beast, a Wolf or a Tyger, that naturally preys upon and worries its own Kind. Thus this daring Atheist reproaches *Human Nature*, and libels *all Mankind*. He bespatters the whole Creation, and falls out with all the World. According to him, Love and Friendship are not suitable to the Frame of Mankind, and are none of the Law of Nature: But Hatred and Ill-will, and Hostility, are Parts of this Law; and Rapine, Havock, Ruin, and Destruction are the Constitution of God, and Divine Providence. To be desirous of Slaughter, and to covet Bloodshed, are the Gifts of a Deity, and God made his Creatures to destroy one another. Upon this plain Representation of the matter, 'tis clear that the Reverse of all this is true, and is to be acknowledged by us, namely, that God hath endued Man with a sociable Nature, and inclinable to Love and Friendship; that Charity and Benevolence are innate Principles; that Man by his Make and Complexion is a loving Creature, and by his State and Condition in this World is invited to exert Acts of Compassion and Kindness. If we consider this, the Duty of *Loving our Brethren* will be thought to be very rational and accountable.

* O ἀδελφοί,
ἡμεῖς ἀγαπή-
σαμεν ἑαυτοὺς.
ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος.
Antonin.

The Second Argument to perswade us to the Practice of this Duty, is, that this is the great Testimony and Proof of our Love to God, and of our being loved by Him. St. John the Beloved Disciple, insists most on this Subject in his Epistles; he settles us in this grand Truth, that if we love God, we must love our Brethren: and on the other hand, if we love our Brethren, it is an infallible Sign we love God. So of the Hatred of either we may pronounce thus, He that hates God will hate his Brethren, and shew that Hatred by unjust and unmerciful Dealings towards them. And again, he that thus hates his Brethren, will certainly hate God and all Godliness. So true is that notable Aphorism of the Royal Philosopher, * He that acts unjustly, acts irreligiously and impiously. God hath made Men to help and profit one another: he therefore that breaks this Law and Constitution by unjust and uncharitable Dealing with his Brethren, is guilty at the same time of gross Impiety, in that he openly offends God by violating of this Law. You will find therefore in *Prov.* 1. 3, 7. that the *Fear of the Lord*, and the *Understanding of Justice, Judgment, and Equity* go hand in hand. And then it can't be denied that this just and charitable Disposition is a great Mark and Sign to discover our Interest in the Love and Favour of God, and our Title to Eternal Happiness. *We know that we have passed from Death unto Life, because we love the Brethren.* 1 John 3. 14. And in ver. 19. *Hereby we know that we are of the Truth, and shall assure our Hearts before him.* That is, by our sincere Love of our Brethren (mentioned in the foregoing Verse) we arrive to the Knowledge of the Truth of Grace in us, and an Assurance of the Love of God to us.

* In Ep.
ad Galat.

† Occultis se notis & insignibus noscunt, & amant mutuo pene antequam noverint: passim etiam inter eos velut quædam libidinum Religio miscetur, ac se promiscue appellant Fratres & Sorores. *Minut. Felix.*

Another Argument which may incite us to the Exercise of Brotherly Love, is, that this is the *Distinctive Character* of the true Professors of Christianity. Every Sect of *Philosophers* had their particular Motto's and Devices, their proper Methods and Orders, their peculiar Opinions and Placits; so this is the distinguishing Cognizance of the Disciples and Scholars of Christ, John 13. 34, 35. *A new Commandment*, says our Saviour, *I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.* By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one towards another. And he reiterates this in John 15. 12. *This is my Commandment, that ye love one another*; and in v. 17. he inculcates it again, and ratifies it as firmly as his last Will, *These things I command you, that ye love one another.* And * St. Jerom tells us that when the Apostle St. John was grown very Aged and Infirm, he used only to repeat that Exhortation of his at the Assemblies of the Christians, *Little Children love one another.* And in the first Ages of the Church they were very zealous in practising this, and every day more and more cultivated this Affection by great Intimacy and Familiarity; which occasioned that Reflection of the Pagan, that † "they knew one another by private Notes and Tokens, and loved one another before they knew one another, that there was a kind

" kind of a Lustful Religion amongst them, and they called one another Brethren and Sisters. Whence it was objected to them, that they used Promiscuous and Incestuous Matrimony. But the plain Truth is, that all this arose from that Precept so often inculcated among the Christians, of *Loving one another*, and from their careful observing of it. And this hath been the Practice of all the true Disciples of our Lord; they have endeavoured to cherish a warm Affection towards one another, and thereby to testify whom they own for their Master and Instructor.

I will add in the close of all that high Encomium of Charity, which the Apostle gives of it, that it is *the Bond of Perfectness*, Col. 3. 14. deservedly called so, because it ties all Bodies, Churches and Societies together, and thereby makes them happy: and because it links all Virtues and Graces together, and makes them useful and operative. For Love is the principal Passion of the Soul, and all others have their Original from this, and are actuated by it. And particularly the Love of our Brethren hath a mighty Influence on every Virtue, and as it were consummates them. We may observe how the Apostle St. Peter in his pious Admonition and Exhortation to Holiness, 2 Ep. 1. 5. &c. rises by degrees, and at the Conclusion of that Evangelical Climax, he places *Universal Charity* as the Top and Complement of All. *Add*, says he, *to your Faith*, that is your Assent to and Profession of the Gospel, *Virtue*, or Valour and Courage; and *to True Knowledge*, that is, Wisdom and Christian Prudence; and *to Knowledge Temperance*, or a moderate use of all worldly Pleasures; and *to Temperance Patience*, that is, a serene and undisturbed Mind in the midst of all Sufferings you are like to meet with; and *to Patience Godliness*, that is, heavenly-mindedness, Commerce with Heaven, Communion with Saints, and a discharge of all Offices of Devotion; and *to Godliness brotherly-Kindness*, that is, a peculiar Love and Respect to those who are fellow-sufferers with you, and Brethren both in Bonds and Christianity; and lastly to *Brotherly-Kindness CHARITY*, which is large and comprehensive, and takes in all Persons, even our Enemies into our Embraces.

From these Arguments and Motives let us be effectually stir'd up to the Practice of a Catholick Love and Charity, both as they are an inward Affection of the Heart, and as they consist in open Action and Operation, as I have before described them.

THE

FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

Honour thy Father and thy Mother: that thy Days may be long in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.



IN treating on this Commandment I will shew, 1. Who are meant by *Father* and *Mother*. 2. What it is to honour them; where I shall speak of the *Affirmative* and *Negative* Part of this Commandment, and that both generally and particularly. 3. I will distinctly treat of the Honour and Duty owing to *Natural Parents*. 4. Of that which is due to *Civil Parents* or *Secular Rulers*. 5. Of the Honour to be paid to *Spiritual Rulers* or *Pastors*. 6. and lastly, I shall briefly describe the *Office of Magistrates, Parents, and Ministers*, with relation to their *Subjects, Children, and Flock*.

First, I must explain those Terms, *Father* and *Mother*, or else we shall not rightly understand the full Meaning of this Commandment. These Words are of a large Signification: for by them are meant not only our Fathers that begat us, and our Mothers that did bear us, but all Persons that are our Superiors in any respect whatsoever. This we shall find in the Style of the Holy Scriptures to be the frequent Import of those Names *Father* and *Mother*. When *Joseph* was advanced by *Pharaoh* to be Ruler over all the Land of *Egypt*, they cried before him, *Abrech*, Gen. 41. 42. that is, *tender Father*, as the *Chaldee Paraphrase* and *Jerusalem Targum* render it. This was thought to be a proper Word of Applause to *Pharaoh's* Viceroy: he was now become the *Publick Father* of the Nation. And afterwards *Joseph* recounts it as a singular Honour, that *God had made him a Father* to *Pharaoh*, Gen. 45. 8. that he was in great Request and Authority with him. *My Father* is the Style used to King *Saul*, 1 Sam. 24. 11. And in Isa. 49. 23. Kings are called *Nursing Fathers*, and *Queens Nursing Mothers*; for tho' *Fathers* and *Mothers* are not in the *Original*, yet they are included in the Word *Nursing*, because heretofore *Parents* nursed their own Children, and particularly *Mothers* gave Suck to their own Children. So the Title of *Mother* is applied by *Deborah* to herself, Judg. 5. 7. *I arose a Mother in Israel*, i. e. a *Governess*, a *Judge*, a *Ruler*. *My Father* was the Language used to that Great Man *Naaman*, the King of *Syria's* General, 2 Kings 5. 13. And from other Texts it is evident, that this Term is attributed to Persons in Place and Authority. And that of *Philo* shews it was a *Jewish way of speaking*, * *Good Rulers*, saith he, are the common *Parents of Cities and Nations*. So among the *Gentiles*, *Father* was a Title given to Persons that eminently deserved of their Country: thus *Tully* was the first that had the Title of *Pater Patriæ* upon his detecting *Catiline's* Conspiracy: And afterwards those that governed well were called *Fathers*.

* Κοινοὶ
πόλεων καὶ
ἐθνῶν γονεῖς
αἱ πόλεις ἐ-
σιν ἀσφα-
τοι. De
creatione
Principis.

From the Sacred Writings it appears, that not only *Civil*, but *Spiritual* Persons were honoured with this Denomination. A *Father* and a *Priest* are synonymous, Judg. 17. 10. *My Father, my Father*, was the Compellation used to the Prophet *Elijah*, 2 Kings 2. 12. and afterwards to *Elisha*, 2 Kings 6. 21. & 13. 14. And the Evangelical Style is the same, 1 Cor. 4. 15. where those that convert Souls to *Christ* are called *Fathers*, and the Apostle reckons himself in that number; because in *Christ Jesus* he had begotten them (namely the *Corinthians*) thro' the Gospel; that is, he was the first Instrument of their Conversion. Yea, he compares himself to a *Mother*, Gal. 4. 19. *My little Children, of whom I travel in Birth again, until Christ be formed in you*. Thus we see how fitly these Terms are applied to the Ministers of the Gospel.

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And it is as easy to shew, that in the same Sacred Writings the Word *Father* is attributed to those that excell others in *Age* or *Knowledge*, and *Experience*, or any other *Gifts*, or are eminent and honourable upon any account whatsoever, *Acts* 7. 2. & 22. 1. 1 *John* 2. 13. So that (in short) when we are bid to honour our *Fathers* and *Mothers*, we are enjoined to give Respect and Honour to our Natural Parents, to those Governours and Rulers that God hath set over us, either as to Secular or Ecclesiastical Matters, and to all Ranks and Degrees of Men, whose Age or Worth call for Respect and Reverence.

Secondly, then, I come to shew what is meant by *Honouring* our Father and Mother: what the Commandment requires of us, when it bids us give Respect and Deference to those different Classes of Persons, whom the Divine Wisdom hath ordained and constituted in the World. First then in *general* this Commandment enjoins, that every one observe the particular Station and Sphere, the different Order and Rank which God hath placed him in. There are Superiors and Inferiors; there are High and Low in the World: and God himself hath established, and in the Holy Scriptures hath confirmed this Distinction between Persons. *Theoderet*, in his 6th and 7th *Orations* of *Providence*, shews, that tho' an inferior and servile Condition arose from Sin in the World, and thence there comes to be Lordship and Magistracy; yet these now are made necessary, by reason of the State wherein Mankind is at present. Yea, if we look back to the first Beginnings of things, we shall find it a groundless Notion, that there was an universal Freedom, and that all had a like Propriety to every thing, and were of equal Rank, and might do what they would. It is evident that there could be no such State of Nature, no such absolute Parity and Equality: for Children, as soon as they are born, are actually under the Power of their Parents. These are naturally superior to those, and therefore there is not that absolute Liberty which some Men dream of.

It is true, Violence and Tyranny brought in Empire; thus *Nimrod* got his Kingly Power by Force and Robbery, which the Scripture expresses by his being a *Hunter*; and others in other places domineer'd over the rest, and set up an arbitrary Rule and Sway. But it is as true also that Government had its rise from Common Consent, and the Necessity of Mankind, and the mild Dictates of natural Convenience, and that caused them to make choice among them of some to govern and restrain the rest. This Government and Dominion, which are of so antient a date, and are the great Prop of the World, we are commanded here to keep up. We are bid to maintain that Order which God hath settled in the World, and which is become necessary for the upholding of it.

And as for *Christianity*, it doth not abolish the Civil and Political Constitutions, and the Order of Magistracy, and Secular Dignities. *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, tho' he believed in *Christ*, continued in the Council of the *Jews*. *Nicodemus*, a Senator, was not enjoined by *Christ* to relinquish his Place. The *Roman Centurion*, praised for his Faith, *Mat.* 8. 10, &c. was not bid to quit his Office. The Eunuch, Queen *Candace's* Great Officer of State, was not told by *Philip*, that it was unlawful for him to hold his Ministry. When *Sergius Paulus* the Proconsul was converted, we read not of his leaving that High Place. Nor do we read that *Lydia*, when she embraced the Christian Faith, left off her Dying and Selling of Purple, wherein Emperors and Nobles and Magistrates were clad. The Gospel doth not take away Rule and Magistracy, or any other Orders and Distinctions of Men, as Superior and Inferior. And therefore 'tis not probable that those *Essens* were *Christians* (as some Writers have thought) part of whose Character given them by *Josephus*, is, * [that they had no Servants, thinking this to be a Reproach and Injury to our common Nature to be in a servile Condition: that they are all equal, and mutually administer to one another.] We know that the Apostle allows of the different Relations of *Masters* and *Servants*, and prescribes them their particular Duties, *Eph.* 6. 5, 6. *Col.* 3. 22. & 4. 1. And in other Places he urges the Necessity of *Subjects* being obedient to the *Higher Powers*, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake. And it is certain that this *Variety* and *Disparity* of Persons, this *Superiority* and *Inferiority*, are requisite for the good of the whole, and preventing of Ataxy and Confusion. Wherefore we are enjoined not to disturb the Order of Providence among the Sons of Men.

* Antiq.
Jud. 1.18.
c. 2.

Again, 2dly, this is a *general* Injunction contained in this Commandment, that we pay Respect and Reverence to Persons according to their Quality and Degree, according to their particular Conditions and States. This is *Honouring* of them; and is that which this Part of the Decalogue requires of us: For we must know that there is *Religious* and *Civil* Worship; the former is due to God only, and is comprehended in the first Table, of which I have treated; the latter is due from Men to one another. *Then shalt thou have Worship in the Presence of them that sit at Meat with thee*, Luke 14. 10. and it is prescribed in this Fifth Commandment. The Apostle tells us that there is an Honour or Worship which we are to pay to every Man, *Honour all Men*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. Let every Person we converse with have that Respect which is due to him. Of the same import is that Injunction of St. Peter in the same Chapter, Ver. 13. *Submit your selves to every humane Creature*; for so we should read it. And by *every humane Creature* here is meant *every Man*. A great many Conjectures have been among the Learned about the Word *κτίσις* in this Place, but none can be thought to be so plain and obvious as this which I have propounded; for Man is the chief of the Creation, and therefore is eminently called *ἡ κτίσις* the Creature. And this is the *Hebrew* Stile, as * Schindler hath shewed from the Sayings of the Rabbins. And accordingly our Saviour used the Word thus, Mark 16. 15. *Preach the Gospel to every Creature*, i. e. to every Man; for the Words *Birjah* and *Birjoth*, Creature and Creatures, were applied only or chiefly to Men. Wherefore Christ applied the Word thus, according to the Usage of the *Hebrews*, by whom Man is called a Creature by way of Eminency. And so in Rom. 8. 19. *the earnest Expectation of the Creature*, is no other than the earnest Expectation of Mankind. And Ver. 20. *the Creature*, i. e. Man, *was made subject to Vanity*. Again, Ver. 21. *the Creature it self*, that is Mankind, *shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption*. And Ver. 22. *We know that every Creature groaneth*; for so *πάντα ἡ κτίσις* should be translated, according to the rendring of the Word *κτίσις* in the three fore-going Verses. All the World, the whole Creation, may be said to groan for a Deliverance from Vanity and Sin; but this is spoken chiefly of Man, who is emphatically and eminently stiled *ἡ κτίσις* the Creature. And so the Word is used in this Place, *Submit your selves to every human Creature*, i. e. to all Men; which the *Syriac* Version follows, for there 'tis rendred thus, *Be ye subject to all the Sons of Men*.

But you will say, this cannot be the Import of the Place, because it is applied to Rulers and Magistrates, *whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors, &c.* how then can it be meant of every Man? for every Man is not a Magistrate; and consequently this Text doth not bid us submit our selves to every Man. But those who well consider the fore-mentioned Place will be of another Mind, especially if they compare it with that other Text of the same Apostle in that Chapter, *Honour all Men*, saith he, and yet he adds in the same Verse, *Honour the King*; which shews that the foresaid Objection is frivolous, and that as we may be bid to *honour all Men*, and the King more especially, so it may be required of us to *submit to every Man*, and more especially to Kings and Governors, there being a peculiar Submission due to them. And thus we see that these are parallel Places; and moreover from what hath been said we may gather what is the genuine Meaning of this latter Text. When St. Peter had said in general, *Submit your selves to every Man*, he particularly restrains it to those in Authority, *whether it be*, saith he, *to the King, &c.* As much as to say, there is a Submission due to all Men, we must mutually submit to one another; but there is a special Submission or Honour which is to be paid to Magistrates on the Account of their Office and high Station. This I take to be the true and genuine and unforced Sense of this Place. And so after this Manner it is said by the other Apostle, that there shall be *Prayers and Supplications made for all Men*; and then he adds, *for Kings and all that are in Authority*, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. We must pray for all Mankind; but there are peculiar Petitions to be put up to Heaven for those that are in Authority. So there is a certain Submission, Respect and Honour, due upon Occasion to every Man, but to Rulers and Princes there is a particular and singular Honour to be ascribed. Thus St. Paul is to be understood when he enjoins us to *render Honour to whom Honour is due*, that is, to the Magistrate in a more eminent Manner, Rom. 13. 7.

And to other Persons a Regard is to be given according to the Place and State God hath set them in; according to the Relation they stand in to us, according

* In vocabulo
כִּי

That is,
hold on
conceive
Joab took
V

to their Years, Endowments, and Qualities, according to the Good and Benefits we have received from them. * Our Instructors and Masters are to have a very great Honour paid to them. † Great Regard and Reverence are due to the Learned and Wise. Old Age is honourable, and the Ancient are to be treated with a peculiar-Respect. Ye Younger submit yourselves unto the Elder, 1 Pet. 5. 5. Wives are bid to submit themselves to their Husbands, Eph. 5. 22. and they are commanded to be under Obedience,

* Sit reverentia Præceptoris tui ut reverentia Dei. R. Eleazar, Cap. Patr. c. 4.

† In Academiâ vade post sapientiam: in mensâ verò post senectutem. Prov. Jud.

1 Cor. 14. 34. Husbands are to give Honour to the Wife, as unto the weaker Vessel, 1 Pet. 3. 7. A Woman's Weakness is her Privilege and Prerogative; and Civility and Courtesy are paid her on that Account. Servants are to be obedient to them that are their Masters, according to the Flesh, Eph. 6. 5. Children are to obey and honour their Parents, Eph. 6. 1, 2. And, in short, a civil Respect is due to Persons in regard of their Offices and Relations, their Qualities and Degrees. All that are our Betters, or in any kind above us, all eminent and excellent Persons, all worthy Men and Women, and exemplary Servants of God, call for the Tribute of Honour and Reverence: Especially these last; for God-like Persons are to be regarded in the first Place, and those that resemble the Divine Being may claim the greatest Honour from us.

Having thus in general shewed, that we are obliged to honour those that are Superiours to us on any Account, whether it be in respect of Authority, or Age, or near Relation to us, or real Worth and Excellency; I am briefly to assign what this Honour is in its particular Branches.

First, it is in Mind and Thought. An inward Reverence is to be given to those Persons I have before mentioned. In lowliness of Mind let each esteem other better than themselves, Phil. 2. 3.

Again, There ought to be Words and Expressions of Respect and Honour. Jacob gave the Title of Lord to his Brother Esau, Gen. 32. 4. And that Words of due Respect and Observance are lawful and commendable is clear from Sarah's calling her Husband Lord, and from the Apostle's pressing the Example and Practise of that holy Woman, 1 Pet. 3. 6. Our Saviour allowed his Disciples, when they came into a House, to salute it, Mat. 10. 12. to salute not only their Brethren, that is, their Friends and Kindred, but others also, Mat. 5. 47. Most excellent Theophilus, saith St. Luke, Chap. 1. Ver. 3. Most Noble Festus, saith St. Paul, Acts 24. 3. And the usual Word of respectful Compellation, Sirs, is used in Acts 27. 25. The Quakers alledge Job. 32. 21. Let me not, I pray you, accept any Man's Person, neither let me give flattering Titles unto Man; and they fancy that these Words condemn all Titles of Respect and Honour given to Men: But this is a very gross Mistake; for Elibu's plain Meaning is, he intended not to have Regard to any Man, so as to hinder him from speaking the Truth. He resolved to have Respect wholly to the Matter in question, and not to favour Job or his three Friends, but to decide the Cause impartially. He would not ingratiate himself with any of them by Soothing and Flattering, and using any insinuating Language. This is the plain Sense.

Further, not only Words, but Gestures and Actions of Submission and Reverence towards Persons are used in Scripture. Jacob bowed himself seven times to the Ground at his Meeting Esau. David fell on his Face three times to Jonathan. And bowing the Knee, and falling at the Knees of others, is often mentioned as a Posture of Salutation and Obeisance, Gen. 41. 43. 2 Kings 1. 13. Esther 8. 3. Luke 5. 8. & 17. 16. Homer frequently takes Notice of this bowing and laying hold of the Knees of the Party that was saluted, and clasping about them. And we may gather from him, that it was usual to put one of their Hands to the Beard of the Person they made their Addresses to. Both these Postures were used together by the same Person, as is clear from two or three Places in Homer's Iliads: I'll mention but one.

* Καὶ λαβεὶν γένων Σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ δ' αὖ ἀνθερεῶν ἐλάσσει.

* Il. α.

That is, With the left Hand she embraced his Knees, and with the right she laid hold on his Beard or Chin. An antient Instance of which Custom we have, I conceive, in 2 Sam. 20. 9. Joab said to Amasa, art thou in Health, my Brother? And Joab took Amasa by the Beard, with his right Hand, to kiss him; which shews that

this was one Way of expressing their Respect and Homage to Persons that they honoured. We read that *Obadiab*, the Steward of King *Ahab's* House, *fell on his Face* when he met the Prophet *Elijah*, 1 Kings 18. 7. And sometimes *standing up* was a Sign of Respect and Observance, Lev. 19. 32. *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary Heads, and honour the Face of the old Man.* It was anciently reputed a most heinous Offence, yea, and worthy of a capital Punishment, to shew themselves disrespectful to the Aged.

† Juv.
Sat. 13.

† *Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum,
Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat.*

In brief, it was ever reputed just and laudable to honour and respect, and to give Place to Persons according to their Quality and Condition.

Now the *Negative Part* of this Commandment may easily be learnt from the *Affirmative*. We are forbid by virtue of this Precept to despise any Man, and especially to disrespect those whose Deserts, or Years, or Rank, or Authority, render them honourable. For the thing is plain, if our inward Esteem and Respect of Persons are to be shewn by outwards Signs, if these be lawful and due, then Incivility and unmannerly Disrespect are to be condemned; then it is unlawful to treat Persons in a Way unbecoming their Quality and Condition; which is taken Notice of by the wise Man, and reckoned a great Evil, and an Error; *Folly is set in great Dignity, and the rich sit in low Place: Servants are on horse-back, and Princes walk as Servants on the Earth*, Eccl. 10. 6, 7. And the Prophet *Isaiah* mentions it as a certain Presage of the Confusion and Ruin of a Nation, that *the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Antient, and the Base against the Honourable*, Isa. 3. 5. This is monstrous and absurd, as being against the known Maxim of Natural Reason, namely, that the Quality of Mens Persons is to be acknowledged and preserved; and that Men are to be treated according to their Dignity and Place.

But here some alledge St. *James's* Words, Chap. 2. Ver. 1, &c. *My Brethren, have not the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, with respect of Persons; for if there come into your Assembly a Man with a gold Ring, in goodly Apparel, and there come in also a poor Man in vile Raiment, and ye have Respect to him that weareth the gay Clothing, and say unto him, sit thou here in a good Place, and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit under my Foot-stool, are ye not then partial in your selves, and are become Judges of evil Thoughts? Do you not judge perversely of things? Do you not determine of this Matter which is before you according to your evil and corrupt Apprehensions? All this seems to make against the honouring of rich and great Men. The Apostle here condemns the having the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with such Respect of Persons as this is; he would not have the rich preferred before the poor.*

But this is a misinterpreting of the Apostle's Words; for his Design in them is to reprove those that have no Regard to Virtue and Godliness, but shew Respect and give Honour to Men because of their Greatness and Riches, and gay Trappings; and despise the poor be they never so good and holy. It is not unlawful, according to St. *James*, to honour a Rich Man, or to honour him more than a Poor Man; but it is sinful to honour Rich Men, and they the worst of Men too, with a Contempt of poor Godly Men, because they are poor. We are not forbid here to give outward Respect to Persons according to their Rank in the World; but we are forbid to admire and respect Men meerly for their Wealth, and to think meanly and contemptibly of others, only for their low Condition in the World. This is the true Meaning of the Apostle's Words, as we cannot but be convinced, if we scan the Drift and Scope of them, and if we compare them with other Texts, which approve of shewing Respect to Persons according to their Place and Quality, and particularly with that in *Rom. 12. 10. In Honour prefer one another:* We may conclude then, that Religion maintains civil Respect and good Manners, and that Rudeness and Clownishness are no Badges of Christianity. Yea, those Men who value themselves and their Party for their rude and disrespectful Behaviour, affect an odious Singularity, and go against the universal Practice of Mankind. There is no Nation so barbarous as to be utterly void of all Rites of Civility and Respect. There are some Tokens among them of Honour and Reverence, some Terms of Distance or Familiarity. The *universal Practice* (as I have shewn in another Place) argues the Unreasonableness and Unlawfulness of the contrary.

The Third General Head propounded was to treat of the Honour and Duty owing to *Natural Parents*: For hitherto I have only shewed what is the *General Scope* of this Commandment, and therefore now I come to consider it more *Particularly*. And here I will speak of these three Ranks of Persons distinctly, *Natural Parents*; *Civil Ones*, i.e. Kings and Magistrates; *Spiritual*, i.e. Ministers of the Church: All these are said to be *Parents* and *Fathers* in a more eminent Manner than the rest I have mentioned. And I will under these three distinct Heads consider both the *Precept it self*, and the *Promise* or *Motive* that is annexed to it.

First, I will treat of this Commandment as it respects *Natural Parents*, the Fathers of our Flesh, as they are called, *Heb. 12. 9.* Here I will shew what is enjoined and what is forbid; but I will do both of these together, for one doth naturally lead us to the Knowledge of the other. First, our Honour to our Parents consists in something that is inward, namely, a reverential Awe and Esteem of them. *Ye shall fear every Man his Mother and his Father*, *Lev. 19. 3.* Fear and Honour are equivalent, and with these must always be joined an ardent and entire Love. This inward Disposition of the Mind is accompanied with respectful Words and Speeches; and consequently to speak Evil of them, to reproach and vilify them, to mock and deride them is a Fault of a high Nature: much more to curse them, as we are told, that *there is a Generation that curseth their Father, and doth not bless their Mother*, *Prov. 30. 11.* Likewise, in Deeds and Actions the Honour which is due to our Parents, is to be discovered. When we are in our Childhood and Minority, we are to submit to their Corrections and Punishments, we are to deport our selves with all Reverence and Obedience toward them; which is the Meaning of *1 Tim. 3. 4.* where 'tis required that *Children should be in Subjection with all Gravity*, as we render it, but rather, *with all Modesty* or *Reverence*; for so the *Greek Word* imports also: Here especially it ought to be so rendered, because *Gravity* agrees to Men rather than to Children. But Modesty and a reverential Behaviour are the proper Ornament of these latter, and are the natural Fruit of that *Subjection* which is here prescribed them.

As they increase in Years they are to give further Testimonies of their filial Submission and Duty. They are to protect and defend their Parents, and to secure them from Dangers and Hazards; which was well represented by the *Gentile Poet*, in his Character of *Aeneas* bearing his decrepid Father thro' the Flames. We must over-look our Parents Failings and Infirmities, especially if they be the Effects of their Years. We must not with *Cham* laugh at their Nakedness, and make their Folly the Matter of our Sport. Moreover, we ought to provide for them and support them in their Need. When there was a Famine in the Land of *Canaan*, *Joseph* sent for his Father into *Egypt*, and *nourished him* there, *Gen. 45. 11.* Hence the *θετηλα* which * *Homer* speaks of, the Offices of *Nourishing* and *Maintaining*, which Children owe their Parents. So unnatural and horrid was the Behaviour of some of the *Indians* of old, which *Herodotus* in his 3d Book takes Notice of, that as soon as their Parents arrived to old Age, they sent them out of the World. So some *Scythians* famish their Parents to Death when they come to be antient. And 'tis reported by Modern Travellers of those in the Island of *Java*, that when their Parents are old and useless, they sell them to the *Anthropophagi*, as the Parents do the Children, if they be desperately and irrecoverably sick. But these are *strange* and *rare* Instances, and are there only, where *Morality* is in a great Degree banished. There never was any civilized or sober Country where the Parents are not generally respected and taken Care of. And where Gratitude and Natural Affection bear Sway, the Parents are relieved and succoured, and their Necessities are supplied. The *Athenians* particularly signalized themselves by making a Law, that an Action might be brought in Court by any Parent against his disobedient and ungrateful Child for his ill treating of him. He that was guilty of this † Fault, was condemned as an || ignominious and infamous Person, and was forbid to enter the publick Temples, and was debarred from Magistracy.

† Τῆς τοῦ γονέων κα-
κώσεως.
Diog. La-
ert. in
Solone.
|| Ἀτίμη-
τος. Ibid.

Further, we are bound by this Commandment not to slight and despise the *Admonitions* of our Parents, but to submit to and follow their wholesom *Advice* and *Counsel*, and particularly with Relation to *Marrying*. For that Children are to have the Consent of their Parents towards the changing of a single Life for that of Wedlock, is evident, first from the Law of God, given to his own People the

Jews,

† Justinian. Instit.
l. i. Tit. de Nup-
tiis.
* Can. 62.
& 100. &
102.

Jews, Numb. 30. 4, 5. *If a Maid vow a Vow unto the Lord, and bind herself by a Bond, and her Father shall hold his Peace at her, her Vows shall stand; but if her Father disallow her in the Day that he heareth her, not any of her Vows shall stand.* If a Maid could not bind her self by any Vow and Engagement against her Father's Will, we may certainly gather thence that it was God's Pleasure, that the Parent's Consent should be obtained in order to the Marriage-Vow, which is the most solemn of all. Besides, the Examples of those holy Patriarchs, *Isaac*, Gen. 24. and *Jacob*, Gen. 28. who had the particular Directions of their Parents in this great Affair, ought to be of weight with us. And from other Instances, more especially that in Gen. 24. 6, 8. it is plain that the Parents were consulted, and their Leave asked, in order to the contracting and consummating of Matrimony. I will add further, that this Practice (as being very just and reasonable) hath passed into Civil Constitutions and Laws, as we see in the † *Imperial* ones; and those Marriages which are without the Approbation of Parents and Guardians, are pronounced void. And by the * *Laws of our own Church*, Ministers are forbid to marry any Persons under the Age of one and twenty Years, unless their Parents signify their Consent to their Marriage: So that all this is meant of those Children who are in their Parents Family still, and are not of Maturity of Years, and fit to dispose of themselves. But if they be grown up to Years of Judgment, and know how to manage themselves, and if their Parents are morose and cross, and will not yield to their Desires, where there is great and apparent Reason for it, I apprehend that then the Children are *sui juris*, at their own Disposal, and may lawfully choose for themselves; otherwise the Parents Consent ought to be obtained by them before they alter their Condition.

Lastly, they are obliged by Virtue of this Commandment to observe and obey all their Parents Injunctions; and they are forbid to resist and oppose their lawful Commands. I say *lawful*, for otherwise they are not to be obeyed; which is included in what our Saviour saith, *Mat. 10. 37. He that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me.* Nay, we find it thus expressed in *Luke 14. 26. If any one hate not his Father and Mother, he cannot be my Disciple.* The Meaning of which is, that God is to be loved and obeyed above all; and we must disobey our Parents rather than abandon our Duty to God. The *Mosaic Law*, which enjoined Obedience to Parents, yet suffered the Children to stone them to Death, if they enticed them to Idolatry. It is recorded of that pious King *Asa*, that in the Reformation which he began and set forward in the Kingdom of *Judah*, he did not tolerate the idolatrous Practices of his Mother *Maacha*, 1 *Kings* 15. We are to honour our Parents so far as God is not dishonoured. We are to obey our Parents *in the Lord*, as the Apostle enjoins, *Eph. 6. 1.* that is, in Subordination to God, and so far as is consistent with our Obedience to him. Briefly, we are obliged to obey them in all things just and lawful; and their personal Wickedness excuses not our Duty to them. If *Servants* must be *subject to their Masters with all Fear, not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward*, 1 *Pet. 2. 18.* then much more *Children* must obey their Parents in all lawful things, whether their Parents be good or bad, righteous or unrighteous.

Having done with the Precept it self, I come to the Reason of it, or the Promise annexed to it. *That thy Days may be long in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* Whence the Fifth Commandment is called by *St. Paul*, the first Commandment with Promise, *Eph. 6. 2.* that is, 'tis the First of the Second Table that hath a Promise annexed to it; or it is the first in the whole Decalogue that hath a special Promise entailed on it. It hath a particular Respect, we may perceive, to the *Jews*, who had the *Land of Canaan* given to them; but in a general and comprehensive Way it belongs to all Persons that faithfully observe this Commandment; long Life and Prosperity are here promised to them. The primitive Penalty of Children's Disobedience was the shortning of their Lives by a judicial Sentence upon them, *Every one that curseth his Father or his Mother shall be surely put to Death*, *Lev. 20. 9.* Or if the Disobedient were exempted from Death, a Curse attended them, and their Lives were prolonged to their Disgrace and Infelicity. Why were *Shem* and *Japheth* preferred before *Ham*, and blessed by God in a particular Manner? No Ground we read of it but this, their honouring their Father in covering his Nakedness, *Gen. 9. 22, 23*, &c. and *Ham* was cursed for the contrary Action. And see the Penalty of this Crime in another early Example, viz. of

Elis

Eli's Sons, who refused to give Ear to the mild Admonitions of their Parent, and thereupon the Holy Ghost acquaints us, that this was an evident Sign that they were fit for Destruction. *They hearken'd not to the Voice of their Father, because the Lord would slay them,* 1 Sam. 2. 25.

The Judgment that is inflicted for this Sin is thus set forth by Solomon, *The Eye that mocketh at his Father, and despiseth to obey his Mother, the Ravens shall pick it out, and the young Eagles shall eat it,* Prov. 30. 17. The Meaning of which is probably this, that the Disobedient do often-times come to an untimely and infamous end, and their Bodies are hung up and exposed to ravenous Birds. They that disobey their Parents are justly shut out from the common Parent of all Mankind, the Earth; they are denied Burial, they are treated as loathed and cursed Persons. We may observe that it was one of Jerusalem's Sins for which she was to suffer; *In thee have they set light by Father and Mother,* Ezek. 22. 7. But more especially it is experienced, that those who despise and scorn their Parents have *their Lives shortened* by Divine Justice. It was the ancient Poet's Observation long since,

* Οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι
Θεοπία φίλοις ἀπέδωκε μινωθάδιος ὃ οἱ αἰών.

* Il. 17.

That is, *He paid not to his dear Parents the Rewards of his Education, and his Days were short.* And certainly there was good Reason that he should not long enjoy his Life, who neglected those by whom he received it. And on the contrary there are these remarkable Words of another of the Ancients; † *Be mindful chiefly to honour thy Parents, and to nourish them in their old Age, and thy Life shall be long and prosperous;* which is the Promise annexed to this Fifth Commandment.

Not that long Life and Prosperity are absolutely promised, but only as they are Blessings, and who would desire them any otherwise? Obedient Children shall not fail of them, as such; their Lives shall be prolonged for God's Glory and the Comfort of their Parents. But disobedient Children may justly fear that God will shorten their Days, or (which is worse) lengthen them out in Misery and Distress.

I will only add this Remark, to confirm the Truth of this Promise [*That thy Days may be long in the Land*]. We may observe that undutiful and profligate Children seldom stay with their Parents; they quit their Houses, and the Land of their Nativity too. They are sent to Sea, they are packed away to foreign Countries and Plantations; this is the usual Effect and Punishment of their Disobedience. So that the Reverse of this Promise, which is a Threatning to those that disobey their Parents, is literally fulfilled at this Day. So much for the Reason of this Commandment, which is annexed to it.

Besides this which is here mentioned, I will add two others. First, it is most reasonable that Children should pay Honour and Respect, and perform Obedience to their Parents: because Parents, as such, bear the Image of God, resembling him in Efficiency and Authority; for they, immediately under him, are the Authors of their Childrens Lives. That of Theodoret is very apposite here, * *It is just to reverence those next to God, to whom we are beholding for our Being.* For this gives them a Right and Dominion over us, and such an Authority as none else can possibly have. Secondly, Parents in respect of their Children do bear the signal Stamp and Image of God himself, not only as he is their Maker, but as he is their Preserver and Benefactor; and upon this Account Honour and Duty are owing to them. They cheered us in our Infancy with their loving Smiles and Caresses; they spent many restless Hours and sleepless Nights in taking Care of us; they continually watch over us, and attend our Good and Welfare, and delight to heap Kindnesses upon us; so that if Children did attentively consider what they have received from their Parents, they would frankly acknowledge the Truth of what Aristotle said, that Parents have done more for their Children than Children can any ways make a full Recompence to them for. This Obligation then of the Law of Nature cannot be vacated or superseded; we must account it highly reasonable and just to observe this Commandment.

And it is observable, that this is the First Commandment in the Second Table, and it is rightly set here in the Front of all; for as Honouring of God was the first Commandment of the former Table, so it is fit that the Honouring of our Parents should

† Βάλα
γονεῖς
πρεσβυτέρους
ἐν τιμαῖς
ἔχειν, ἵνα
νῶς βιώσης
γνησθῶσιν
καὶ τὰς
γονεῖς.
Menand.

* Μετὰ
τὰ θεῶν
δικαιονθεῖν
ἐκπαιδεύει
τὸν ἄνθρωπον
ἐν ἡμῶν τῶν
ἐν πα-
ρὰ Θεῶν.
Quest. 34.
in Deut.

* Ἀθανάσιος should have the Preheminence in the latter. Next to God himself our Parents are to be honoured and obeyed. Which Order is observed by all Lawgivers, and by all wise Instructors, as * Pythagoras in his Golden Verses, and † Phocylides in his Admonitory Poem.

† Πρωτα In the Fourth place, I am to shew what that Honour is which is due to our Civil Parents, namely, Magistrates and Rulers. But before I proceed to give an account of the Duty it self, I will take notice of what a || late Writer hath suggested in his *Additions* on Rom. 13. 9. where he finds fault with what Dr. Hammond hath said on this place, to wit, that the Duty of Subjects to Kings and Rulers is comprehended under the Fifth Commandment. I cannot tell, saith he, whether any one can prove that the Fifth Commandment requires us to pay that Honour which is due to Magistrates. It is strange he should be so ignorant, when it is so easy a thing to prove what he calls in question. There are these three Reasons which may convince any unprejudiced Man that the Fifth Precept of the Decalogue, viz. Honour thy Father and thy Mother, includes our Duty to Magistrates and Rulers:

1. Because the first Governours and Rulers were *Fathers* and *Mothers*. It is acknowledged by all, that the first Dominion was founded in Heads of Families; Parents were the first Sovereigns, for these had an inherent and natural Right to govern their Children or Family. Adam and his Sons were the first Rulers, and this Power and Dignity descended afterwards to the Parents and Masters of Families. Whence this Commandment is thus expressed, Honour thy Father and thy Mother: where under Father and Mother are comprehended Civil no less than Natural Parents, all that are set over us by God, to rule and govern us.

2. There is this Reason also, because those that are in any degree above us, whether as to Age or Worth, but especially as to Authority and Government, are in Scripture called *Fathers* and *Mothers*. This I have before shewed, and therefore seeing it is congruous to the Language of the Holy Writ to call Superiors by these Names, we have ground to interpret the Fifth Commandment in this manner.

3. It is reasonable to believe, that Rulers and Superiors are meant in this Commandment, because if the Duty that is owing to these, and so reciprocally of Superiors to those that are under them, be not meant in this Commandment, you can find it in no other Part of the Decalogue, which is a thing that no considerate Man will admit of. For it is a natural and moral Dictate, that we should honour and obey those that are our lawful Superiors, and therefore was one of the *Seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah* (as they are commonly called) viz. that concerning Judgments, wherein the Magistrate's Office and People's Duty to him were included. And can we then think that in the Decalogue, which is a more consummate Rehearsal of Moral Precepts, the Duty which is owing to Rulers is not inserted? No, by no means. And lastly, he that considers that this Commandment hath been thought by all Expositors, antient and modern, Popish and Protestant, to express that Duty which is to be paid to Superiors of any kind soever, whether Natural, Ecclesiastical, or Civil, and more especially the last, *Kings and all that are in Authority*, 1 Tim. 2. 2. the Supreme Governor, and subordinate Magistrates: he, I say, that considers this, will not attend to this Writer's new Fancy and groundless Conceit, which hath no shew of Probability in it.

My Task now is to shew, what is that Honour which is due to our Civil Parents, those that are in Authority, but especially what Honour is due to Kings, those that have the Supreme Administration of things in a Nation. This necessary and indispensable Duty contains in it something that is inward and mental, and something also that is outward, and displays it self in visible Effects. The inward Honour which is due to Kings and Potentates consists in these following Particulars:

1. An awful Fear and Reverence. These are to be paid to the Almighty God, and to Earthly Sovereigns likewise. That wise Man and understanding Prince joins them hand in hand, Prov. 24. 21. My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King. A Fear, which is prejudicial to that which we owe to the King of Kings, is by no means due to Princes and Governors: But such a due Fear as their high Place and Eminency, their Authority and Majesty call for, such a one is not unworthy of a wise Man and a good Christian. We are bid by the Apostle to render Fear to whom Fear is due, Rom. 13. 7. i. e. to the Higher Powers, of whom he had been before speaking, and had told us, that they bear not the Sword in vain, Ver. 4. Wherefore this Instrument of Justice and Vengeance may strike Terror into those that

that behold it, especially those who are conscious to themselves that they deserve to feel its sharpest Edge.

2. Profound Esteem, Value and Respect, are due to Kings. This is *honouring the King* in St. Peter's Style, 1 Ep. 2. 17. Princes are called *Gods*; and it is certain that good Kings more especially deserve that Name, because they bear God's Image and Superscription, &c. therefore when we entertain not due Thoughts and Esteem of them, we affront even the God of Heaven. *Curse not the King, no not in thy Thoughts*, saith he who was the wisest of Kings, Eccl. 10. 20. It is a kind of silent Blasphemy to dishonour him thus in our Breasts.

3. Entire Love and Affection is to be paid to those whom God hath set over us. Their eminent Place and Station, the high Character which they bear, command Awe and Respect; but their real Goodness calls for that which is more endearing, and that is our Love. Then Princes reign most prosperously, when they sway their Scepters in the very Hearts and Affections of their People. This Love, if it be true and genuine, will discover it self in some visible and outward Appearances, in open and palpable Demonstrations. The inward Affection will exert it self in external Tokens.

And so I pass to the next thing, wherein I am to give you an account of the Nature of that Honour and Obedience which are due to Kings. As there is an inward, so there is an outward Obedience due to Authority: And this evidences it self,

1. In Gesture and Behaviour: Nathan the Prophet bowed himself before the King, with his Face to the Ground, 1 Kings 1. 23. And this Prostration was the antient way of expressing Civility and Respect to such Persons, and there are frequent Examples of it in the Old Testament. Wherefore * he was mistaken that said this * Arrian. Practice of Adoration was performed first of all to the Emperor Cyrus, and thence Anabasi. 4. other Kings and Princes had this Honour paid to them. We are ascertain'd that this Practice was long before Cyrus's Time, as appears from the Examples mentioned in the Kings and Chronicles. So that we see Scripture gives us the truest account of the Original of Customs. We read in the Sacred History of the Bible, how submissively and reverently the Servants of God deputed themselves towards their Governours and Rulers. And this may be offered as a general Observation, that Men shew their Reverence to their Superiors and Governours in the same way that they shew it to God. Respect and Reverence were expressed to the former by uncovering the Head, and standing bare in the Western and Northern Countries: but the Eastern People uncover'd not the Head to shew Reverence to their Governours, but expressed it by Bowing the Body, and falling down. These very same external Gestures and Demeanors are fitted to the Worship of the Most High. Yet still one is Civil, and the other is Religious Worship. But this first Particular concerns those chiefly who have the Honour to be admitted into the Royal Presence. I proceed therefore to the other Branches of this Duty, and they, I am sure, will reach us all.

2. We must express the Honour we bear to Kings by our Words and Speeches. And here these two things are required of us, 1. That we speak reverently and respectfully of Kings. 2. That we pray for them. First, our Tongues are to express our Loyalty in fit Words. The Galileans (mentioned Luke 13. 1.) were too nice and shy in this matter, if what the Jewish Historian saith of them be true, namely, that * "This they have peculiar to themselves, that they most impetuously desire * Joseph. "Liberty, believing that God alone is to be called and esteemed a Lord and Antiq. "Prince, and they will undergo the most exquisite kinds of Punishment, rather l. 18. c. 2. "than they will recede from this Opinion, and rather than they will give any "mortal Man the Name of Lord. This was not refused to be done by the Primitive Christians, for when they spoke or writ to the Roman Emperors, they declined not the usual Words of Respect and Civility. Nay we read that St. Paul himself, when he appeared before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa, spake reverently and becomingly to them, and slighted not their High Offices. If Kings be good, they deserve Praise and great Accumulations of Respect: and it is part of the Tribute we are to pay them. But if they be bad, we may justly withdraw our Praises, but we are forbid to revile and reproach them. The Injunction in the Old Law reminds us of our Duty here, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Rulers of thy People*, Exod. 22. 28. And the Dictates of Nature and right Reason, and the Commands of the Blessed Jesus (under the new Oeconomy of the Gospel)

concenter in the same thing. How severely are they rebuked by St. Jude, who despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, Ver. 8. of his Epist. and by St. Peter as sharply, who adds, that they are presumptuous and self-willed, and are not afraid to speak Evil of Dignities, 2 Pet. 2. 10. The Word in the Original, which is here translated to speak evil, is βλασφημεῖν, to blaspheme. To speak evil of the Powers is to be guilty of Blasphemy, which is a Dishonour done to the Name of God. And the Reason of this is, because God himself hath styled Magistrates Gods: they are his Vice-gerents, and therefore what is spoken against them, is interpreted to be spoken against God himself.

* כתר
שם
אין כתר

I know the Jews have this Proverb among them, * *A Crown without a good Name is no Crown.* But they express themselves after this manner, only to let us understand how excellent and praise-worthy real Goodness and pious Actions are in a King. These make them honoured and beloved here, and these imbalm their Names and Memories hereafter. But altho' they should neglect to purchase Fame and Renown by doing good, yet still they are Crowned Heads, they are set over us by God, and we must mention them with Honour and Respect, because they are His Ordinance. Rude and indecent Language (no less than Behaviour and Gesture) towards Princes, is unbecoming those who profess Godliness. We must not defame Authority, and render it contemptible and odious. This is not the guise of sober Christians; they ought rather to cast a Vail over the Faults of their Superiors, and to pity their Lapses and Infirmities. Dare not to speak Evil of them, but rather speak in their behalf at the Throne of Grace.

Which brings me to the next thing I mentioned; we ought to pray for our Rulers; and this is another way of discharging our Duty toward them. I find that Holy David penn'd a Prayer on purpose for this Occasion. The 20th Psalm was composed by him for the Congregation, to pray for their King, namely Solomon his Successor. Or to give you an exact Division of that Psalm, you will read there that the People pray for the King in the five first Verses; and in the rest for themselves; and in the close of all for both. *Save, Lord, let the King hear us when we call, Ver. last.* So we translate it, but the Septuagint thus, *Lord, save the King, and hear us.* Hence our Liturgy, as well as that of other antient Churches, directs us to pray thus, *O Lord, save the King:* and the Antiphon or Prayer of the Congregation is, *Mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee.* This Form of Prayer in our Church's Service seems to be borrowed from this Passage of the Psalmist. The 72d Psalm likewise is the Jewish Devotion for this purpose: and there are set down the eminent Offices of a Good King; tho' it is confessed that that Psalm is in the highest and ultimate Meaning applicable to the Messias.

Not only the Old, but the New Testament commends this Duty to our Practice. The 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. is (as I may so say) St. Paul's Rubrick for this Office, where he exhorts that Supplications, Prayers and Intercessions, and giving of Thanks, be made for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may under them lead a peaceable and quiet Life in all Godliness and Honesty. The Primitive Christians were exemplary and eminent in this matter, as Ecclesiastical History amply testifies. From Ter-

* Sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris, sed Deo nostro & ipsius: sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece.

† Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum & potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete.

|| Precamur pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum.

tullian's Apology we learn that they prayed for the Roman Emperors. * *We sacrifice, saith he, for the Health of the Emperor, unto our God and his; this we do by pure Prayer, as God hath commanded.* † *We pray, saith he, for our Emperors, for their Ministers, and Under-powers, for the secular State and the Repose of the Realm.* And in another place he tells us more particularly what was the Subject of their Prayers. || *We pray for all the Emperors, that they may live long, that their Empire may be secure, that their Families may be safe, that their Armies may be strong, that their Senate may be faithful, their People honest, and that the World may be quiet.* Thus they prayed devoutly for their Governors: and if we would with the same Fervency do so for ours, greater Blessings might be conferred both on them and us.

3dly, The next thing wherein our Duty to Kings must be Visible and taken notice of, and shew it self to be Real and Substantial, is our Actions and Performances. The inward Awe and Respect which we pay to Superiors, may be the Issue perhaps of a timorous Nature or worse: and the Tongue may flatter and deceive. Therefore

fore to make sure, let our *Hands* and our *Actions* give the World a Demonstration of our Loyalty. Here then we are to give proof of this to those whom God hath set over us, by discovering the Plots and Conspiracies against them which come within the Verge of our Knowledge. Thus *Hushai* unravelled the treacherous Councils and Machinations of *Achitophel*, 2 Sam. 17. 15. And another notable Instance you meet with in *Ester* 2. 21. of the Discovery which *Mordecai* made of a Treasonable Design against King *Abasuerus*, even against his Life.

Again, our Obedience to the King must be Visible in *This* too, that we are willing and ready to support him with our Estates and Purfes. *John Baptist* bad the Publicans and Tax-gatherers *exact no more than that which is appointed them*, Luke 3. 12. Whence we may gather that what was set and rated by the Governours might be exacted, and it was their Duty to pay it to their Prince. *Christ* himself hath left us an Example in this matter, when the Tribute-money was brought to him, he looked on it and read them this Lesson of Loyalty, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, Mat. 22. 21. When we pay Cæsar his Tribute, we give him what is his Due. And so the Apostle comments on *Christ's* words, Rom. 13. 7. *Render therefore to all their Dues; Tribute, to whom Tribute; Custom, to whom Custom.* They are called by the Apostle *ὀφειλάι*, *Dues or Debts*, and therefore we are obliged to discharge and satisfy them.

Moreover, to defend and aid the Person of our Prince with Force and Might, when there is occasion for it, is another real Instance of our Duty to him. I have observed that the *Hebrew* word *Nashak* signifies both to *obey* and to *take up Arms*. It may hint this to us, that we may evidence the former by the latter. Our Obedience cannot better be discovered than by assisting our Sovereign with our Swords. Heretofore in *England* they used to *touch a Weapon* when they swore Allegiance, to signify that they would fight for their Lawful King, and take the Field for the Preservation of his and the common Safety. Thence *Wapentakes*, a Division of every Country, so named from that Ceremony when they swore.

Lastly, the actual Performance of all the Commands and Injunctions of our Sovereign is a necessary Testimony of that Duty we owe to him. Princes have power to make Laws, and when they have published them, it is not in our power to refuse compliance with them: but we are absolutely obliged to yield Obedience to them, and this we must do with all readiness and cheerfulness. But this I must add, that Kings are to be obeyed only, so far as their Commands are not repugnant to God's. We must remember that the *First* and the *Fifth* Commandment are to go together. We must fear God as well as honour the King. We must take notice of that Conjunction, *Give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's*. Mr. *Hobb's Leviathan* is of too high a flight for *Christian Divinity*: he holds that as there is nothing unjust in a Prince, so nothing is unlawful in a Subject; and indeed this latter follows upon the former, because according to him, whatsoever is commanded to the Subject, becomes lawful and just by Virtue of the Command. Let the thing enjoined be what it will, it is legitimated by the Prince's imposing of it.

But then I ask him, what Answer can be given to such Examples as *These* which we meet with in Scripture? The Midwives thought it no ill Manners to disregard *Pharaoh's* Order, and accounted it good Religion to obey God. *Naboth* would not comply with the unreasonable Humour and Will of King *Abab*. The Three Children in *Babylon* adhered to the Worship of the True God, and defied the Menaces of King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and would by no means bow down to the Idol he had erected, though the fiery Furnace was just before their Eyes. And all the Martyrs and Confessors in the several Ages of the World have been a sort of sacred *Recusants* (if I may so call them) denying Obedience to the Edicts and Commands of Rulers, *i. e.* when their Commands were absolutely unlawful. But the mentioning of *these Instances* is not to inspire any Man with *disloyal Thoughts*, but to acquaint us with the just Limits and Boundaries of our Duty. We must obey our Superiors in *All Lawful Matters*, and in them only. For God is our supreme King: and if we be false and disobedient to him, we cannot be true and dutiful to our Prince. The highest Duty of Man is to him that is the Highest: and the greatest Crime is that which is committed against the Greatest Authority. If it be laudable to perform Duty to Kings, 'tis more necessary to perform it to God.

It remains now that I add the *Reasons* both of the *Affirmative* and *Negative* part, that is, why we should honour Kings in our Thoughts, Words and Actions, and why we should not shew our disrespect to them in any of these Ways, especially why we should not resist them and rebel against them. The Reasons and Considerations which may induce us to give Honour and Obedience to our Rulers are, the necessity of Government, the Divine Institution of it, the Equity of Obeying, and the Credit which it brings to Religion.

In the first place, the *Necessity of Government* is a cogent Argument. There must be Rulers over us, our *own Need* dictates no less. And consequently *Subjection* to Governours is attended with the same Necessity. The Hand were an improper and useless Member, if all the Fingers were of the same Length. A Multitude of *equal Persons* cannot move and act with any Usefulness and Convenience. There must be a Superior for the Good of Mankind. And therefore that old Usage of the *Persians* was not altogether to be blamed, amongst whom for five Days after any of their Kings died, all the Laws of the Kingdom were abrogated, Courts of Judicature were shut up, and the Oracles of the Law were silenced, and every Man was left to his own Empire and Government; and this was permitted to let the People see by Experience the want of a King,

* Nihil tam aptum est ad jus conditionemque naturæ quam Imperium: Sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse Mundus potest. Cic. L. 3. de Legib.

and the Need of Laws. Take this in the Words of that known Roman Orator and Statesman, * " Nothing is so fitted to the Laws and Condition of Nature as Government: without which it is impossible that Families or Cities, or Nations should subsist, yea that the Race of Mankind, or the Nature of things, or even the World it self should be upheld. Anarchy is the most dreadful State imaginable, for then every one is a Slave, because every one is a Master. Excess of Liberty at such a Juncture is the cause of Servitude. There is no Safeguard from the Lusts and Exorbitances of wicked Men, because there is none appointed to suppress them: whence nothing but Disorder and Confusion must fill the World. Wherefore there was good reason for the Apostle's Words, *Ye must needs be subject.* There is a necessity of Obedience, because Government is necessary.

Secondly, The *Divine Institution of Princes and Governours* is another Motive to Obedience. *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice: by me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth,* Prov. 8. 15, 16. The Powers that be, are ordained of God, Rom. 13. 1. and v. 2. they are called the Ordinance of God. They are of his peculiar Appointment and Designation. They are his Officers and Deputies, and receive their Power and Commission from him, and have the Strength and Spirit to govern from him. This hath not been considered by some vain and perverse Men, who have look'd upon *Magistracy* as a mere human Constitution, and therefore counted it no immoral Act to rebel against the superior Powers. The *Manichees*, as they were stiff Defenders of a fatal Necessity, so they were great Enemies of *Magistracy*, and argued against the very Office. These Men, it seems, would be ruled and governed by none but Fate. The *Anabaptists* in Germany, a little after the Reformation, held that a Christian Man cannot in good Conscience perform the Calling and Office of a *Magistrate*. And there have been other Enthusiastick Sectaries since, who have declared that they cannot set up *Christ's Throne* without pulling down the *King's*. But this is an high Affront to God himself, because the Higher Powers are from him, and have the Stamp and Impress of Divinity upon them. Contempt of Authority is despising of God, and resisting the lawful Government is insulting the Majesty of Heaven. For he hath been pleased to communicate his Authority to Princes, and to make them his Representatives. Wherefore our Obedience to Magistrates must be for the Lord's sake, 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Thirdly, Let the *Equity* (as well as the Necessity) of Obedience to Good Princes be duly weigh'd. It is just and fitting that we should pay great Honours to them, because they are the Top and Flower of Mankind, and the most Useful Persons in the World. They guard and defend us, they watch for our Good and Welfare, they are Nursing Fathers, and with great Tenderneſs and Affection resent the Condition of their Subjects. They are the Publick * Servants of Mankind, and study to make all their Laws comport with the Peoples Safety. They are the great Dispensers of Providence in the World, Publick Managers of the Divine Decrees

* The Prince's Motto, *Je Dien, ego servus.*

Decrees, common and sworn Guardians of the People. Therefore it is most reasonable and equitable that we should make returns to them of Respect, Loyalty, and Obedience.

Fourthly, this is requisite because it is that which brings so much Credit and Honour to Christianity. What the Apostle saith in relation to Servants, and their Obedience to their Masters, (1 Tim. 6. 1.) is as true and applicable unto the Allegiance which Subjects owe to their King. It must be conscientiously paid, that the Name of God and his Doctrine be not blasphemed. Disloyalty in those who profess Christianity causes Christianity it self to be evil-spoken of. St. Peter therefore (1 Ep. 2. 15.) would have the Christians obey Authority (which he there calls well-doing) that they may by this means put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men, i. e. that the Heathens might have nothing to say against them and their Religion upon this account. And in the next Verse he advises them not to use their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness, i. e. not make use of the Christian Liberty for a pretence to cover Sedition and excuse Rebellion. And the Primitive Christians were very observant of the Apostle's Advice; they were eminent for nothing more than for their due Subjection to Government, because this did more signally advance their Fame, and the Name and Credit of Religion. He that hath read any thing of Ecclesiastical History, cannot be ignorant how famous these first Christians were for their humble Subjection to the Government God had placed them under, and how celebrated Christianity it self was on this account. Let this induce us to be subject to our Superiors, and to obey all their just and lawful Commands: that thereby we may bring Repute and Credit to the Religion which we profess.

The Reasons of the Negative Part, namely, why we should not despise and disregard them, and more especially why we should not resist them, and rebel against them, are comprehended in the Apostle's Words, Rom. 13. 2. *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Where we may observe the Sinfulness of Disobedience; it is a resisting of the Ordinance of God: and the Punishment which attends it Judgment or Damnation. Resistance of lawful Authority is both unlawful and unsafe. It is Criminal in it self, and the Consequences of it are dreadful and deplorable. I have spoken of the former already, and shall now demonstrate the truth of the latter, to wit, that Disobedience is dangerous and destructive. They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation; which may signify these two things according to the different Acceptions of the Greek Word.

1. Temporal Punishment, (the forerunner of eternal Damnation) *κέρμα*, Judgment. And thus the word is used by the Apostle in 1 Cor. 11. 29. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself.* That it there denotes temporal and outward Judgment, is plain from the ensuing Words, for this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep: for, if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged, i. e. Sickneses and Diseases would not await us. So here the Apostle acquaints the Romans, that if they resist the Power, they shall receive to themselves Damnation, Outward and Corporal Judgment; they run the hazard of being punished either by the Magistrate, or by God, with some remarkable Vengeance in this Life. This we see fulfilled in the fatal End of Rebellion. The close of it is Ruin and Destruction. Nay the Apostle's words are more than fulfill'd, for the Authors of Rebellion do not only receive to themselves Judgment and Condemnation, but to their Children and Posterity: for these by the determination of the Law partake of their Punishment. The sacred History acquaints us, in the Examples of Absalom, Achitophel, Sheba, Zimri, that Treason and Rebellion are signally recompensed with Temporal Judgments. And this seems to be included in those Words of Solomon, Prov. 24. 21, 22. *My Son fear thou the Lord, and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to Change: For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?* both of those that fear not God, nor the King. A sudden Calamity overtakes them, even in this World, and is their Ruin and Destruction. Their Lives are the Forfeiture of their Disobedience, and so the Promise annexed to the Fifth Commandment is turned into a Threatning, and this Threatning is executed upon them, *their Days are not long in the Land.*

2. Not only *Temporal* but *Eternal Punishment* is meant by the Word *νεῖμα*, and accordingly our Translators have rendred it *Damnation*. Resistance of lawful Authority is a sin of so deep a Dye, of so foul a Nature, that Temporal Judgment cannot expiate it. A more dismal Recompense attends them in *another World*, if they have not repented in *this*. Thus that of St. Peter (in his 2 Ep. 2. 9, 10, 12, 13.) shall be compleatly verified, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly, and to reserve the unjust to the Day of Judgment to be punished; but chiefly them that walk after the Flesh, and are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities: these shall utterly perish in their own Corruption, and shall receive the reward of Unrighteousness.* And St. Paul tells us that *They shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Let these dreadful Words fright us into our Duty, and prove a strong Obligation to Obedience.

But is all *Resisting* and *Disobeying of Kings* unlawful and sinful? Is the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive-Obedience* to Princes to be swallow'd down without any *Limitations* and *Restrictions*? Is it absolutely forbid by God to make any actual Opposition and Resistance against their most unreasonable, extravagant, and destructive attempts upon the Religion, Liberties and Safety of their People? I answer, The late Revolution hath in fact decided this Controversy: and as to the Right of it, it is rather a *Politick* than a *Theological* Point, and therefore I discuss it.

I come in the *fifth* Place, according to my propounded Method, to shew what Honour is due to our *Spiritual Parents*. Many think there are no Rulers and Governments but the Secular Magistrates; but this is a great Mistake, for there are Rulers in the Church as well as in the Commonwealth. Our *Pastors* and *Ministers* are our Rulers, and our Obedience to them is as necessary as that to the secular Powers. Heb. 13. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves.* Which words are spoken concerning our *Spiritual Guides*, as the Character given them in the remaining Part of the Verse plainly shews. "The want of Government," saith Chrysostom on the place, is every where of evil Consequence, and the Occasion of many Calamities: it is the Spring of all Mischiefs, and the very Source of Disorder and Confusion: But in the Church especially, which is the House of God, it is so much the more dangerous and destructive, by how much the Government of it is of a higher and more excellent Nature than that of the Commonwealth. But certain it is that tho' Anarchy be so great an Evil, yet Disobedience to Government is no less a one: for the wild and refractory People that will not obey their Rulers, are in no better condition than they that have none to Govern them. Nay, they are in a far worse case, for the Disorder of these is somewhat excusable and pardonable, but the Disobedience of those is justly punished. They are the great Grief of their Overseers, who are sad and pensive, not because they are slighted and disregarded, but because these Sons of Disobedience shall hereafter smart for their Folly. The Guides and Overseers of Souls labour not to be avenged here on their stubborn Flock, but their just Sorrow and Complaints cry aloud in the Ears of God for Vengeance.

It concerns us then to know what is this *obeying* and *submitting our selves* to those that have the Rule over us, which is required of us. It is comprised in these two things, *Honouring their Persons and Function*, and *performing their Injunctions*. First, Great Honour and Esteem are to be given to them and their Sacred Function. As *Magistracy* is honourable in it self, so is the *Ministry*. Cohen, the Word used in the Old Testament for *Priest*, signifies a *Prince*. In the Style of the Gospel, the

* Διζκο-
νός, ἀν-
ταρχός.
Rom. 13.
4, 6.
† Usher's
Catechism.

* Names given to Ecclesiastical Persons are attributed to the Secular Powers; and 'tis not strange, seeing both of them are God's Vicegerents and Deputies, and on that account are Sacred and Divine Persons. Wherefore it seems not to be very advisably said by the Learned Primate, that † Magistrates are only a Human Ordinance or Creature (referring to 1 Pet. 2. 13.) but Ecclesiastical Officers are Divine Creatures. The Truth is, they are both so: the latter are commissioned and appointed by God to preside over the Souls, the former over the Bodies of Men; the one to govern the Church, the other the State; the one to take care of Mens Spiritual, and the other of their Temporal Concerns. Wherefore the disrespecting of Spiritual Authority is an Affront offered to the Divine Majesty, as well as the disregarding of the Temporal Powers. Those Words in 1 Sam. 15. 23. *He that despiseth you, despiseth me*, are spoken of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Government.

ment. And what *Moses* saith in *Numb.* 16. 11. *You are gathered together against the Lord,* is spoken to the Rebels in the Conspiracy against *Aaron*. Which shews that the lawful Rulers and Ministers of the Church do personate God himself; and therefore we are bound to honour them, and to pay Respect and Esteem to them, as they are in God's stead.

Again, we must do this for *their Work's sake*, as the Apostle saith, 1 *Thess.* 5. 12. The brief Account of their Office is, that *they watch for Mens Souls*, *Heb.* 13. 17. the peculiar Excellency of their Employment is, that they take care of the Better and Choicer Part of Man. Their great Work and Business is to cultivate Mens Minds, to make them truly Wise and Good, and to prepare them for the Enjoyment of God, both here and hereafter. Than which there cannot be a more honourable Employment; and therefore hence we may gather that transcendent Worth of the Ministers and Dispensers of the Gospel. For that is a certain Proposition which a Great Man hath conveyed to us, that * the Worth of a Person is to be taken from the Worthiness of the Things he busies himself about. Seeing therefore nothing is so Worthy and Excellent as the Concern of our Immortal Souls, and their Happiness in another World, we have a solid ground for the Respect we pay to the Guides of Souls; for the Dignity of their Office requires all Respect and Esteem from us.

* Τοσούτοι ἀξιοῦν ἑκάστος ἑαυτοῦ, ὅσον ἀξιά ᾗ ταῦτα, καὶ ᾗ ἐπιδάσκον. *Antonin.* 1. 7.

Secondly, The Submission and Obedience which are due from us to those that have the Rule over us in the Church, consist in performing their Injunctions, and following their Admonitions and Commands, by living according to their Holy Exhortations and Directions. Whatsoever Duty, founded on the Sacred Writ, is urged upon us by them, we are obliged to comply with it, and practise it: and he that obeys not his lawful Pastor, obeys not *Christ*. And besides, there is a cheerful Obedience to be given to the Orders and Appointments of our Spiritual Superiors, which relate to such things as concern the Peace of the Church. And I might add, that they are to be submitted to in such things as their Inferiors are not at leisure to examine, or of capacity to determine. The larger and more particular Account of the Peoples Duty owing to their Ecclesiastical Rulers and Spiritual Pastors, I have given on another Occasion, and therefore I will not be guilty of repeating what was there delivered.

Thus I have considered this Commandment, as it is applicable to Natural, to Civil, and to Ecclesiastical Parents, and I have assigned our Duty with regard to each of them.

Now, because the Offices of Relations are Reciprocal, and all Divines that have written on this Commandment, assert that under it are contained not only the Duties of Inferiors, but of Superiors, and those we are any ways under; therefore here in the Sixth and last place I am obliged to shew what are the particular Duties of Parents towards their Children, of Kings and Magistrates towards those that are under their Rule, and of Ministers towards their Flock.

I begin with the proper Duty of Parents, which is comprised in one Word, *Education*. To beget and bring forth Children is not all that gives the Denomination of Parents; Education is a higher Step, and, if they don't proceed to this, they deserve not the honourable Title of Parents. They must practise that Wise Man's Advice, *Train up a Child in the Way that he shall go*, *Prov.* 22. 6. Begin betimes to frame and form his Mind, and to regulate his Actions and Behaviour. Too many there are that ruin their Children at their very first setting out. They train them up from the beginning in Idleness and Wantonness, in Folly and Vanity, in Pride and Luxury, and a Love of immoderate Pleasures: and hence they indulge themselves in these ever after. 'Tis no wonder that *Tiberius* prov'd such a Drunkard, seeing his Nurse us'd to give him Sops soak'd in Wine, when he was a Child. 'Tis not strange that *Caligula* was such a Blood-sucker, since his Nurse was wont to rub her Nipples with Blood, when she gave him suck. Children for the most part take their Impressions, which influence

fluence on their future Lives, from what they are us'd to in their Infancy and Childhood. Most Vices and evil Practices commence from a loose or careless Education. Wherefore it is the proper Task of Parents to take care that their Children be well and wisely fashion'd at first.

And this I look upon as one great Master-piece of Education, that Parents study the Temper and Inclination of their Children. For without this they can never be able to order those young ones aright, and put them into the Way that will be most for their advantage. Which 'tis impossible to foresee and provide for, without knowing the *different Propensions* of Children. For Children and young People are not to be ruled and managed by the same Ways and Methods. Now, this is the thing which Fathers and Mothers should be solicitous to acquaint themselves with, they should search into the particular Dispositions of those that are under their Charge, and arrive to a Knowledge of them: which they may do, if they diligently watch and observe their daily Behaviour, and make Remarks on their Actions. What Way of Life they seem to be naturally inclin'd to, and busy them about betimes, it is likely they will be eminent in afterwards. When *Galen* began to compound Medicines so early, and *Vesalius* began to dissect when a Child, it was probable that one would be an Excellent *Physician*, and the other an excellent *Anatomist*. *Tasso* and *Cowley* were young Poets, and made Verses when they were Children, and thence it was likely they would prove eminent in that Faculty. Yea something may be gathered from the Jestling Part of Youth, as *the old Bishop of *Alexandria* guess'd from *Athanasius's* playing the Bishop among the Boys, that afterwards he would make a Bishop in earnest, and become that Office well. Accordingly he caused the active Boy to be bred up to Learning and the Church, and he succeeded the Bishop of *Alexandria* in his Bishoprick. It is not to be doubted that Children, when they are young, give early Specimens of their future Carriage by what we see in their present Genius and Disposition: and if Parents would be careful to attend to these Presages and Indications, and to take notice of the Nature and Consequences of them, they might thence learn to order and direct their Children, and know how to manage them for their present and future Good. Wherefore I urge this, that Parents study the Inclination of their Children.

Other Duties incumbent on Parents towards their Children I will mention, and the chiefest of them, (on which I will most insist) is, that they shew their Love to them by teaching and instructing them in the Laws of God and the Ways of Religion. The *Old Testament* urges it on the Guides of Families, that they teach the Law of God to their Household, as you read in *Deut. 6. 6, 7, 8.* which is a Repetition of the same Injunction in the 12th and the 13th Chapter of *Exodus*, and in *Deut. 4. 9.* where they are bid to teach the Statutes and Judgments of God to their Sons and to their Sons Sons. And this is the direct Command of the New Testament, Bring up your Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, *Eph. 6. 4.* Let them be instructed in the great and fundamental Points of the Christian Religion. Let them be taught that they are Sinners by Nature, and that they were born Children of Wrath; that *Christ Jesus* out of his infinite Love to lost Man took our Nature upon him, and was born of a Woman, that we might be made the Children of God. Let them know, that without believing in this *Jesus*, and without obeying his holy and righteous Commands, they shall never reap any Comfort from his Birth and Passion, his Resurrection and Ascension, or any other of his wonderful and meritorious Undertakings. Acquaint them likewise, that they can do nothing by their own Power alone, that they stand in need every moment of the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, and consequently that they must be continually imploring the Divine Aid. Perswade them of this, that without Holiness there can be no Happiness, and therefore that they must be careful to keep a good Conscience towards God and Men, and by a blameless Life adorn the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*. Let them be acquainted with the Plea-

sures

* Socrat. Eccl.
Hist. l. i. c. ii.

asures that attend an early Pursuit of Godliness. Inform them concerning the dreadful Judgments which follow Sinners. Let them understand that Religion must be their main Care and chief Employment, and that all other things are trifling and inconsiderable in regard of this. Let them know that this is of universal Concernment, and in whatsoever State they are, they ought to be interested in this. Let their Condition be never so low and mean, they must not throw off Religion, and part with That, whatever it is that is taken from them. They must deport themselves with patient and contented Spirits, and resign themselves to God's Disposal and Pleasure. They must be taught this, that the Most High ruleth in the World, and doth whatsoever he pleaseth both in Heaven and Earth. It is he that pulls down one and sets up another, and is the absolute Controller and Supreme Moderator of all things that happen.

They must be told likewise that Godliness hath the Promise of this Life, as well as that which is to come. If they serve God faithfully and sincerely, they shall certainly be rewarded in this World. A holy and blameless Life shall be recompensed even with Temporal Favours. No good thing will God withhold from them that walk uprightly. If worldly Blessings be good and convenient for them, they shall not be denied them: and if they be not such, it is a Blessing to be without them. Call upon your Charge daily to do their Duty, and to omit nothing which God requires of them, and then let them be assured that He will take care of them, and provide for them, and never suffer them to be in want. Inculcate this upon your Children, and all that are related to you, that if they live well, and pass their Days in the Fear of God, they shall be received into the Heavenly Mansions when they die. And on the other hand, urge it upon them as an undeniable Truth, that if they live unholy Lives, they shall die miserably; and that, though they live never so long and prosperously, yet dying in their Sins, their Condition will be unspeakably wretched; it would be better, far better that they had never been born, that they had never seen the Light.

Such Religious Principles and Maxims as these, ought to be instilled by degrees into Childrens Minds, as soon as they come to the Use of their Understanding in such Matters, by their Parents: therefore the Scriptures, which contain these great and necessary Truths in them, should be frequently put into the hands of young Persons. St. Jerom, writing to *Leta*, a Roman Lady, instructs her in the best Method of teaching her little Daughter, telling her what Books of Scripture she should begin with, and what next proceed to. And all religious and wise Persons have agreed in this, that Children should be trained up in the Scriptures.

Whence we may guess at the Genius of a late Author, who plainly tells us what he thinks of the Bible with relation to this matter. * *The reading* * Lock of E. of the Bible, saith he, is so far from being of any advantage to Children, either education, p. for the perfecting their Reading or principing their Religion, that perhaps a worse^{280.} could not be found. And then he hath this Passage: † It will beget, saith he, † P. 281. an odd Jumble of Thoughts in a Child, to read all the Parts of the Bible indifferently as the Word of God, without any other Distinction. As if all the Parts of the Bible were not the Word of God, but that there were some distinction to be made. But though the Bible be thrown aside by this Writer, yet he is pleased to put another Book (which he prefers before that) into the hands of Children, for this is one Point of Education with him, To read Reynard the Fox as soon as they begin to talk, (p. 279.) having been first seasoned (which I had almost forgot) with *Aesop's Fables* (p. 278.) This Person sets up for an Instructor of Youth, and we see what Foundations he lays. He will by no means hear of the Bible as a fit Book for young Beginners, but his Advice is, that their Minds be possessed betimes, and their Thoughts tinged with *Aesop's Fables* and *Reynard the Fox*. Leaving this Instructor and his Scholars in such Company, I commend this to Parents as their first and principal Concern, namely, that they instruct their Children in Religion, and infuse into their Minds the grand Principles of Christianity.

* Plutarch.
in Solone.

Another Duty required of them is, that they give proof of their Love to their Children by taking care of their *Bodies* as well as their *Souls*. They are obliged to provide for them as to their outward and temporal Concern, and to bring them up to some honest Imployment and Calling, whereby they may gain their Livelihood. * *Solon* the famous *Athenian* Ruler made a Law that a Son should not be bound to relieve and keep his Father, when reduced to Penury, if he had taught him no Art or Trade: so necessary was it thought that this should be look'd after by the Parent. And this Care of their bodily Good should be the same to all their Children: they should provide for them alike, because their Love to them (which is the Spring of their careful providing for them) should be alike. It hath been an antient Fault to do otherwise: thus *Esau* was beloved by his Father, and *Jacob* was his Mother's Darling. So *Jacob* loved *Joseph* above all his Sons, which caused the other Brethren to envy him. This is the *unequal* dividing of their Love among their Children, which some Parents are guilty of, but it is very foolish and indiscreet.

The next thing required of Parents, is, that they shew their Love to their Children by giving them due Correction. This we find prescribed and approved of by the Wise Man, *Prov.* 13. 24. & 19. 18. & 22. 15. & 23. 13, 14. And those that have been defective in this, are taken notice of in Scripture, more especially *Eli* and *David*, 1 *Sam.* 2. 23. 1 *Kings* 1. 6. With regard to

* Ἡδὴ δὲ τινὰς ἐγὼ ἴδον
πατέρας, οἷς τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν
μὴ φιλεῖν αἰτίον κατέστη.

which Examples these Words of *Plutarch* might have been truly spoken (in his Excellent Treatise of the Education of Children) * I have seen Fathers whose too much Love to their Children was the Cause that they did not love them. Yea, indeed, he that loves his Child after the rate of those indulgent

Parents, may rather be said to hate him. Gold must be beaten, and Youth must be chastised, saith the Celebrated Jew, *Ben Syra*. Gold, when it is thus handled, is more useful to several Purposes: and in a resembling manner Youth grows better by gentle Stripes. Gentle Stripes, I say, for I am not now defending of any inhuman and cruel Practices. 'Tis true, *Moses's* Law authorized Parents to put their Children to Death, if they were rebellious and wicked. And among the old Greeks and Romans they had Power of Life and Death over their Children. But, since, the Imperial Roman Law hath corrected this, and 'tis voted unnatural and inhuman to be severe to Children, and to rejoice in punishing them. Only, when there is a just Occasion given unto Parents, they are allowed by the Law of Nature and the Divine Law to correct their Children with Moderation. For these are not at their own disposal, but at their Parents, who are to force them to their Duty, if they will not voluntarily perform it out of a true Sense of the Obligation which lies upon them.

The last thing required of Parents is, that they set their Children a Good Example. And then (as an Excellent Man, who had great Skill in the Education of Children, said) * If these would,

* Οἱ τε παῖδες ἂν εἰ
βελοντο, μαδίως πονηροὶ γένοι-
το, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὴ μὴτε ὁρῶντες
μὴτε ἀκούοντες. Xenoph. Cy-
ropæd.

they can't easily become wicked, when they neither see nor hear any thing that is filthy and vicious. Parents are to carry themselves as cautiously and carefully before their Children, as they think their Children are bound to deport themselves in their

Presence. It is a very useful Truth, that a very great Reverence is due to Children: on which account Parents must be very careful of their Behaviour in their sight. These make little Reflections and Observations on their Parents Words and Actions. When Parents think not of it, they comment on what they say, and what they do: therefore these are engaged to carry themselves wisely before them, that those may not be encouraged by their Faults and Failings to offend in the like nature. These little ones by their natural Logick will make shrewd Inferences and Conclusions; therefore we must be

* Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τὰς πατέ-
ρας ἀναγὰς ἐαυτοὺς ἀσφάδεια
τοῖς τέκνοις παρέχειν, ἵνα τῶν
τέτων

wary how we act before them. This is briefly thus expressed by the antient Moralists, * Before all things, saith he, Parents ought to behave themselves blamelessly, and shew themselves an evident Example to their Children, that these looking into their

Lives

Lives as into a Glass, may be drawn off from all base Actions and Words, and know how to dress and compose their own Lives by that Mirrour. This is a brief Account (for I intended no other) of what is required from Parents to their Children.

τέτων εἶον ὡς κατόπιστον
ἀποβλέποντες ἀποτρέπων τὴν αἰ-
σχρὰν ἔργων καὶ λόγων. Plut.
πεὶ παῖδ. ἀγωγής.

Under this Commandment is contained not only the Duty of Subjects, but of Princes, of Magistrates, and all that are in Authority. The King is the People's Liege Lord, as well as they are his Liege People. There are Bonds and Leagues on both sides. As they are obliged to yield true and faithful Obedience to him, so he is under an Obligation of promoting their Good in all things, and of ruling them in the Fear of God. He must take care that his Throne be not the Throne of Iniquity, which frameth Mischief by a Law. But on the contrary, he must provide good Laws for the Ease, Safety and Benefit of his Subjects: and he must see that those Laws be duly executed: otherwise both he and they will be despised. He is to urge this on himself, that he is made for the People, that he is set over them by the Most High to procure their Happiness. Plutarch gives him his Character in short thus, * He is one that is God's Minister or Servant, for the Good and Welfare of Mankind. Especially he is to take care of their Manners, he is principally to be concerned for the regulating of their Lives, it being absolutely requisite to the consummating of his Character, that he be a † Helper of Virtue, and an Adversary of Vice. And truly this is the greatest Advantage of Princes and Kings, that they can do more Good than other Men. Wherefore they are to apply themselves to this with the utmost diligence. And to encourage them in their Duty, they ought to set before them the Examples of those pious and religious Monarchs, David, Asa, Jehosaphat, Josiah, Hezekiah. And to deter them from acting wickedly in that high Station God hath placed them in, it will be useful to call to mind the fatal Ends of Pharaoh, Adonibezek, Eglon, Saul, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Herod, who abused their Royal Dignity and Office.

* Ὑπηρεῖων Θεῷ περὶ ἀνδρά-
πων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, περὶ
Ἀπαίδευσιν.

† Τέτο οὗ ἀρχὸν μοι φαίνεται ἱδ-
ρονδὸς ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς
κακίας. Greg. Naz. Epist. 46.

It remains that I mention what is the Duty of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Persons towards their People and Flock. In the first place, they must faithfully instruct them in the Principles of Religion; they must impart unto them all the Truths of the Gospel, and guard them against those Errors and Heresies which are opposite to them, particularly those of the Church of Rome; for Protestant Ministers ought to instil Protestant Principles into the Minds of their Flock. They must strenuously appear against the dangerous Opinions of Deists, Enthusiasts, Scepticks, Socinians, Pelagians and Arminians; for I join these two last together, because of their near Affinity. They agree in the main, and it may be truly said that Arminianism is Pelagianism in Miniature, it is a compendious Draught of that more spacious Heresy, which was condemned and anathematized in the Fifth Century by the Asian and African Councils. The short is, the People are to be furnished by their spiritual Instructors with right Apprehensions concerning the necessary and essential Doctrines of Christianity.

Secondly, they must be set right as to their Practice. It is incumbent on the Ministers of Christ to urge all sorts of Duties upon them. For the Life of a Christian is a Life of Action, and therefore there is an absolute Necessity of Obedience and actual Conformity to the Laws and Rules of the Gospel. The Reformation of Mens Lives and the Practice of Holiness are the grand Design of the Evangelical Ministry. The great Business of the Pastors of the Church is to fit Men for Heaven and Happiness, which they cannot be capable of without Holiness, and therefore their great Care ought to be to promote This in the Lives of all those who are under their Charge. And this shews the Necessity of sound Principles, of which I spoke before. If we would effectually advance the Practice of Holiness in Mens Lives, we must first instruct them aright. That Man deceives himself, who thinks he can be truly religious without Knowledge. In vain do we call upon Men to be godly, till we have seasoned their Minds with true Notions. No Man's Practice can be good, unless his Belief be right. The Precepts of Holy Living receive Virtue and Efficacy

from true Principles. What tends to make Men Orthodox, doth equally render them pious. But on the contrary, Mens Lives cannot but be ill, if their Belief concerning God and Religion be amiss. Pernicious Doctrines promote Licentiousness of Life. These *Evil Communications corrupt Good Manners*, they foster Vice, and beget impious Practices. Of such great Consequence it is that the Spiritual Guides of Mens Souls should take care to instil into them sound Principles.

Thirdly, it is not sufficient that the publick Instructors be Orthodox, and that they press the Practice of Holiness: This likewise is further requisite, that they teach their People to live well by doing so themselves. The Instructions of the Pulpit must be back'd by their own Practice. They must live as they preach. Ecclesiasticks ought to be living and visible Sermons, and to shew the People in their own Persons an Example of Religious Behaviour.

This is the Summ of what is required of them. And that they may discharge this their Function so as to be accepted of God, it is necessary that they often think of the Last Judgment. Which it is probable is meant by the Apostle in *Heb. 13. 17.* who speaking of the Rulers of the Church, saith, *They watch for Mens Souls, as they that must give an account*; they must one day stand before an impartial Tribunal, and render an account of their Ministry: wherefore they ought to live in continual Thoughts of that Final Judgment, and be thereby effectually stirred up to discharge all the Parts of their Sacred Office with the greatest Care and Diligence. But I have enlarged on this Subject in * another Place, and therefore dismiss it now.

* *Serm. at a Visitation.*

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APPENDIX

TO THE

DISCOURSE

ON THE

Fifth Commandment.

The Character of Good Magistrates
and Rulers,

Grounded on

2 S A M. 23. the latter Part of the 3^d Verse.*He that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the
Fear of God.*

THESE are Part of the *Last Words* of that Pious and Religious Prince, *David*, King of *Israel*: or rather they are the Words of the Holy Infallible Spirit, dictated by the Mouth of this Faithful Servant of the Most High, *David the Son of Jesse, the Man who was raised up on high, the Anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel*. These are the *Elogiums* of this Excellent Person in the first Verse of this Chapter. And in the two next Verses you read that *the Spirit of the Lord spake by him, and his Word was in his Tongue, the God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me*. And what did he speak? He tells us in the next Words, *He that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the Fear of God*.

Here is the brief Character of a *Ruler or Magistrate*: here are summarily couched the *Qualifications* of one that is fit to be in publick Office and Employment. First, he must be *just*, which sometimes is a comprehensive Term, and takes in all Righteousness and Religion: it includes our Duty towards God and Men, and towards our selves: thus it signifies in the largest Sense. But we may take it here in a restrained and more narrow Acception, and so it denotes the great Duties of Justice and Mercy: for *Justice* or *Righteousness*, in the Stile of Holy Scripture, oftentimes includes both these: (And indeed *Charity* or *Mercy* is in it self an Act of *Justice* or *Righteousness*. It is not left to a Man's own disposal whether he shall do Acts of Charity or no: Mercifulness is no arbitrary thing. We cannot
be

be *Just* to our Neighbour, that is, we cannot give him his own, and what is due to him, unless we shew Mercy and Kindness to him when he stands in need of them.) Here then the Ruler's or Magistrate's Duty is plain and obvious: He must be *Just* and *Righteous*, that is, he must be careful to discharge all Acts of *Mercy*, *Charity* and *Kindness*: and also he must be very circumspect in executing *Justice* and *Judgment*, as knowing that due Punishment is the best Charity to Offenders.

Again, 'tis added in the Text, that he must rule *in the Fear of God*. This likewise is a comprehensive Expression, and includes all a Magistrate's Duty: but it may likewise be taken in a restrained and more contracted Sense, and so it signifies the Magistrate's observing the Precepts of the First Table (as that other before mentioned respected the Duties of the Second) it denotes the Ruler's Piety towards God in an immediate manner, his Care of God's Worship and Service, his exemplary Holiness in his own Person, and his Study to promote Holiness and Goodness in others.

Besides, these Words intimate to us the inward Spring and Principle of a Magistrate's Actions and Behaviour: he doth all from an Awe and Reverence of the Divine Majesty: the *Fear of God* actuates him. This excellent Principle stirs him up to do things worthily and bravely, for he considers that he acts for God, and he must give an Account to him of the Administration of his Place. Even the highest Rulers and Governours must answer to the King of Kings. The due Sense of this dreadful Account should deter them from all undue Actions, and quicken and enliven them in the discharge of their Duty. Thus you see what is the Import of the Words of the Text. It contains the grand *Qualifications* of a Magistrate, both in relation to God and Men: It acquaints you what manner of Person a Ruler ought to be.

I will make it my Business at present to enlarge upon this short Character of a Magistrate, and from thence to set before you his true and compleat Pourtraiture, representing him to you not only in the particular Lineaments of the Text, but also adding some others, to render his Image more lively. First, He must be a Person of sufficient *Knowledge* and *Understanding*. Secondly, One that is eminent for *Personal Virtue* and *Piety*. Thirdly, He must be of a *Generous* and *Publick Spirit*. Fourthly, A Man of singular *Zeal* and *Courage*. Fifthly, It is necessary that he be one of *Impartial Justice* and *Severity*. Sixthly, His Justice must be blended with great *Mercifulness*, *Meekness* and *Charity*. Seventhly and lastly, He must be one that in a special manner *takes care of Religion* through the whole Course of his Office.

* Lib. 2.
in 1 Dec.
Liv.

† Φρόνι-
μοι δὲ
καταργή-
ας. Dio.
Cass.

First, I say, the Person who is to preside over the Publick must be a Man of Knowledge and Understanding. I mean not by this any such thing as dishonest Craft, as * *Machiavel* would have a Ruler to be a *Cunning Deceiver*, and accordingly he propounds *Cæsar Borgia* as an Example for a Prince. But this is not to Instruct, but to Corrupt Persons that bear the Royal Character. What was the Commendation of the Emperor *Pertinax*, should be part of every Ruler's Character, that he is † *Wise without Improbability*, that his Prudence is void of Knavery. Nor do I mean by that Knowledge which is required in a Ruler, that he should have the Acuteness of a Philosopher, or the subtle Wit of a Sophist, as 'tis said *Antoninus Pius* had. And they tell us of the Emperor *Adrian*, that he spent his Time, which he ought to have bestowed on serious and weighty Affairs, in asking Satisfaction to trifling Questions of the Grammarians of that Age. This is not the Work of a Publick Governor. No, that which I intend is this, that the Person who is advanced to a publick Station should be Possessor of such a competent Knowledge, as gives him an Insight into his Duty, both as he is a Man, and a Magistrate. He should be no Stranger to the Concerns of his Religion, of his Country, and of the Place especially where his Post is. He should be well instructed in the Principles of the Holy Institution which he professes; he should be acquainted with the necessary Maxims of Politie and Government, with the standing Rules of Morality, with those Civil Laws and Constitutions of the Realm, which are of the greatest and most frequent Use: He should look abroad, and observe the Actions and Manners of other People, but he should more especially inform himself about the true State of Affairs at home. In a word, a Ruler should be more knowing, both as to Religious and Secular Matters, than other Men.

Hence

Hence we read that *Moses*, at the first Instituting and Erecting of Governors over the *Jewish* People, ordered the Tribes to *take wise Men and understanding, to be made Rulers over them*, Deut. 1. 13. And that Kings and Rulers might be Men of sound Judgment and Understanding, they were commanded to study the Law, and to *copy it out in a Book*, Deut. 17. 18. and accordingly we find that Kings were solemnly presented with the *Book of the Law* at their Inauguration, 2 Chron. 23. 11. This would furnish them with the Principles of true Knowledge, and make them really wise and understanding; and such would be the greatest Blessing to the Nation: As on the contrary, such Governors as are void of Knowledge and Wisdom, are threaten'd to be sent in way of Judgment and Curse on a sinful People. *I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall rule over them*, Isa. 3. 4. And again, Ver. 12. *As for my People, Children are their Oppressors, and Women rule over them*. Their Magistrates are in Contempt called *Children and Women*, because they are ignorant and effeminate; because they have no Skill to administer things rightly; because they are weak and shallow, and are destitute of Counsel, Wisdom and Judgment.

All Civilized Nations and Countries have expressed their Sense of this, that Governors and Men in Authority ought to be of good Understanding. In the * *Pourtraitures* of the *Egyptian* Kings, their Crowns and Diadems were twisted * Hor. with *Serpents*, to denote how requisite *Wisdom* is in Persons of that Rank and Station, and in all subordinate Magistrates and Rulers. When our Fore-fathers, the Hieroglyph. *Saxons*, gave the Name of *Koning*, which is synonymous with a *wise Man*, to their Kings, they taught us what was a necessary Property in crowned Heads. † *Tully* † De Divinatione: tells us, that none could be Emperours of *Persia*, unless they were skilled in *Magick*; not that they thought it was a necessary Qualification in their Emperour that he should cast a *Figure*, or be well seen in the *Black Art*: No, all that was intended was this; that he should be a wise and knowing Man; for that was the innocent Meaning of a *Magician* amongst those *Eastern* People. He was to be one that had an Insight into things, and understood the Nature of them, and was able to dive into the Causes and Springs of such Occurrences and Effects as are generally in the World. This was the Meaning of what the Royal *Antoninus* (surnamed the *Philosopher*) used to say, viz. that *Then Commonwealths would flourish, when Philosophers reigned, and Rulers are skilled in Philosophy*, i. e. understood their Duty a-right, and knew the true Reasons of performing it. Such a one was he himself, and such were his Predecessors, *Julius Caesar*, *Cæsar Augustus*, *Titus*, *Adrian*; and such were his Successors, *Alexander Severus*, *Constantine the Great*, *Theodosius the Elder*, *Charles the Great*, all Learned Princes, and therefore Favourers of Knowledge and Learning. And *Justinian's Institutions*, and the *Alphonine Tables*, which were compiled by the Order and Appointment of two Kings, (whence they had their Denomination) one a Lover of the *Laws*, the other of *Astronomical Studies*, let us know how great Incouragers they were of useful Knowledge; for what they could not personally effect themselves they set others about. What was *Tiberius's* Wish when he was chosen to the Throne, that the || God's would give him an intelligent Mind, a Mind furnished with the Knowledge of both human and divine Laws, should be the Prayer of all great Rulers and Governors; i. e. that the Divine Being would bestow this necessary Qualification upon them, that they may have a true Knowledge of him, and of all other things that may capacitate them for the better discharging of their high Office.

If they want this, they are a very ridiculous and shameful Spectacle, howsoever great and splendid their Titles are. Most excellently to this Purpose one of the Antients takes Notice how shameful and absurd it is for him who hath the Ensigns of Publick Authority carried before him, to be a weak and foolish Person. These look very ill together. It is, saith he, a mistaken Vanity, and an † empty and † Vanus insignificant Shew of Honour to shine in Purple, and bear all other Badges of Government, and yet to have a dark and fardid Soul, a Mind destitute of Knowledge and Reason. It must needs be that Wisdom and Understanding are indispensable Requisites in a publick Person, for otherwise you require not that in a Magistrate, which is one of the greatest Accomplishments of Mankind; nay, otherwise even the meanest and most brutish Creatures might be preferred to publick Places; as the *Roman* History tells us, that a besotted Emperour, who had an excessive Kindness for one of his Horses, had a Design to honour him with the Consulship. Felix.

|| Ut ipsi intelligentem humani divinique Juris mentem darent. Tacit. Annal. 1. 4. c. 7.

† Vanus error hominis & inanis cultus dignitatis, fulgere purpurâ, mente fordescere. Minut. Consulship. Felix.

Secondly, to Intellectual and Mental Accomplishments, there must be adjoined all *Moral and Religious Endowments, Virtues and Graces*. One who is to be interested in the publick Administration of Affairs, ought to be eminent for Personal Virtue and Holiness. He must be a Man of an innocent and blameless Life, and of an exemplary Conversation. He is more especially obliged to give an Example of Moderation and Temperance, of Sobriety and Self-denial. He must by no Means bear that Character which an Historian gives *Ninus* or *Ninias*, one of the *Assyrian* Monarchs, that he was *ἀριστος ἐν τῷ φάγειν καὶ βίβειν*, the best Man alive at Eating and Drinking; or which another fastens on some of the *Egyptian* Princes, that

* Sloth had the Ascendant over them, and that they were given up wholly to Recreation and Pleasure, Luxury and Gluttony. These are not the Qualifications of a *Magistrate* but an *Epicure*: Nay, they are not the Properties of a *Man*, but of a *Swine*. Not that that harsh Injunction in some Countries which † *Eusebius* speaks of, that their Rulers and Magistrates should not so much as *taste any Wine* whilst they were in their Offices, is to be commended: It is *Moderation* and *Sobriety* that I am now speaking of. It was an admirable Saying of *Agefilæus*, King of *Sparta*, a Prince ought to distinguish himself from his Subjects by his Virtue, and not by his Softness and Delicacy of Living. This coming from the Mouth of an *Heathen Governor* may justly raise Blushes in the Faces of some *Christian Magistrates*. And || *Plutarch* tells us of *Pericles*, a famous *Athenian* Ruler, that being invited by one of his Company to behold a beautiful Boy that was passing by, he roundly told him, that it became a Man in Authority not only to have his Hands clean, but his Eyes also. This was a remarkable Example in a *Pagan*. Let those who profess *Christianity* write after this Copy. They ought to shew forth all sorts of Virtues and Graces in their Lives, remembering that those who are under their Conduct and Government, will feel the happy Influence and Efficacy of it. “How can he

“ with any Face rule others, saith the * *Roman* Orator, who cannot govern his
“ own Lusts, and base Desires ? Let him first learn to curb his Passions, and to
“ attain to a Sovereignty over himself, and his brutish Appetites, and then let
“ him sway the Scepter over others ; else truly he is not to be reckoned either an
“ Emperor or a Free-man. It is probable, that *Tully* in these Words strikes at *Mark*
Anthony, that voluptuous great Man, who, though he commanded over others,
yet because he was ruled by his Lusts, is not owned by the Philosopher to be a
Free-man, but is reckoned as a meer *Slave*. And is such a one fit to rule over
Free-men ? Or is he to be set as a Pattern and Example to them, who is so bad
himself ? Or will he duly punish those Offences in others which he is guilty of
in his own Person ? These Considerations should prevail with those in Authority
to look to their Lives and Ways, to be very exact in their Conversation, lest o-
thers be hurt by their evil Example. In brief, they should strive to govern them-
selves as well as those that are committed to their Charge ; they must be *Optimi* as
well as *Optimates* : They must think themselves concerned to be of unstained
Morals.

Thirdly, It is necessary that they be Men of *Generous Spirits*. They are now obliged to aim at the *Common Good*, and to espouse the *Weal Publick*. Their Thoughts, Contrivances and Actions must all tend to the Advantage of the *Community*; which they ought to prize and prefer to their own private Welfare. What became them before they were advanced to this Post, will be below them now. Do we not read what great things some *Pagans* did for their *Country*? One leap

leapt into an open Cliff of the Earth, to save the People of *Rome* from a Pestilence that raged among them. Another, the last King of *Athens*, disguised himself, and went into the Battle *incognito*, that he might be sure to die, and thereby to save his Country, according to the Oracle's Dictate, that the King must be kill'd, if the People intended their own Safety. I do not put our Magistrates upon such extravagant Attempts as these; I do not spur them on to such wild Enterprises, but this I urge upon them, that they would act worthily for the Place they preside over, that they would make the Emperor *Adrian's* * Motto their own, that * Non is, *Be not for themselves, but for the Publick*, and make the Welfare of the People their chief Aim. And to this End they must abandon all Avarice and Parsimoniousness, according to that Choice of Magistrates which *Moses* was advised to, that they be such as *hate Covetousness*, *Exod. 18. 21.* Of all Men they must not be sordid, but upon just Occasions shew themselves free and liberal. Men of little Souls and narrow Spirits are not fit for Publick Employment and Government. The Contractedness of their Minds indisposes them for a publick Sphere, tho' they may make a Shift in some tolerable Manner to preside over their Families, and transact the Matters which belong to a private Capacity. But now all private Aims and Designs must be swallowed up in the Publick Good. A Magistrate that contents himself with low and mean things, is calculated only for the Courts of those Princes where *Mutes* and *Buffoons*, *Dwarfs* and *Eunuchs*, are the chief Entertainment.

Fourthly, That Magistrates be fitted for their High Employment, it is requisite that they be endued with Zeal, Courage, and Magnanimity. This is one of those Qualifications that *Jethro* commended to *Moses*, to be observed in the Choice of Rulers; he advises him to provide able Men, *Exod. 18. 21.* or according to the *Hebrew*, *Men of Strength or Valour*; and they must shew their Valour and Courage in discharging their Publick Trust. A Person that is placed in Authority must be bold and daring in a good Cause, and brave the Fury and Opposition of the Wicked. King *Solomon* seemed to symbolize this by the Steps of his Throne, which were on both sides supported by *Lions*, Creatures naturally bold, to intimate that the Empire of Kings is upheld by Undauntedness and Courage. A timorous Spirit is not fit for Government; for he that is a Ruler must not fear the Face of any Offender; but pursue them with Zeal and Vigour: and seize upon Sinners even when they take Sanctuary. The very Look of a Magistrate should strike Terror; which it is probable is the Meaning of what *Solomon* saith, *Prov. 20. 8. A King that sitteth in the Throne of Judgment, scattereth away all Evil with his Eyes. He looks Vice into Disgrace and Disrepute.* But by his Actions he more effectually brings Wickedness and Prophanness into Dislike every where; he doth not tamely suffer himself to be baffled and run down by those whom the Laws of God and his own have authorized him to punish. It is the Magistrates Task to strike especially at those who stare Justice in the Face, and conclude her really blind, because she sometimes seems to wink, and who laugh at her Sword because they do not feel the Edge of it. But draw it forth, and that is the best Confutation of them. Think how unworthy of a Ruler it is to be cold and phlegmatick, to be indifferent and unconcerned, to shew any Cowardise in the Discharge of his Office. He being exalted above others, should think himself concerned to act with that Magnanimity which is not required of them who are in a lower Station.

Fifthly, a Magistrate must be a Man of impartial Justice. He that ruleth over Men must me just; and it is made one Moiety of his Office to do Justice, *Psal. 82.* When a Magistrate takes this publick Employment upon him, he must make it a great part of his Business to acquaint himself with the State of the Oppressed, and to help and relieve them. This I take to be the Import of those Words, in *Prov. 25. 2. The Honour of Kings* (and so likewise of other Rulers) *is to search out a matter, to sift and examine Causes, to hear them with Patience, and then to determine and act according to the Rules of Justice.* To which purpose they must be careful not to give themselves Leave to act according to their own sinister Suggestions or Ends, or to please one Side or Party; but they ought to make the Law their Standard in all publick Proceedings. A wise King, saith *Solomon*, scattereth the Wicked, *Prov. 20. 26.* or, as the *Hebrew* bears it, winnoweth or sifteth the Wicked, makes a narrow Enquiry into their Behaviour, and then it follows, he bringeth the Wheel over them; which is another Way of Speaking, borrowed from Husbandmen, who in those times used to thresh their Corn by the Weight of Cart-Wheels: The plain Meaning is, that the actual inflicting of Punishment is to succeed the due Examination

tion of Causes wherein the Wickedness of evil Men is discovered. Indeed there is no *Authority* but hath a Power with it to *infect Penalties*, else it would be insignificant, and soon despised. There must be a vindictive Power, to keep the Magistrate from Contempt, as well as to execute Justice. And as there is no Respect of Persons with God, so neither ought there to be with those that are stiled Gods: They must be impartial and indifferent in the Administration of Justice. They must not have Regard in Judgment to * *the Golden fingered Man*, or, as our Translators render it, *the Man with a Gold Ring*. The former Reading seems to be the best, and so it denotes that a Judge or Magistrate, or any Person who hath to deal in Judgment, must avoid *Bribery*; he must by no Means have respect to the golden fingered Man, him who comes with a Present in his Hand. Such Magistrates make themselves like the *Persian Kings*, who were never wont to be met by their Subjects, or any other Persons, without some *Gift*. These Men never act but with an Eye to their own private Advantage, and then 'tis impossible but that they should miserably corrupt and pervert all Justice. But he that rules well acts on another Principle, the Love of Right and Justice; and therefore terrifies and affrights Vice where-ever he discovers it, and proceeds to the actual Punishment of it: Which was the Meaning of that of the *Stoicks* concerning their wise Man, † *That he is not merciful, that he forgives no Man*; that is, the Punishments appointed by the Law for Offenders are not to be dispensed with. Magistrates are to throw a-side all foolish Pity and Indulgence, as knowing that it is *Mercy* sometimes to be *severe*. It is one Remark which is left us on the Life of *Julius Caesar*, that || he made the Punishments of Vice more heavy and grievous than they had been before; for he saw that the Restraints made in former times did not prove sufficient in his; Offenders being grown more *bold* or more *cunning* than they were before.

Sixthly, It is the Office of a Magistrate to blend *Mercy* with Justice. It may be observed of *Justinian*, who ordered the Compiling of the great Body of the *Civil Laws*, and was a great Maintainer of Law and Right: That his * *Motto* shews it was his Sentiment, that if *Justice* proves *rigorous* and *cruel*, it no longer merits that Name, but becomes injurious and hurtful to those who have to do with it: Therefore Justice ought to be mixt with Charity. A Magistrate must be a Man of Mercy, Meekness and Clemency. The Fire of Zeal (of which I have spoken already) must not break out into the Flames of Rage and Cruelty. To be inhuman and outrageous, is the Character of a Fury, not of a Magistrate. Rulers are called the *Shields of the Earth*, Psal. 47. 9. their Office is to defend and protect. Thus in that Psalm which speaks particularly of Judges and Magistrates, they are commanded to *defend the poor and fatherless, to deliver the poor and needy, and to rid them out of the Hand of the wicked*, Psal. 82. 3, 4. It is their special Work to relieve the Oppressed, and them that have none to help them, and to cause the Widow's Heart to sing for Joy, as *Job*, by his Example, teaches them. The *Jewish Rabbies* require that their *Magistrates* should be *married Men*, and *Fathers of Children*, and the Reason of it was assigned to be this, That being Parents and having Children, they might be the more inclined to be *kind* and *tender-hearted*. It is certain, that Love and Good Will, and Kind Heartedness, are the proper Ornaments of a Governor; and Rage and Cruelty are his greatest Blemish. The *Kings of the Gentiles*, saith our Saviour, are called *Benefactors*, Luke 22. 25. Thus one of the *Ptolemies*, who was King of *Egypt*, was fir-named *Euergetes*, that is, a *Benefactor*; and *Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, was called by the same Name: And the *Roman Emperors* are often stiled so by *Josephus* and *Philo*, and other Writers. Those who merited well of the

* Οἱ Εὐεργέται τῶ βασιλῆος
ὀρεσάμενοι καλῶν. Herod.
lib. 8.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. c. 1
& 17.

|| Nadib, Job 12. 21. Psal. 83.
11. & 113. 8. Prov. 19. 6.

‡ Domini appellationem ut
maledictum & opprobrium semper
exhorruit. Suet. in Octavio.

King and Kingdom of *Persia*, had the Denomination of * *Orosanga*, which is the same with *Benefactors*, saith the antient Historian. And † another tells us that this was the Word among the People, for a Person that was a great Helper and Benefactor to the publick. Conformably to this, the || same Word in the *Hebrew* signifies both a *Prince* and a *munificent Person* or *Benefactor*; all which intimates to us, that Magistrates and Rulers, and great Men, are to signalize themselves by their Goodness, Kindness, and Clemency. To this Purpose I might observe, that *Augustus Caesar* refused to be called ‡ *Lord*,

lest he should be thought to be *imperious* and *rigid*, and lest the People should think themselves *Slaves*, for that Title might import as much. They must believe

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lieve themselves to be free, tho' they were not. It is apparent then that *Slavery* is a thing detestable, and that the Office of a Ruler is to maintain the Liberties and Privileges of the People, to preserve their Charters and Immunities inviolably. Under Mercifulness and Kindness I may mention *Moderation*. It was *Mecenas's* Advice to the fore-named Prince, that * he would not abuse his Power, nor think it any Diminution of it, if he did not do all that he could do. I will conclude this Particular with that memorable Passage of † *Valerius Maximus*; There is nothing so great, so mighty and magnificent, but may justly call for Moderation to temper and qualify it.

* Μήτ' ἀποχρήσασθαι ποτὲ τῇ
ἐξουσίᾳ, μήτ' ἀνιθῆναι μέωσιν τι-
νὰ αὐτῆς ἢ ἂν μὴ πάντα ἀπα-
ξαρτῶς ὅσα δυνάσται καὶ ποιήσῃς.
Dion. Caff. Hist. l. 52.

† Nihil est tam præclarum
aut tam magnificum quod non
moderatione temperari deside-
ret. Lib. 4. c. 2.

Seventhly and lastly, *Piety* and the *Care of Godliness* are the particular Concern of every Ruler. He must, in his Station and Capacity, take Care of *Religion* and the *Church*. Magistrates are appointed, that under them we may lead peaceable and quiet Lives, in all *Godliness* as well as *Honesty*, in the Discharge of our Duty to God as well as to Men. He that ruleth over Men must rule in the Fear of God. And accordingly we read that Kings and Governors were not only to copy out the Law, but to read therein all the Days of their Lives, Deut. 17. 19. that they might have a Sense of Religion and Piety on their Hearts, and that they might shew it in their Practise. King *David* was an eminent Example of this, and his great Concernedness for Religion appeared, as in other Instances, so in his laying to Heart the Ungodliness and Wickedness that prevailed in his Time. *Rivers of Waters*, saith he, run down mine Eyes, because they keep not thy Laws, Psal. 119. 130. His Instruments of Musick, the melodious Harp and the Organ, wherewith he used to entertain himself, cannot now charm and allay his Sorrow. It is too great to be quelled by such Arts. This Passion is not raised because he is persecuted by *Saul*, or because his Kingdom is unsettled, and his perfidious *Absalom* breaks out in open Rebellion against him, so that he is forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and his royal Palace, and betake himself to the Wilderiness: No, this is not the sad Occasion of his Weeping. Nor doth he weep because Men keep not his Laws, (though it cannot but trouble Kings to be disobeyed) but because they are disobedient to the Commands of the King of Kings; an eminent and noble Pattern for all Sovereigns and crowned Heads. Another remarkable Instance of his Care for Religion we have in Psal. 101. 6, 7. Mine Eyes shall be upon the faithful of the Land, that they may dwell with me: He that walketh in a perfect Way, he shall serve me. He that worketh Deceit shall not dwell within my House: He that tells Lies shall not tarry in my sight; he shall be none of my Retinue. And when Kings will not suffer wicked and prophane Men to abide with them in their Palaces, then good Hopes may be conceived that such Persons shall not stay long in their Territories. After this pious Prince had said, they shall not dwell in my House, he adds, I will early destroy all the wicked of the Land. He begins at home, but ends a-broad. Having solemnly vowed to reform his Family, he proceeds to work a Reformation in his Kingdom; for like a good Prince he makes his own Court a Pattern for the whole Nation.

King *Josiah* was another great and zealous Patron of Religion; he brought forth the Law and caused it to be read to the People, 2 Kings 23. 1. and required the Observance of it. The same sacred Records acquaint us, that *Solomon*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Joash*, *Hezekiah*, took Care of Religion and the Worship of God. So did *Constantine the Great*: * All his Care and Study was about Religion, saith *Theodoret*. † His Palace and Court were a kind of Church, saith *Eusebius*. I might mention those pious Emperors, *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, and others. They were excellent Words of *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, in an Epistle to *Marcellinus*; || We do nothing else in the Heat of War, or in the cooler Retirements of Peace, but consult and order how our good People may most devoutly serve God, and spend their Days in his Worship. *Justinian* begins his Codex with the Christian Religion, the Holy Trinity, and the Catholick Faith. ‡ Our Saxon King *Alured* began his Laws with the Decalogue. When three Swords

* Πᾶσαν εἰς τὰ θεῶα μετέθηκε
τὴν σπουδὴν. Hist. Eccl. l. 1 c. 16.

† Ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις
Ἐκκλησίας θεῶν τρέπον διετίθε-
το. In vitâ Constant. M.

|| Neque enim aliud aut belli
laboribus agimus aut pacis con-
siliis ordinamus, nisi ut verum
Dei cultum orbis nostri plebs
devota custodiat.

‡ Leg. Alur. Reg. c. 1.

were delivered to King *Edward VI.* at his Coronation, as King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, he said there was yet another to be delivered to him: I mean (saith he) the Bible, the Sword of the Spirit. And thus good Kings are mindful of God and his Word, and sacred Laws; and they think themselves obliged to promote and advance

advance the religious Observance due to them. Even *Machiavel's Prince* must be religious, in outward Shew at least, that he may gain the good Will of his People, and thereby have them in Subjection. And the same * Author acknowledges that Rome was more beholding to *Numa*, their religious King, who gave them Laws of Divine Worship, than to *Romulus* their first Founder. It is universally agreed, that it is proper Province and Task of Rulers to be Patrons of Religion, to be nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers to the Church.

* Lib. 1.
cap. 11.
in 1 Dec.
Liv.

Nor can they look for the Blessing of Heaven upon them, unless they be such. Yea, if they cast off the Fear of God, and neglect the Concerns of Religion, they may expect to be blasted and cursed. As we see in two notable Instances, those of *Gideon* and *Saul*, the one a Judge, the other a King; or we may stile the former a King, according to the Acception of that Word in *Judg.* 17. 6. Irreligion proved fatal to them, and made Way for their Ruin and Destruction. *Gideon* was a Man raised up by God to defend and deliver the *Israelites*, and accordingly he did strange and even miraculous things. He was not ambitious of Government, tho' he had by his extraordinary Actions merited it: When he was made Judge and Ruler, he modestly waved, yea peremptorily refused the Solemnity of Inauguration. But that which blasted him and all his numerous Family, was an Act of false Worship and Superstition; he made an Ephod, and put it in his City, and all *Israel* went thither a whoring after it; which thing became a Snare unto *Gideon*, and to his House, *Judg.* 8. 27. A Snare, that is, the Ruin of himself and his House: For tho' it is true, he continued still in his Place and Office, yet he became a meer Cipher, and made no Figure in the succeeding Years of his Government. Nothing prospered after this Violation of the true Religion and Worship of God. His threescore and ten Sons, all lawfully begot, fell a Sacrifice to *Abimelech*, his spurious Offspring, and the Government was usurped by this base-born Son.

The other Example is *Saul*, who was of an eminent Family in *Israel*, of a comely Personage, admired and beloved by all; the first King that God gave to the *Israelites*, and who had the Happiness to be esteemed and obeyed by his People; where-upon he was prompted to undertake brave and worthy things, and he managed them with good Success: He shewed himself a Person of great Valour and Conduct, and the Victories which he gained are recorded in the sacred History. But behold! a gross Act of *Prophaneness* and Irreligion ruined this great Man: He usurped the Priest's Office against the express Law of God; and he spared *Agag*, notwithstanding he was positively enjoined the contrary; and for these Offences he was utterly discarded by God: He never prospered afterwards, he was haunted with an evil Spirit, he consulted with one at *Endor*, he was defeated in Battle, and did what he could to kill himself. These were the direful Consequences of disobeying the King of Kings. This and other Examples (not to name any more at present) may convince us that both Governors and Government are cursed by God for Rebellion against him.

And this further should be considered by Magistrates, that if they act wickedly in their Places, they are hated not only of God but Men, and not only while they live but afterwards. The *Greeks* and *Romans* used to erase the Titles of Tyrants, and to extirpate all Memory of their Names and Deeds. When the Kings were put down by the old *Romans*, a yearly Feast was celebrated to remember and rejoice for the Expelling of them, whence the Feast was called *Fugalia*. *Suetonius* tells us, that at the Death of *Tiberius* and *Nero*, the People ran half wild with Joy; and shewed by all publick Demonstrations, that nothing could be more welcome to them. Princes that govern ill are abhorred in their Life, and when they are dead their Memory is hateful and execrable: But on the contrary, to rule in the Fear of God conciliates Love and Esteem, Respect and Honour; because there is an innate Worth and Excellency in Goodness and good Men, which commands Esteem and Affection; but especially in Rulers and Governors, a religious Example forces Reverence and Veneration even in the worst of Men. It is worth taking Notice of what the † antient Historian relates as a Custom of the old *Egyptians*: Among these People, saith he, when a King dies, and the Funeral Oration is pronounced, nothing is said of him but what concerns his Religion and Piety: There is no mention made of any other thing: This only he is praised and commended for; as much as to say, This is the principal Thing that a Ruler should be eminent for; if this be found in him, he is really worthy of Praise and Commendation, and this alone will make his Name and Memory truly honourable.

† Hero-
dot. lib. 4.

THE

THE Sixth COMMANDMENT.

[Thou shalt not Kill.]

Here the Heinousness of Self-Murder is Demonstrated. Fighting of Duels Condemn'd. The Pleas made for it Remov'd. In what Cases the taking away of another Man's Life is Lawful, and in what Unlawful. The true Account of God's Command to Abraham to slay his Son. The Punishment attending Murder.

IN Treating on this Commandment, I will shew, 1. *What is Forbidden.* 2. I will gather thence, *What is Enjoyn'd.* In prosecution of the former, (which is the Main) I will explain the *Nature* of the Things Forbidden, and annex the *Reasons* of the Prohibition, and shew what is the proper *Inference* from such Premises. I begin with the *Nature* of the Things Forbidden, which are comprised under these two Heads, *Injuring our own Bodies or Lives,* and *Injuring the Bodies and Lives of others.*

First, we are forbidden by Virtue of this Commandment to hurt and injure our own Flesh, to endamage and impair our own Bodily Welfare. This is necessarily implied in the Commandment, for we are bid to love our Neighbours as *ourselves*; and therefore when we are forbid to Hurt and Kill others, (or rather, when it is said without limitation, *Thou shalt not Kill*) it is implied, that we ought to do no hurt to *ourselves*. It is sinful and unlawful to neglect our Bodies, and to be so careless of them as to hazard the healthful State of them.

Here therefore are condemn'd those *covetous Misers* who allow not themselves what is due and fitting, and all such as drudge and slave beyond their Strength, (when there is no necessity that urges them to it) and thereby impair their Healths and Lives, and are *Mammon's Martyrs*.

And on the other side, *Prodigality* and *Luxury*, *Gluttony* and *Drunkenness*, *Incontinence* and all *Excess*, are doom'd here as unlawful, because they are injurious to the Life of Man. And on the same account all indulging of the Passions, and all Discontent and Melancholy, and whatever it is that destroys or endamages the Health, is of a vicious Nature.

Likewise it is unlawful (and by this Commandment render'd so) to wish or desire our own Death out of Impatience and Passion, or any ways to hasten our End. Lastly, to lay violent Hands on ourselves, and to bereave ourselves of Life, is utterly unlawful, and directly forbid by this Commandment.

This being the *chief Thing*, I will largely insist upon it. I grant, that it was generally practis'd heretofore, and not accounted a Fault. Among the *Old Greeks* this was very frequent; yea, their greatest Philosophers are Instances of this, as *Empedocles*, *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Zeno*. And, among the *Old Romans*, *Cato* and many others are Examples of the like. When they were in a strait, or thought they shou'd be Executed by their Enemies, they took the Work out of their Hands, and killed themselves: That was the fashion every where; and Self-Murder was not only practis'd, but defended and applauded by the Learnedest, and some of them the best Men among the Pagans. It was the Opinion of *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, and all the *Stoicks*, that a * *Wise Man* might justly and reasonably withdraw himself (for so they call'd it) out of this Life.

And † *Epietetus* more than once maintains the same. Generally this they held, that, if a Man be very Aged, or be reduced to extreme Want, or be † *Diff. 1.* in great Pain, or under Diseases incurable, he may free himself from them by *c. 9. and* making his way out of the World. *Plutarch* in some of his Writings disallows of *24. Diff.* *2. c. 16.*

* Εὐλόγως τὴ φασιν
ἐξάγειν ἑαυτὸν τῷ βίῳ ἢ
σοφόν. Laert. in Zenone.

† Diff. 1.
c. 9. and
24. Diff.
2. c. 16.

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a Man's killing himself, but at other times he plainly favours it, and particularly when he speaks thus in *Themistocles's Commendation*, *He put a period to his Days answerable to his former Great Deeds, and to make a Conclusion suitable to the whole course of his Life*, i. e. he dispatch'd himself by drinking Bull's Blood, or taking Poyson. The Great *Antoninus* was tainted with this piece of *Stoicism*; If things go

* *πότε καὶ τὴν ζῆν ἐξίθι.*
Lib. 5. *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἐκ τῆ*
ζῆν. Lib. 8.

† *Patent undiq; ad liber-*
tatem via multæ, breves,
faciles: agamus Deo gra-
tias quod nemo in vita
teneri potest, Ep. 12.

(a) Ep. 17. 26. 58. 69. 70.

(b) l. 3. c. 2. de *Fortitudine.*

amiss, and you are weary of the World, you have his free leave to go out of it as soon as you please; nay, he * bids you be gone.

Tully in the first Book of his *Offices*, defends *Cato's* killing of himself. *Seneca* allows of this Practice in many Places of his Epistles.

(a) *There are many short and easy Ways* (saith he) *to free ourselves from the Troubles and Miseries of this Life: Let us thank God that no*

Man is compell'd to live whether he will or no. And at several (a) o-

ther times he asserts it to be a *Laudable thing* to lay Violent Hands

on one's self. Among the Instances of *Fortitude* recounted by (b) *Vale-*
rius Maximus, some are those that used Violence toward themselves.

From all which 'tis evident, that *Self-Murder* was allow'd of, yea, reckon'd as a piece of Gallantry among the *Pagans*.

And yet, notwithstanding this, I shall make it appear that this is a very *Unlawful* and *Vicious Practice*, and to be abhorr'd by every one that hath any sense of Religion, and fear of the Almighty, and therefore is justly condemn'd in this Commandment.

First, It is a Sin against ourselves, and against that natural Principle of *Self-Love* and *Self-Preservation* which is implanted in us, and which is the Rule of our Love to others. For no Man ever yet hated his own *Flesh*, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as the Apostle expresseth this Principle of *Self-Love* and the Practice that ensues it, *Eph. 5. 29.* No Man ever yet did so, who acted according to this imbred and Natural dictate of his Mind. Which renders the Sin the more heinous, because it is a plain contradiction to the Law of Nature.

Secondly, This is a Crime against others, as well as against ourselves. For the Community hath a share in us, and therefore when we destroy ourselves, we injure the Publick. And then more especially we wrong the Family, which hath an Interest in us, and we more nearly offend against our Friends and Relatives, who are more intimately concern'd in us, and of whom we are a part. This makes the using of Violence to ourselves to be a very unnatural and monstrous Thing.

* *Ἀυτοφονεύτης ἐστὶν ἐαυτῆς καὶ τῆς τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἐχθρός.*
Can. Apost. 21.

† *Διότι τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ κτημάτων καὶ κερμηλίων καὶ ἐν ἑστέρας ἐξέπρεπεσεν, ὥστε θεοειδέσθαι ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου.* Philo de Legib. Specialib.

Thirdly, This is a Crime against God, as well as against ourselves and our Brethren. What is said of him that Maims himself, is much more true of the Person that bereaves himself of Life, * *He is a Self-slayer, and an Enemy of the Workman-*

ship of God. And this Workmanship is no less than the Image of God, for in the Image of God made he man, *Gen. 9. 6.* And consequently *Self-Murder* is a defacing

of part of that Image, and a striking at God in Effigie. The Excellent *Philo* expresses himself thus, † *To kill a Man* (saith he) *is Sacrilege, and the*

worst of Sacrileges, because of all the Precious things in the World, none is more Sacred and God-like than Man. Again, this is a direct and im-

mediate Offence against God, because it is an usurping on his right and proper Authority; for he only can dispose of Man's Life. The

Reason is, because he is the Author and Giver of it, and therefore he only can take it away. Wherefore *Self-Murder* is as it were the

wresting that Right and Power out of God's Hands. It is a quarrelling with his Sovereignty, and an impious derogation from his Power of Life and Death.

Further, this is an Offence against God, because it is a distrust of his Providence, and his Management of future Events. It was usual with the *Indian Brachmans* of old, to put a period to their Lives when they had a mind, to prevent (as they alledg'd) *Sickness*, or any other Calamity whatsoever, or when they were old and weary of their Lives; for they were unwilling to trust God in such Cases. *Vibius Virius*, a Roman Senator, prevail'd with Twenty four Senators to drink Poyson with him, before *Hannibal* entred the City of *Capua*, and so they died Unanimously with resentments of their Country's deplorable condition, but were not so Religious as to confide in the *Divine Providence*. *Cato* fell on his Sword and slew himself, that he might not fall into the Hands of *Julius Cesar*. *Demosthenes* drank Poyson, and ended his Life, that he might be sure not to be apprehended. *Cleopatra* kill'd herself that she might not be taken by *Augustus*. And others have dispatch'd them-

themselves on the like Grounds, namely, because they were uncertain of the future event of Things, and they had not Faith enough to rely on the Divine Conduct, and depend on him who governs the World.

Fourthly, This must be voted to be a very heinous Offence, if we respect the Source and Principles (besides *Distrust*, which I spoke of before) from whence it's deriv'd. As generally, from *Fear* and *Cowardise*, which possessing the Minds of some Men, have caused them to make all the haste they could out of the World, lest they should be overtaken with the Miseries that attend it. Even the Antient Roman Courage was stain'd with this Pusillanimity, their bravest Captains and Heroes cowardly ran away from Danger, that is, they ran out of the World. And Thousands have done the like on the same base Principle, upon foresight of some impendent Evil they have presently dispatched themselves. This argues a poor impotent Spirit: But on the contrary, 'tis truly Brave to bear Distress and Calamity contentedly.

* *Fortiiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

* Mart.
Epigr.

It is a sign of a great Courage and Magnanimity to out-live the loss of all Riches, Health, Friends, and all Worldly Conveniencies.

Another ill Principle, from whence Self-Murder proceeds, is *Pride*. Some of the former Instances and others, may be reduced to this, for *Cowardise* and *Pride* are often coupled together. A Haughty and a Dastardly Spirit meet in the same Persons. Hannibal beaten by Scipio, scorn'd to see himself in Disgrace, and Poyson'd himself. Mark Antony and Cleopatra being Conquer'd by Augustus, scorn'd to survive their Greatness, and to submit to the Conqueror. Yea, it is probable that Cato slew himself in an Arrogant Humour, being loth to truckle to him who had vanquished Pompey.

Another Source of this wicked Practise is *Impatience* and *Discontent*: When these are deeply rooted in Mens Minds, they sometimes put them upon this fatal Enterprize. Thus Pilate, turn'd out of his Place, and fallen under the Emperor's Displeasure, abandon'd the World. Themistocles, the famous and renown'd Captain of the Athenians, being Banished by them, and brought into Disgrace and Poverty, sought for a redress of his Melancholy by Poyson. Porcia, when she heard of the untimely Death of her Husband Brutus, like Cato's own Daughter, put an end to her Life by swallowing burning Coals. And *Discontent* is the general and the most common Spring of this Evil I am speaking of. Persons are displeas'd with the Circumstances of their Life, and have not Patience to bear them, and therefore attempt a remedy by Death. We have frequent Instances of this daily; and the professed * *Deists* among the rest, have furnish'd us of late with an Example or two.

* Blount
& Hamb-
den.

Lastly, When *Discontent* and *Impatience* ripen into *Despair*, the Persons thus possess'd, do often fling themselves out of the World, and will not be perswaded to stay here any longer. Which was the Case of those cursed Male-contents, Saul, Achitophel, and Judas.

And now, after all these brief Hints, I question not but it will be freely granted that *Self-Murder* is a very great and heinous Crime, and therefore deservedly forbidden. If you ask whether we must wholly despair of the Salvation of those that kill themselves, I answer, If this Violence done to themselves proceed meerly from any of the Causes and Principles before-mention'd, I conceive we cannot entertain any hope of such Persons. And my Reason is, because this is their free and voluntary Act, and in itself Vicious, and they have not time to Repent of it when it is done. Nor do I think that God would suffer any Good and Righteous Man to commit this Sin; nor is it probable that any Good Man can be guilty of it, it being ordinarily inconsistent with the Truth of Grace, and the Favour and Love of God, so far as we apprehend. But we must not judge so severely concerning those whose violent laying Hands on themselves is the immediate Effect of a Distemper'd Body, and a Disorder'd Mind. It is most probable that no Man shall answer for any miscarriage that is wholly caused by the violence of a Disease, or the Distraction of the Brain. The Reason of my Assertion is this, Because whatever Fault is committed in such a Case, it is not a Man's Free and Voluntary Act, and consequently is not his own, and therefore shall not be charged upon him. We

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know then how to resolve that Query, Whether those that are the Authors of their own Deaths are to be excluded from Salvation. It is evident that some are, and others are not: and I have shew'd who they are.

Before I dismiss this Subject, I will answer a double *Objection*, one taken from the *Old Testament*, the other from an *Apocryphal* Writer: The Example of *Samson* is alleged to authorize and legitimate Self-killing, *Judg.* 16. 30. where we read that he pull'd down the House upon the *Philistines* and upon himself, and thereby procured his own Death as well as theirs. Some think that *Samson* did ill in this, and that it was a Fault not to be excused: Wherefore no Man ought to make use of this Example to authorize him in doing the like thing. Neither *Samson* nor any Man else is to be a Pattern to us of what is Vicious and Unlawful. Others endeavour to mitigate the Fact, and tell us that *Samson* did not primarily intend his own Death, but only design'd it as a means to destroy the implacable Enemies of God's Church, and so advantage his Country and Nation; and on that account the killing of himself was Lawful. But this seems to be too nice a way of dealing in this Matter; for we are not to be concern'd about his Primary Intention; we are only to look to the Fact itself, which we find was voluntary and deliberate, and therefore we must conclude that he was the Author of his own Death, and Felon of himself.

I say we must conclude so, unless some extraordinary thing interpos'd; and that is it which I conceive gives the best account of *Samson's* Act, and is the best Answer to the *Objection* about this Example of his. He did certainly lay violent Hands on himself, and was the Cause of his own Death; but he was extraordinarily stirr'd up to it by God, and that took away the guilt of it, and made it to be no Self-Murder. For God, (as I have said before) is the Sovereign Lord of Life and Death, and therefore he can do what he pleases in this Case; he can immediately deprive any Man of Life, or by a particular Incitation and Direction, cause him to use Violence toward himself. And without doubt this is the present Case; *Samson* committed this Fact by Divine Impulse and Inspiration, and by Divine Help, for otherwise he could not have pull'd down the two Pillars that held up the Temple. But he pray'd to God for Strength, *v.* 29. and God answer'd his request, and it was his pleasure to make him the Instrument of the Destruction of so many *Philistine* Lords.

Another Example is made use of, and 'tis that in the Second Book of *Maccabees*, 14. 41. which relates *Razis's* laying violent Hands on himself, that he might escape those of *Nicanor*; and he is commended for that Fact, for 'tis call'd dying *Manfully*, *v.* 42. But this Commendation doth not excuse the badness of the Action, but rather this may be one Argument among others to prove the Author of this Book to be faulty, because he defends an Unlawful Act. On that Character given *Razis* by this *Apocryphal* Writer [*He chose to die Manfully*] one of the Antient Fathers hath this excellent Reflection, * *It had better have been said of him, that he died Humbly: For the former is the usual Elogium given in Heathen Histories, and better becomes Brave Pagans than True Martyrs.*

* Augustin. Cont. ad Ep. Gaud.

Perhaps some may allege here what was done among *Christians* in the Primitive Ages of the Church. We read in Ecclesiastical History, that some Kill'd themselves because they would not offer Sacrifice to Idols. All that can be said is this, that their great and ardent Love to God was that which incited them to do it, and without doubt on that account it met with a Pardon through the Merits of *Christ Jesus*. But we must not entertain an Opinion of the Lawfulness of the thing, for 'tis most certain that in itself it was opposite to the Rules of Christianity. So we read that *Sophronia*, and several others of that Sex, under the Persecution of the *Roman* Emperors, Kill'd themselves to preserve their Virginity. But this ought by no means to be drawn into Example, for it is in itself utterly Unlawful; and no Person is to chuse a Sin before a Calamity.

If it be said, that these Religious and Pious Women had fixed their Minds on the Happiness of another and better World, and therefore were careless of this, and threw away their Lives in hopes of that future one, this will not excuse them; For so * *Cleombrotus*, when he had read *Plato's Phædo*, or *Book of the Soul*, which treats of its Immortality, went and dispatched himself, to go to that better Life. So we are told by † *Seneca*, that *Cato*, the Night before he slew himself, read over *Plato's* Book of the Soul; and yet in that very Discourse, there is a check given to this

* Cic. Tusc. quæst. l. 1.

† Ep. 74.

this *Self-killing*; for *Socrates* is introduced speaking after this manner,
 * We mortal Men are set here in this World, as in a Prison, or Place of
 safe Custody; and 'tis not lawful for us to free our selves out of it, or to
 make our escape out of this Durance. Upon Christian Principles espe-
 cially we are obliged to keep our Station, to maintain our Post, and
 not to leave the World without the permission and allowance of our Lord: For
 we are bought with a price, and are not our own: Both our Bodies and Souls are at
 the command of him that purchas'd them. Besides, we are here to exercise our
 Patience and we know, that hereafter we shall be Rewarded. We must there-
 fore be content to stay here as long as our Lord pleases; we must be upon Service
 till he calls us off. In a word, we must let Death come to us, but we must not go
 to fetch it.

* Ὡς ἐν τινὶ φρουρᾷ
 ἐσμὲν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. καὶ
 οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ ταύτης ἐξέλ-
 θεν ἢ τε ἀποδιδράσκειν.

But Secondly; This Commandment respects not only our selves, but others, and
 those chiefly; wherein not only the Gross Act, but all Endeavours after it; yea,
 all Inclinations towards it, are forbidden; as *Hatred*; for whosoever hateth his Bro-
 ther is a Murderer, 1 John 3. 15. That is, he is a Murderer in his Heart, which
 God chiefly looks after. And all *Envy*; for this Passion (no less than the former)
 lies not idle, but will, if possible, procure Mischief to those that it is fixed upon:
 Whence *Envy* and *Murder* are joyn'd together in Rom. 1. 29. And all undue
Anger and *Wrath* are here forbidden, as Christ himself hath interpreted this Com-
 mandment, Matt. 5. 21, 22. Ye have heard that it was said by them of Old time,
 Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the Judgment. But
 I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his Brother without a Cause, shall be in danger
 of the Judgment. Anger, is a degree of Murder in the Interpretation of the Gospel;
 And in itself it is a disposition to it; for *Wrath* is cruel, and *Anger* is outrageous,
 Prov. 27. 4. and naturally hurries Men to bloody Actions. It is particularly re-
 marked, that *Cain* was very *Wrath*, Gen. 4. 5, 6. and then rose up against his Bro-
 ther, and slew him, v. 8. It is observ'd, that when the Jews were fill'd with *Wrath*
 against Christ, they led him to a Precipice to cast him down headlong from thence,
 Luk. 4. 28, 29. Anger leads to inhumane Practises. That Blood which it raises
 in the Countenance, tells us what it seeks after. It pushes Men on to Revenge,
 and that to Bloodshed. So that *Anger* before God is no less than *Murder*, it
 being a natural preparative to it, and fore-runner of it. Here also might be men-
 tion'd the wishing and desiring of other Men's Death, or the designing and contriving
 of it, which without doubt are condemn'd by this Commandment. Joseph's Bre-
 thren intended his Death, for 'tis expressly said, they conspired against him, to slay
 him, Gen. 37. 18. But an opportunity offering itself, they sold him for a Bond-
 Slave: Yet they were guilty of their Brother's Blood, and may be said to be Mur-
 derers, so far as their Intention reach'd.

There is not only the Murder of the Heart but of the Tongue. For we find that
 reproachful Words are referr'd by our Saviour himself to this Commandment of
 not-killing, Matt. 5. 21. 22. Such reviling Language as *Raca* and *Fool*, makes way for
 actual Violence. He that takes away his Brother's good Name, is in the next ca-
 pacity to rob him of his Life. He that maliciously uses his Tongue against his
 Neighbour, is dispos'd to use a Weapon against him, when he finds opportunity.
Aristophanes, who jeer'd and scoffed at *Socrates* in his Plays, was one of the Con-
 spirators against his Life. They that wilfully defame any good Man, wou'd not
 be backward to send him out of the World. They, who strike at his Reputation,
 will not spare his Life. We have read of some whose Language was murdering:
Archilochus the Poet wrote *Iambics* so bitter, that he, whom he wrote them against
 hanged himself. So *Hipponax*, a Poet of *Ephesus*, composed such sharp Verses a-
 gainst his Adversaries, that he made them dispatch themselves. Tho' all Satyrs and
 Defamations have not this effect, yet they have a tendency to it, or something
 near it. *Lampoons* and *Libels* are justly affix'd to the Statue of *Pasquin* (from whence
 they have their Name) an old *Gladiator* of *Rome*. There is an affinity between
 these and the Sword; these and Bloodshed are nearly related: Especially those that
 use Curses and Execrations, and bitter Imprecations, and those that wish the Ruine
 of the Persons they heap these Curses upon, are to be reckon'd as Men of Blood.
 This hellish Language then is interpretatively Murder, and no Man can doubt whe-
 ther this be forbidden here.

Next,

Next, I am to mention those Actions which are disallow'd of by this Commandment. As First, The *hurting of the Bodies* of others, tho' their *Life* be not concern'd. All willful and malicious maiming of their Limbs, or any part of their Bodies; the depriving them of a Member, or of the Use and Exercise of it; the inflicting of Stripes and Wounds: And, in a word, the impairing of the Bodily Strength and Health of any Person is here forbid. So is all *Oppression, Extortion* and *Persecution*; for, according to that of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, chap. 22. ver. 27. *Her Princes in the midst thereof are like Wolves, ravening the Prey, to shed Blood, to get dishonest Gains*; where 'tis evident, that Tyranny and Oppression in Rulers are *shedding of Blood*, and are a kind of *Murder*. And whoever they are that grind the Faces of the Poor, and delight in making the Needy a Prey, and in inflaming their Brethren, they may be reckon'd as Men guilty of Murder and Bloodshed, not only in respect of the End to which these inhumane Actions tend in their own Nature, but in regard of the inward Malice that lodges in the Heart of the Oppressor, who would *kill outright* if he durst; only he is awed by Laws, and so contrives his Business that he may not incur the Penalty which formal Murder would expose him to.

So likewise to Vex and Grieve the Souls of others, and to make their Lives Uneasy and Uncomfortable, is a degree of Homicide. As we read in *Ex. 1. 14. That the Egyptians made the Lives of the Israelites bitter*: And by other Ways and Courses the wicked *Sodomites* tormented *Lot*, and *vexed his righteous Soul*, 2 Pet. 2. 8. They are justly condemn'd as Men-Slayers, who by Word or Deed disturb and disquiet their poor Neighbours, so that these are weary of living by them, yea, are even weary of their Lives. Masters are guilty here, who are rough and cruel to their Servants, and so imbitter their Lives to them, that they wish they were out of the World. Parents offend here, when they *provoke their Children to Wrath*, (which they are particularly forbidden to do, *Col. 3. 21.*) and continually discourage them, and use them with Severity and Harshness. So on the other hand, Servants are great Offenders when they exasperate and anger their Masters, and make their Lives uneasy by their disorderly and unruly Behaviour, and by neglecting the Service and Employment they are set about. Undutiful and disobedient Children, who vex and grieve their Parents, and render their Lives uncomfortable, and sometimes shorten them, are a sort of Murderers. So are they that detain from the Labourer his just Hire and Wages, and they that circumvent and defraud poor Widows and fatherless Children. Yea, we must reckon in this Number all *Uncharitable* and *Unmerciful* Persons, who are able to succour and relieve the Poor, and yet take no notice of their Condition, and never shew any Kindness to them, but suffer them to perish for want of Relief. The Rich Glutton mention'd in the *Parable* was properly the Murderer of poor *Lazarus*, because he let him Die at his very Door, and refus'd to prevent it by allowing him a few Crumbs of Bread to sustain his Life. He that *Starves* his Brother, *Murders* him.

There are other Actions yet behind, which immediately respect the Life of others. Amongst those I may mention the procuring of *Abortion*, or the hindring what was

* *Politic. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

† *Nobis semel homicidio interdicto, etiam utero conceptum, dum adhuc Sanguis in hominem distillatur, dissolvere non licet.* Apologet. c. 9.

intended to come to Life. For tho' *Aristotle* holds it Lawful, expressly telling us that, * *for the avoiding of too great a number of Children, there must be used some Means that the Fruit may be Destroy'd in the Mother's Womb*; yet this is false Doctrine among *Christians*, and is indeed repugnant to the dictates of right Reason. *Tertullian* delivers the Sense of the Antients, and pronounces this Practice to be downright † *Homicide*.

We are forbid also to countenance and encourage any Persons in their attempts and designs of taking away a Man's Life. He that any ways backs and abets this bloody Action, he that connives at it, is guilty of it. It is rehears'd in our Creed to the eternal Infamy of *Pontius Pilate*, the Roman Governour, that *Christ suffer'd under him*. Tho' he was so far from Condemning our Saviour, that he openly Acquitted him, yet, because he might have saved his Life and did not, he is justly reckon'd as guilty of his Death. He that can hinder the shedding of Humane Blood, and yet wilfully suffers the effusion of it, is in the Accounts of true Reason, no less than a Murderer.

Too much *Severity* and *Rigour* in taking away a Man's Life is disallow'd by this Commandment. An Instance of this in the *Roman* Story is *Manlius Torquatus*, who put his Son to Death because he fought against his Orders, tho' he proved Victorious. So we read of a *French* Soldier, who was the first Man that mounted the Bulwark of a Besieg'd Fort, whereupon ensued the gaining of it: But the General first Knighted him, and then Hang'd him within an Hour after, because he did it without Command. *Julius Caesar* was of another Temper, for when he saw that *Scava*, one of his Soldiers, transgressed in Discipline in the Battle against the *Britains*, but behaved himself with singular Valour, he prefer'd him to a Centurion's Place. But the middle way betwixt both seems to be most Eligible, namely, to disallow of the Action because 'tis without Order, but to encourage the valour which was Successful. And in that latter Instance which I produced, if the General after the Knighting the Soldier for his Auspicious Courage, had unknighted him for the rashness of the Action, I should have liked it better: For to be *over-rigid* in point of a Man's Life, is no ways to be approved of.

Judges and *Jurors*, and Persons concern'd in Courts of Judicature, where Capital Causes are tried, may soon be found Offenders, if they be not very Cautious here: For if they be any ways assisting towards the Condemning of the Innocent, they incur the imputation of Bloodshed. The like do *Physicians* if they carelessly administer their Medicines, and value not the Lives of Men; if they rashly make Experiments on their Patients, and are perfidious in their Art. They must not trust to that old saying in *Pliny*, that the Earth covers the Faults and Errors of Physicians: For if they be wilful Faults, the Grave will not always bury them, and they must another day answer for the Lives of those, whom by their Negligence or Rashness they sent out of the World.

This I will add in the next Place, that to *Engage in an Unjust War* is forbidden in this Commandment, for it is *unlawful Killing*. It is not to be denied that going to War is Lawful when the Occasion of it is Just and Good, *i. e.* we may take up Arms for the defence of our Country, for the preservation of our Religion, Laws, Liberties, Lives, and for the common good and safety of the Nation. But *otherwise* to venture on a War, which may prove Bloody, is altogether unlawful. For here Men are hired to make a Slaughter of others; killing is a Trade and an Art; effusion of Blood in this Case is no other than Murder, and Soldiers are Stipendiary Murderers.

Fighting of Duels falls under the Prohibition of *Killing*: And because it is so common and so pernicious a Practice, I will speak somewhat largely of it. It must needs be a very ill Thing which proceeds from such ill Causes as *Passion*, *Pride*, and *insatiable Revenge*. For let the Combatants pretend what they will, and disguise the Fact with false and counterfeit Names, it is certain, that these are the spring of their bloody attempts. How common is it among Men in our Days, on pretence of an Affront or Injury offer'd to them, presently to undertake to Revenge themselves with their Swords, and shew that they have no more Regard of the Life of a Man, than of the vilest Animal? These, who are not the Masters of their own Lives (as I have shew'd already) absurdly undertake to be disposers of other Men's. (Tho' truly 'tis no Wonder that those Wretches, who in their common Language so often *Damn themselves*, will upon every slight Occasion venture on the *Slaughter* and *Damnation* of others) And this they do in defiance of the known Laws and Constitutions appointed by God in the World. The *Magistrate* is ordain'd by him to vindicate our Rights, and to redress Injuries, but we are not allow'd to do this *ourselves*. The Sword in a private Hand, was never intended to be the decider of Quarrels and Controversies; for private Revenge is Unlawful. It's confess'd, that 'tis not contrary to the Evangelical Rules, to endeavour to have our just Rights maintain'd, or repair'd; but this must be done according to the Method which God hath prescrib'd, that is, we must repair to the Ministers of Justice, and crave their help and assistance. But we must not dare to take *their* Work out of their Hands, and employ our *own* in it. Consequently 'tis Unlawful to fight Duels, for the vindicating of our Interest or Reputation.

But the two grand Things which are pleaded by our Duellists are these, first 'tis *Cowardly*, secondly 'tis *Dishonourable* to let an Affront or Injury go unrevenge'd. The former is much insisted upon by those who pretend to keep up the Credit of their *Valour* and *Fortitude*. If they should put up an Affront, or refuse a Challenge, they should
never

never be able to appear in the Company of Mankind, they should be every where hooted at as *Dastards* and *Poltrons*. But there is no ground at all for this Plea; for 'tis no *true Valour* or *Fortitude* to venture their own, or hazard another's Life in a Duel. If we will give it the true Name, it is *Rashness*, *Choler*, and *revengeful Pride*. This is the Complicate Notion of it; and if we call it *Valour*, we abuse the Word. This is plain from what is commonly known concerning these Persons, they are generally a sort of Men that decline giving Proof of their being *Valiant*, when there is occasion to shew themselves really so. They cannot be *hired* to spend their *Blood* for their Country; and that makes them so profuse of it *otherwise*. And as for their dread of being reputed *Cowards*, they are to be told that 'tis no *Cowardise* to fear God or Hell (yea indeed there is no Person or any thing else to be fear'd) which if they did, they would not wilfully violate the Laws of Nature and Religion, and thereby incur the Displeasure of the Almighty, and hazard their eternal Salvation.

The other Plea, and which is most urg'd by our Duellists is, that 'tis *Dishonourable* to pass by an Affront, and not to demand Satisfaction for it by the point of the Sword. Some of the huffing Fools of the Town will tell you that if they should put up a Quarrel patiently, they should think themselves unworthy of Genteel Conversation ever after, they should be afraid of being kick'd out of the Company of Gentlemen, and they should never be able to look Men of Quality in the Face again. And some of better Repute will tell you, that as they are *Men of Honour* they cannot brook an Affront.

This is a thing that no *Great Spirit* can submit to; 'tis mean and base, and favours of a low and abject Mind; and no one that hath any Generous Blood running in his Veins, will advise a Man to this *Dishonourable* Practise. Thus a false Notion of *Honour* deludes the Duellists; for there is no *true Honour* abstract from *Virtue*: And we are sure that it is not *Virtuous*, but the contrary, to offer or accept of a Combate in the Case of a Private and Personal Injury: For this is the result of heady and precipitant Passion, and is the direct violation of both humane and divine Laws. Now, there can be no *Point of Honour* which is not a *Point of Religion and Law*. And whereas 'tis alleged with great Confidence, that it is Base and Ignoble, and a disparagement to a Person of Honour to Pardon Injuries and Affronts, this is a great mistake, for the Gospel-Laws assure us, that the contrary is Generous and Noble, and is a Proof of Christian Gallantry and Bravery. Nay, we can produce the Testimony of *Pagans* to evidence this Truth, that the not revenging of Injuries, but the suffering them (in some Cases especially) is a sign of a Brave and Heroick Spirit. And this was the *Dilemma* which *Seneca* used, "We ought (saith he) to despise Calumnies and Injuries, " whether they be offer'd to us deservedly, or undeservedly: If deservedly, they " are no Dishonour or Reproach; if undeservedly, then they are a Reproach and " Shame to him that offer'd them, not to him that suffers them." This reasoning of the *Old Moralists* may convince any considerate Man, that, if he understands himself aright, and acts according to the Laws of true Honour, he cannot repell or vindicate an Injury in that way which we are speaking of, for nothing is Honourable but what is *Virtuous*.

Nay, I will appeal to Men of Honour themselves, and be determin'd by their Practise in this Matter. Can any one say, that a Gentleman is bound in Point of Honour to satisfy the Challenge in private Combate, when he reads that *Octavius Augustus* receiv'd a Challenge from *Mark Antony*, and return'd this Answer, that if *Mark Antony* had a mind to die, and was weary of his Life, there were ways enough to Death besides that of *Dueling*? Thus the Challenge was refus'd, and *Augustus's* Honour not tainted, for no Historian ever reflected on his Memory for it. We read that the French King, *Francis* the I. gave the Emperor *Charles* the V. the Lye, and Challenged him to Fight with him: But the Emperor, (and we know what a Warrior and Man of Arms and Honour he was) refused it. And we have a late instance in the *Marshal Turenne*, who, tho' a professed Soldier and Man of Honour, refused the Challenge to a single Combate, given him by the *Prince Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Thus, according to the Sentiments and Decision of the best Judges of Honour and Generosity, 'tis not Disgraceful and Dishonourable to despise these Bargains of Blood-shedding, and to turn them off with a just contempt. For neither Justice nor Honour hang on the Point of the Duellists Swords. This is a Practise that is against the Laws of Christianity, and of Morality itself: And is so far from giving Reputation to the Undertakers, that it is Dishonourable and Infamous: And 'tis well known, that it oftentimes

oftentimes proves bloody and fatal, and more especially to the Challengers and Aggressors who generally have the worst of it in these Conflicts. In a word, those that perish in private Combates are actuated by Hellish Passion and Revenge, and merit the Name (which Sir *Walter Raleigh* has given them) of the *Devils Martyrs*.

I might here examine that *Unpardonable Fault* (as the formention'd Knight calls it) of giving the Lye, which the Duellists pretend is a just Cause of hazarding their Blood and Lives, for the Revengeing of it. It is true, it is Rude to give the Lye to any one, and to a Gentleman it is most Provoking; but tho' it be Rude and Provoking, yet it deserves not Death. I never read, that any *Law-giver* inflicted a Capital Punishment on the Offenders in this kind: And seeing publick Authority never thought this Fault worthy of Death, it must be unwarrantable Presumption in any private Person to slay the Delinquent. Besides, the imputation of a Lye should not be reckon'd so Reproachful to this sort of Men, who make a Practise of Challenging others into the Field, for they are us'd to speak, and even to swear falsely; nothing is more common in their Conversation. There is no occasion for this so tender and delicate Sense which they have of this kind of Injury, seeing breach of Faith and Promise is their known Character. Wherefore we must resolve this Tenderness into their being conscious to themselves of the Sin of Lying and Falsifying; which makes them abhor the Persons who charge them with this Crime, and it will not suffer them to take the Lye any otherwise than on the Point of their Swords.

I will only add this one thing concerning the Practise of *Duelling*, that it is of *Heathenish* Extraction. It was borrow'd from *Barbarous Nations*, who heretofore in dubious Causes, when on both Sides 'twas hard to decide the Matters, committed the decision to the Sword. The *Northern Inhabitants* used to try their Rights to their Lands and Goods by this Way. The *Germans* about the Tenth Century, purged their Innocence, and ended their Quarrels by single Combate; for he that was worsted, was always held to be the Guilty Person. The *Normans*, on their Conquest here, renewed this way of Trial; but it was soon disused and deemed Unchristian. The Church forbid it on peril of Excommunication, and such as died in this Enterprize, were deprived of Christian Burial. But now of late this Inhumane and Unchristian Practise hath been revived, tho' in another shape than what it was before. For generally among the *Barbarous* People the Combate was at the Arbitrement and in the power of the Governours and Magistrates, who appointed the time for those bloody Trials. But now Duelling is grown more Heathenish and Barbarous than it was of Old, for the Combatants of these Times are their own Judges and Executioners, and furiously Encounter one another without the least Examining of the Matter which occasions the Combate. And whereas before, it was some Weighty and Important Controversy that made them draw their Swords on one another, now our bold Gladiators fight upon any slight occasion, and a distastful Word is sufficient to hurry them into the Field, and require each other's Blood.

Thus far we have gone, and yet are not come to the *main Thing* in the Commandment, viz. the *Actual killing of Men*; for we have hitherto mention'd those Things which do hazard and endanger our Neighbour's Life, but do not *always* bereave him of it. Lastly therefore here is forbidden the actual taking away of another's Life, and that unlawfully. For every taking away another Man's Life is not *unlawful*, and therefore is not *Murder*. The Hebrew word *Ratsah* in this Commandment [*Thou shalt not Kill*] signifies *unlawful killing*. Here then it is necessary that I distinctly shew, in what Cases the actual taking away of a Man's Life is Unlawful, and in what Cases it is Lawful.

First then, under the old Dispensation, when God was pleas'd in an immediate way to stir Persons up to effect what he intended should be brought to pass, it was Lawful for a Man to take away another's Life, if he had an extraordinary Impulse from God to do it. Thus *Moses* kill'd the *Egyptian*, *Phineas* slew *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, *Samson* destroy'd the *Philistines*, *Elias* put to Death *Baal's* Priests, *Ehud* stab'd *Eglon*, *Jehojada* kill'd the She-Tyrant *Athaliah*. These are rare and extraordinary Examples, and were founded on the *Jus Zelotarum*, whereby it was Lawful for private Men immediately stirr'd up by God to punish open Wickedness even with Death. This *Right of Zealots* is not now allowable; nor was it Lawfully practis'd always by the *Jews*, and it grew at last to Notorious Villany, as in the *Jewish War*. But I am to speak of what is Lawful under the settled Dispensation of the Gospel, and therefore

Secondly, I assert, that it is Lawful to take away a Man's Life in the way of publick Justice on notorious Criminals. This is to be done by appointed Magistrates and Officers, and as they are such: For these have Authority and Power to punish Malefactors even with Death. To kill without Authority from God, is Unlawful: But Magistrates and Rulers have this Authority derived to them by God, *Gen. 9. 6. 26. 11. Deut. 17. 6, 7. Josh. 1. 18. Rom. 13. 4. Acts 25. 11.* Which yet is denied by * *Socinus* and † some of his Followers. They hold, that no Man's Life is to be taken away, no not his who takes away another Man's Life. But this is a Doctrine opposite to what is deliver'd in the Holy Scriptures, and what hath been practised by all Christian Magistrates in the best Times, and what tends to the Good and Welfare of the Community.

* *Contra Palaeolog. Item, epist. ad Arcislerium.*
† *Ostorod. Inst. cap. 28. Smalc. contr. Fran. disp. 6.*

Thirdly, in a Lawful and Just War it is no Sin to take away a Man's Life. This follows on what hath been said already under the foregoing Head; for War is to be managed by the Appointment of those who have the Rule over us, and therefore if those publick Ministers of Justice (who have Authority from God to revenge Wrongs and to punish Offenders, and that by requiring of Blood, if there be occasion) enjoin us to be Actors and Instruments of Vengeance, we have a Lawful call to it, and we may act in it with a good Conscience. We may kill our Enemies in a Just Cause, because we execute Justice in so doing.

Fourthly, we may take away another Man's Life in Case of necessary Defence, that is, when we are constrain'd to it in defence of our own Lives. Indeed St. *Ambrose* in his Book of *Offices chap. 1.* is of Opinion, that we ought not to Fight against a Robber when we are set upon by him; and he gives this as a Rule, that we must never preserve our own Life by putting another to Death. But this is a Singular Notion, and hath no Foundation at all; for Self-preservation (as hath been said before) is an inviolable Principle of Nature, and this dictates, that we may repel an Invader, an Assailant, an Assassin, any Man that intends to bereave us of Life. And if in repelling and resisting, it happens that we kill him, it is in Prosecution of that natural Principle of Self-preservation, and consequently it is no unlawful Act to take away that Man's Life who will else certainly take away our's by Violence. Thus it is Lawful in our own necessary defence, when we are set upon, and cannot by flight or otherwise save our Lives from the Assailant, to take away his. And the same we may Lawfully do in Defence of our Innocent Neighbour's Life against an unjust Invader. We may kill the Aggressor, if we know that he comes with an intention of Murder.

* *Vim vi repellere omnes leges, omniaque jura permittunt. Cod. Lex Corn. & Lex Aquil.*

This is what Religion and Reason, and * Law allow of. For when the Revenge cannot be had from the Magistrate, then the Magistrates Office is ours, his Sword is deliver'd into our Hands.

Fifthly, this may be done in the necessary Maintaining of Publick Justice, and the Conservation of the Publick Peace. Thus without doubt 'tis not Unlawful to kill a pursued Thief or Robber, who otherwise could not be taken. So a Sherifff or Bayliff warranted to Arrest a Man indicted of Felony, may justify the killing him, if they cannot otherwise take him. These are call'd in our Law a *Necessary Homicide*, and accordingly are not Criminal, if it be found that they are wholly upon Necessity.

Sixthly, If a Man kills a Person by *Chance* or *Misadventure*, this is not to be reckon'd a sinful and unlawful Act, nor is it call'd or reckon'd Felony by our Law, *i. e.* when a Person doing of a Lawful thing, without any evil intent, happens to kill another. When 'tis thus pure *Casual Homicide*, it is not to be esteemed as Murder.

But, excepting these Limitations, there is no taking away a Man's Life but it is to be reckon'd Unlawful, and downright Murder: For it is the wilful killing of an Innocent Person, and that is the thing that is here forbid. Our Law distinguishes between *Manlaughter* or *simple Homicide* (which is killing another in heat of Blood or out of sudden Anger) and that which in a more restrain'd Sense is call'd *Murder*; which according to our Lawyers, is the killing of a Man with Malice prepened or forethought. But in *Divinity* both these ways of killing are *Murder*, and properly so call'd: For tho', 'tis true, this latter is more Heinous than the former, because Deliberation adds to the Guilt; yet the former is an Unlawful killing, and no less than Murder, because it is a Voluntary taking away a Man's Life without just Cause and Reason, without any necessity compelling a Man to it, and without the leave of Publick Authority. These things make it to be an unlawful and sinful shedding of Blood, tho' it be not accompanied with Deliberation and premeditated Malice.

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But here it will not be amiss to take notice of the several *Aggravations* which this Sin is incident to. For, tho' all Murder is the same as to the Essential Nature of it, yet it admits of *Degrees*, first, as to the *Persons* concern'd in it, and secondly, as to the various *Circumstances* that attend it. In respect of the *Persons who commit it*, there is a great Aggravation; as to instance only in Men that are devoted to Religion, or are profess'd Ecclesiasticks and Clergymen. These of all Men are to be freest from Blood, and accordingly a Clergyman is not to intermeddle in Matters of Blood by the *Canon-Law*. Wherefore Bloodshed is worst of all in Church-Men. And this enhances the guilt of the *Roman Clergy*, who, notwithstanding their Character, delight in Cruelty, and like *Vitellius the Emperor* love to feed their Eyes with Bloody Sights. They tell us of *Macarius*, that he repented Six Months for killing a Flea: And *St. Francis* was so pitiful and tender-hearted, that he never killed one of those Creatures, yea he used to gather Worms out of the Way, that they might not be trod upon. But the rest of the *Roman Saints* have been of another Disposition: They have not been backward to put to Death the Servants of God, and to tread on the Faithful. These are they that have been *Drunk with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jesus*. The *Jesuits Order* sprung from *Ignatius Loyola* a Spanish Soldier, a Man of Arms and Blood; and those of that Society have shew'd themselves to be his true Successors. Tho' *Jesus the Saviour of Men* be their Motto, yet they are known (by their Doctrines and Practices) to be Destroyers and Murderers of Men, and so act counter to him who is the great Preserver of Mankind. And this is no fault with them, but at most a Sin of Infirmity: Thus when *Fitz-James* the Bishop of *London* and his Chancellor in King *Henry the VIII's* Reign were call'd into question for Murdering *Hunne* a Heretick (as they call'd him) in *Lollard's Tower*, the Bishop wrote to Cardinal *Woolsey*, beseeching him to stand their Friend and * help their Infirmities. This is very infamous in the *Roman Church*, that their Spiritual Men, their Priests are most forward and zealous to commit Acts of Bloodshed, and most ready to excuse and extenuate them.

* Si potes, Beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates nostras, & tibi in perpetuum devincti erimus.

Again, in respect of the *Persons on whom the Murder is committed*, this Sin admits of great Degrees. As when a *Subject* shall kill his *Prince*, which is the height of Treason in our Law. Or when one shall kill a Person under whose Power and Authority he is, as for a *Son* to kill his *Father* or *Mother*, which hath the particular Name of *Parricide*; or for a *Servant* to kill his *Master* or *Mistress*: Or when a *Wife* shall be the Cause of her *Husband's* Death, which are Petty-Treason according to our Law. So it is a high aggravation of this Sin, if Parents shall Murder their own Children, as the Idolatrous *Israelites* made their Children pass through the Fire to *Moloch*, so as to slay them, *Jer. 7. 31. 32. 25.* And *Herod* by his Bloody Edict against the Infants, was the cause of his own Son's Death. So when a Brother shall fall by the Hand of a Brother, as *Abel* by *Cain's*: And *Abimelech* one of the *Judges* slew 70 of his own Brothers to secure himself in the Government, *Judg. 9. 5.* *Noro's* Name is Infamous and Execrable to all Posterity for slaying his Mother, his Brother, Sister, and both his Wives, his Aunt, his Son-in-Law, and his Instructors and Tutors.

Secondly, not only in respect of the *Persons who commit Murder*, and those on whom it is committed, but also in regard of the *Manners and Circumstances* of it, the Guilt of it is increased. Thus, in the first Place, Bloodshed receives an aggravation, if it be on pretence of Religion: Thus *Jezebel* murders *Naboth* with a Fast: In the Name of God and in shew of Religion the Innocent Man is put to Death. So the Modern Zealots among the *Jews* cut Mens Throats and committed all manner of Outrage under pretence of Religious Zeal. The *Papists* are Notorious for this; they are Drunk with Holy Waters, and Mad with their Superstition, and furiously compel all to be of their Persuasion. Under this pretext the *Spaniards* committed all their Barbarities and Ravages in *Peru* upon the *Indians*: Telling those poor *Pagans* that they brought God to them, whilst with all Cruelty they were forcing their Gold from them. It is the general and avow'd Practice of *Roman Catholics* to exercise Inhumanity and Cruelty towards those that Dissent from them in point of Religion, they Persecute and Kill them, and under the Mask and Disguise of Religion itself. And some *Enthusiasts*, who have usurped the Name of *Protestants*, have done the like, as the *Anabaptists* and others of *Muncer's* Retinue in the Low-Countries, who seem'd to put off Humanity when they put on Religion, and yet carried *Jehovah* on their Banners,

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whilst they pursued the Designs of Blood, under the Glorious shew of promoting the Interest of Christ's Kingdom, they allow'd of, and were actually Guilty of Havock and Slaughter.

Likewise the Sin of Murder is aggravated by the number of the Slain. Those are heinous Criminals who kill by the *Mass*, or *Lump*; whence those vast Slaughters have (I conceive) the Name of *Massacres*. They are murdering by wholesale, and therefore are most Horrid and Accursed.

Again, to Murder under the disguise of Friendship, is a great enhancement of this Villainous Fact. *Joab* spake *Amasa* very kindly, and kissed him, and at the same time slew him. *Judas's* Name is execrable to all Ages for his friendly saluting of his Master, and betraying him to the *Jews* who sought his Blood. Murder committed by Treachery is of the worst sort.

Further, it adds to this flagitious Crime to commend and applaud it. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth highly extolled and magnified the *Parisian Massacre*, as a Noble and Divine Work. *Sixtus Quintus*, another Pontif, in a set Oration celebrated the Praises of *Clement* the Monk, who murder'd King *Henry* the III. of France, and Blasphemously compar'd this Fact with the Work of our Redemption. To Stab and Poyson are *Meritorious*, to be a Russian and Assassine is the way to be *Canonized*. *Garnet* the Jesuite, and other Miscreants that were Complotters in the Gunpowder Treason, pass for Martyrs in the *Roman Calendar*, and their Bloody Attempts give them the *Rubric*. They themselves gloried in that Exploit, and others magnified them as Zealots of an infinite Merit, and such as had the Assistance of an extraordinary Spirit to enable them to appear so undauntedly for the Catholic Cause, or, which is all one with them, the Cause of God. Treason and Murder are Heroic Virtues with the Church of *Rome*: Assassinations and Massacres are Things for which some of them have had Saintship entail'd upon them.

Lastly, it must needs be granted, that Murder is aggravated by Mens sporting with it. Bloodshed and Death in *Abner's* Language are but *Playing*, 2 Sam. 2. 14. *Herod* was not content to Murder *John* the Baptist, but he commanded his Head to be serv'd up in a Charger, as it were part of the second or third Course at that Feast. This was being Frolic with Blood, and making Sport with that Holy Man's Life. The Servants in *Etruria* used * to be lashed to the Sound of a Pipe; The Strokes kept time to the Musick, and they made themselves merry with the Blood of the Offenders. So among the *Romans*, the State of *Servants* was deplorable and miserable; they commonly kill'd them on any slight Displeasure; The breaking of a few Glasses was enough to condemn them to the Fish-Ponds: And sometimes they seem'd to do it for Diversion and Sport. This is all I will say, that as the unjust taking away of Men's Lives is a great Sin, so the doing it in a light and jesting way is much greater, and more profligate. This cursed playing with Men's Lives is not unlike the *Cannibals* Dancing about a taken Stranger, and then devouring him.

* *μαστιγίζουσαι* πρὸς αὐτόν.
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Besides, a Man's Life is the most precious thing he is owner of, and is the Foundation of all other Blessings and Enjoyments: Wherefore all is parted with for this, and all Hardships are undergone to secure this. All the Laws and Constitutions of Magistrates aim at the preservation of this, either directly or indirectly. And he is reckon'd to merit, in the highest measure, of the Community, who can save the Life of a Man, and hinder the shedding of Blood. Whereas on the contrary, he

he is accounted the most *Execrable Wretch* who exposes Mens Lives, or violently bereaves them of them.

Yea further, there is no Humane thing that is so *Sacred* as the Life of a Man. *David* was forbid to erect a *Temple*, because he was a Man of War and of Blood, and was guilty of some *Innocent* Blood; therefore he must not consecrate a House to God; for Bloodshed is inconsistent with what is Holy. The *Pagans* were sensible of this, as we see in *Aeneas*, who being conscious of his being defiled by Blood, would not meddle with Sacred things, but resign'd that Office to another:

*Tu, genitor, cape Sacra manu, patriosq; Penates;
Me bello è tanto digressum, & cade recenti,
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
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He owns that Blood and Slaughter disabled him from officiating in holy Rites; for *Blood* and *Religion* will not cement together. Therefore they labour'd to purge themselves from that Pollution, before they betook themselves to Religious Exercises. It is observable, that whatsoever moveable Thing it is, whether Living, or Inanimate, that occasions the Death of a Man, and is the Instrument of Killing him by Misadventure, is forfeited by our Law, and is the price of Blood, and becomes a *Deodand*; i. e. it is given by the King's Almoner to Pious Uses. The Reason of this is, because the Life of a Man is a thing *Divine* and *Sacred*: Whence we may gather, that the violent taking of it away is Impious, Irreligious and Prophane, and I will add *Devilish*. For this is the work of the Devil in the most proper Sense, seeing we are told that he was a *Murderer from the Beginning*, John 8. 44. By that Suggestion of his, *Ye shall not surely die*, he brought in Death upon all Mankind, and he first stirr'd up *Cain* to lay Violent Hands on Innocent *Abel*. Which is the meaning of St. *John's* Words, 1 Ep. 3. 12. *Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his Brother*. Murderers then are of their Father the Devil; and we need not add any more to express the heinous Nature of this Sin.

But how can there be an intrinsic Evil in bereaving Men of their Lives? And how can it be Impious and Diabolical, seeing God himself dispenseth with it? Yea, he Commands it, as in the Case of *Abraham's* being bid to Offer his Son *Isaac*? If God Commanded him to Kill him, then surely he intended that *Abraham* should do it, and then it may be gather'd thence, that it was not in itself Evil to do so; nor can we think it was the Work of the Devil and of God too.

The short Answer to this Objection is this, That it is grounded on a palpable Mistake, namely, that God intended that *Abraham* should Kill his Son. There is no such thing mention'd in the History: But we may collect from it, that God commanded *Abraham* to Offer his Son, only to try his Faith and Obedience. This appears from God's commanding him the contrary afterwards upon the Experience of his Readiness and Obedience. God had decreed and design'd no other thing than what now happen'd, that is, that *Abraham* should not Offer up his Son. It was not God's Will that *Abraham* should put his Son to Death: The Command was only to Try him. And it is not unworthy of God to do so with his Servants when he pleaseth. This may suffice for an Answer to the Objection, and it effectually stoppeth the Mouths of busy Opposers.

But Secondly, Let us Suppose (what some really believe and maintain) that God intended (tho' upon Condition, they say) that *Abraham* should Kill his Son: And it is certain that *Abraham* understood God's Command to mean no less, and thereupon set about the Work very seriously and in good earnest. Here then upon this Supposal we are to satisfy ourselves, how God could command *Abraham* to slay his Son, and how *Abraham* could Lawfully comply with that Command, since Killing his Son was Evil in itself. We are to know then, that *Abraham's* Killing his Son was so far Accountable, and according to Right Reason, as it was commanded by him, who had Power and Right to Command it. To take away a Man's Life without God's Leave, is Sinful; but to do it with his Leave, is Lawful. And this Leave is supposed in the Cases above-mention'd, viz. Of Necessity, Publick Authority, and War. God then who gives others leave to take away Life, can Himself take it away, he being the Supreme Lord and Sovereign both of Life and Death. He was Lord of *Isaac's* Life, and therefore he could take it away, and appoint whom he pleas'd to be the Instrument to bereave him of it. It was by God's Order that *Isaac* was to lose

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He owns that Blood and Slaughter disabled him from officiating in holy Rites; for *Blood* and *Religion* will not cement together: Therefore they labour'd to purge themselves from that Pollution, before they betook themselves to Religious Exercises. It is observable, that whatsoever moveable Thing it is, whether Living, or Inanimate, that occasions the Death of a Man, and is the Instrument of Killing him by Misadventure, is forfeited by our Law, and is the price of Blood, and becomes a *Deodand*; i. e. it is given by the King's Almoner to Pious Uses. The Reason of this is, because the Life of a Man is a thing *Divine* and *Sacred*: Whence we may gather, that the violent taking of it away is Impious, Irreligious and Prophane, and I will add *Devilish*. For this is the work of the Devil in the most proper Sense, seeing we are told that *he was a Murderer from the Beginning*, John 8. 44. By that Suggestion of his, *Ye shall not surely die*, he brought in Death upon all Mankind, and he first stirr'd up *Cain* to lay Violent Hands on Innocent *Abel*. Which is the meaning of St. *John's* Words, 1 Ep. 3. 12. *Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his Brother*. Murderers then are of their Father the Devil; and we need not add any more to express the heinous Nature of this Sin.

But how can there be an intrinsic Evil in bereaving Men of their Lives? And how can it be Impious and Diabolical, seeing God himself dispenseth with it? Yea, he Commands it, as in the Case of *Abraham's* being bid to Offer his Son *Isaac*? If God Commanded him to Kill him, then surely he intended that *Abraham* should do it, and then it may be gather'd thence, that it was not in itself Evil to do so; nor can we think it was the Work of the Devil and of God too.

The short Answer to this Objection is this, That it is grounded on a palpable Mistake, namely, that God intended that *Abraham* should Kill his Son. There is no such thing mention'd in the History: But we may collect from it, that God commanded *Abraham* to Offer his Son, only to try his Faith and Obedience. This appears from God's commanding him the contrary afterwards upon the Experience of his Readiness and Obedience. God had decreed and design'd no other thing than what now happen'd, that is, that *Abraham* should not Offer up his Son. It was not God's Will that *Abraham* should put his Son to Death: The Command was only to Try him. And it is not unworthy of God to do so with his Servants when he pleaseth. This may suffice for an Answer to the Objection, and it effectually stoppeth the Mouths of busy Opposers.

But Secondly, Let us Suppose (what some really believe and maintain) that God intended (tho' upon Condition, they say) that *Abraham* should Kill his Son: And it is certain that *Abraham* understood God's Command to mean no less, and thereupon set about the Work very seriously and in good earnest. Here then upon this Supposal we are to satisfy ourselves, how God could command *Abraham* to slay his Son, and how *Abraham* could Lawfully comply with that Command, since Killing his Son was Evil in itself. We are to know then, that *Abraham's* Killing his Son was so far Accountable, and according to Right Reason, as it was commanded by him, who had Power and Right to Command it. To take away a Man's Life without God's Leave, is Sinful; but to do it with his Leave, is Lawful. And this Leave is supposed in the Cases above-mention'd, viz: Of Necessity, Publick Authority, and War. God then who gives others leave to take away Life, can Himself take it away, he being the Supreme Lord and Sovereign both of Life and Death. He was Lord of *Isaac's* Life, and therefore he could take it away, and appoint whom he pleas'd to be the Instrument to bereave him of it. It was by God's Order that *Isaac* was to lose

lose his Life, and that *Abraham* was to be the Actor in it. This legitimates the Action. So then God did not *Dispense* (as some think) with *Abraham* as to that Commandment [*Thou shalt not Kill*] for that Commandment is to be understood thus, Thou shalt not Kill by thy own Authority: Thou shalt not take away another's Life without Leave and Commission from God. But *Abraham*, who attempted to Kill his Son, did it not by his own Authority, but by the particular and special Command of God. He was enjoyn'd by God himself to Sacrifice his Son, else he would not have gone about it; else he would not have thought it Lawful.

For this Reason, I doubt not, it was that *Moses* Kill'd one of the *Egyptian* Task-Masters whom he saw severe to his Brethren, and who had been the cause of several of their Deaths (for I do not approve of the Reason which *Philo* giveth, who saith, † It was Lawful to Kill him who lived on the Destruction of others.) I question not but he was commanded, or extraordinarily stirr'd up by God, (which is the same thing) to lay violent Hands on that *Egyptian*: And this was it which made the Fact Lawful, and excused him from the guilt of Murder. Thus the *Israelites* put to Death Men, Women, and Children, in the Nations they Conquer'd, because God commanded them to spare none. When the Great Judge of Heaven had pass'd Sentence on them, the *Israelites* might lawfully be the Executioners. In short, God can take away any Man's Life, and consequently *Isaac's*, because he is Lord of Life and Death. And yet it holds true, that Killing in that manner, and in those Circumstances which I have specified, is Absolutely and in itself Evil, and cannot be Dispensed with: It is Intrinsically Vicious, Wicked, and Enormous.

I proceed next to the *Danger* and *Punishment* which attend this Sin; which is another Reason of the Prohibition. All Sin is troublesome and penal, but this of Murder especially. It lies heavy on the Conscience. The weight of it is felt in a Man's own Breast, and to such a degree that the Sinner is fill'd with Perplexity and Horror, and is even Distracted with them. It hath been known that after the commission of this horrid Fact, the guilty Parties have not been able to enjoy a Minute's Rest, but have shifted from one Place to another, and have rather chosen to be their own Murderers and Executioners, than to live to be their own Tormentors. And as this Sin is most clamorous in the Sinners own Breast, so the Voice of it is heard the soonest in Heaven. *The voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth to me from the Ground*, saith God to *Cain* that first Murderer, *Gen. 4. 10.* All Sins Speak, but this Crieth. Or if some other Sins are Vocal and clamorous, yet the Voice of Innocent Blood is more loud and shrill, and ceases not till God revenges it. The Horns of the Altar, which in other Cases and Crimes were a Sanctuary to fly to, yielded no Security and Protection to the wilful Murderer. But he was to be haled thence by force, to be deliver'd up to Justice; and to suffer Death: Or, if he refus'd to stir, he was to be a Sacrifice on the very Altar he fled to, *Ex. 21. 14.* The strange and astonishing Judgments which have attended this Sin in all Ages of the World, are an evident proof of the Heinousness of it, and of God's Hatred of it.

Tho' *Cain* the first Murderer was reprieved, God being unwilling to shew his utmost Severity at the first, yet how miserable was his Life! for his Doom was to be a *Fugitive and a Vagabond in the Earth*, and to go from Place to Place, haunted with his own Guilt, and tormented with Fear and Horror, suspecting that every one that found him would slay him, *Gen. 4. 14.* By the way, I might observe, that as the Recompense of the first Murderer was being a *Vagabond*, so these two have often gone together since. They Kill, and then fly, and are forced to wander in Foreign Countries, till (as it sometimes happens) they return to take the just Reward of their Demerit which the Law hath appointed. Concerning *Cain* I have only this further to Remark, that we may certainly gather from his own Words, that the Pain and Torment which he underwent for his bloody Crime, were of the most exquisite Nature; for this was his direful Complaint, *My Punishment is greater than I can bear, v. 13.* This intolerable load of Guilt, and the Sense of the Divine Wrath, sunk him into the utmost Despair.

Lamech, of the Race of *Cain*, was the second Murderer in the World, and was very sensible that Vengeance would follow that Sin, *Gen. 4. 24.* *Abimelech*, who Kill'd his Brethren, had it revenged by a Woman, that with a piece of a Mill-stone beat out his Brains, *Judg. 9. 53.* And it is particularly mention'd, that this dreadful Judgment befel him for the execrable Murder he was guilty of. Thus

God

God render'd the Wickedness of Abimelech which he did in slaying his Seventy Brethren, v. 56. Abner Murder'd Asahel, and was Murder'd himself by Joab; and Joab was put to Death afterwards by Solomon's Command. Absalom, who slew his Brother Ammon, had an untimely and miserable End. And King David himself had this Sentence pass'd upon him from God by the Prophet Nathan, *Thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the Sword; therefore the Sword shall never depart from thy House*, 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10. Jezebel, who shed the Blood of the Prophets, and Murder'd Innocent Naboth, had her Blood shed in the same Place where Naboth's was, 2 Kings 9. 36. King Joash, who slew the Prophet Zechariah, was slain himself by his own Servants, 2 Chron. 24. 21, 26.

From the Records of the *New-Testament*, we are informed how that cursed Wretch Judas, after he had betray'd Innocent Blood, presently went and Hang'd himself. And our Saviour himself foretold that *Jerusalem* should be destroy'd, and the *Jews* most miserably treated for their Murdering of Him and the Prophets, *Matt. 23. 31. Matt. 27. 25. Luke 4. 11.* And Ecclesiastical History acquaints us with the terrible End of many of the bloody Persecutors of Christianity.

In *Pagan* Story likewise we may be furnished with Examples of God's Judgments on those who took away the Lives of the Innocent. *Socrates's* Death was revenged in the remarkable and sudden destruction of those who put him to Death. In a short time his Judges and the People were grown sensible of what they did, and slew several of his Accusers. And some of them dispatched themselves; others that Survived, were hated and abhorr'd by all, and none would hold Commerce with them. It is observ'd by *Eunapius* and others, that *Socrates's* Death brought an unheard-of Plague and other Calamities upon the *Athenians*; and that the City never Prosper'd after that, nor the Nation of *Greece*. * *Socrates* predicted this himself, and the event discover'd that he was a True Prophet. Not one of *Julius Caesar's* Murderers lived above three Years after him, and none of them died a Natural Death, saith † *Suetonius*. And (a) another hath observed that they Perished and fell by their own Hands, and by the same Swords with which they did the Fact. I cannot say how pertinently 'tis alleged, that *Tully*, who had written and spoken in defence of that Murder, had his Head cut off, and set up in that very Place where he used to deliver his Orations. But there are other plain and undoubted Instances of the dreadful Judgments of God on those who delight in Blood. *Nero*, who was so Catholic a Murderer (as hath been observed) became his own at last, being first proclaimed by the Senate, an Enemy to the State. The End of Bloody Tyrants hath been generally of the like Nature, as we see in those first *Roman Emperors*. There were but three of them, who were milder than the rest, that died Natural Deaths, but the others either Kill'd themselves, or were dispatched. And a multitude of Examples might be produced to prove, that Blood unjustly shed is avenged with Blood, and that Murder is severely punished.

Lastly, It were easy to let you see how the Providence of God doth visibly and apparently interest itself in the Discovery of this crying Sin. The voice of Blood is so loud and shrill, that it will be heard thro' the thickest Walls, and penetrate thro' the deepest caverns of the Earth. This shall disclose her Blood, and shall no more cover her Slain, *Esa. 26. 21.* The very Brute Creatures have been instrumental in finding out Murders. These vile Offenders have sometimes been discover'd by Dreams; as * our Chronicles tell us, that in the Second Year of King *James* the First's Reign, a Woman kill'd a Person and buried him under a Dung-hill: One of the Town Dream'd that this Man his Neighbour, was Strangled and buried under such a Dung hill: The dead Body was found, and the Woman Apprehended, and upon Examination confessed the Fact. There have been Apparitions for the discovering of Murder. The strange bleeding of Murder'd Bodies, when the Murderer is present, is upon Record, and by this Means the Guilty have been made known. Several Authentic Stories there are of this Nature. And other strange and improbable ways we have read of, whereby these great Offenders have been brought to light and expos'd on the open Stage. So certain it is that Innocent Blood shall be required at the Hands of those that shed it: So certain it is that Murder is signally Animadverted upon by the Divine Nemesis.

* *Diog. Laert. in vita Socrat.*

† *In Jul. Casare.*

(a) *Val. Max. l. 8. c. 6.*

* *Baker.*

I am now obliged in the Conclusion of all, to make some useful *Deduction* from what hath been said. And what should it be but this; If Murder be so great a Sin, and if Blood shall be certainly required of those that have a Hand in it, then it concerns us to bend our utmost endeavour against this crying Sin, which God will so severely punish, and which our own Consciences recoil at. And that we may avoid this horrid Crime, it will be necessary to observe these brief Rules.

First, We are to beware of *Covetousness*, and all greedy desire of Wealth and Riches, and Worldly Possessions. *Naboth's Vineyard* was coveted by *Ahab*, and this put him on contriving *Naboth's Death*. These two Things are said of *Jehoiakim*, *Thine Eye and thine Heart are not but for thy Covetousness, and for to shed innocent Blood*, Jer. 22. 17. There is a near and intimate Connexion between these, and one makes way very frequently for the other. The Avaritious *Judas* sought his Master's Life: The love of Money was the root of that cursed Evil. That we may shun the latter, let us carefully avoid the former.

Secondly, Let us curb *Ambitious* Thoughts and a desire of being Great, lest these administer to Bloodshed. *Abimelech* Kill'd Threescore and Ten of his Brethren to get to the Throne. Nothing is commoner than Killing for Dominion, to get it, or to Hold it. When *Achmet* the Ottoman Emperor died, his Brother *Mustapha* Succeeded him, a thing never known before in that Empire. And there are but few Instances of the like since; for the *Sultans* to secure themselves, cut off all their near Kindred. And in daily Examples of a lower Kind it appears, that Men venture to wade through Blood to Places of Preferment and Dignity; they are tempted to take away the Lives of others, that they may themselves live in greater Splendor and Grandeur, and arrive to vast Incomes and Estates. Which makes it a seasonable Caution, that we indulge not *Ambition*:

The next Direction is, that we put a check to *Lust* and *Lewdness*; for these have too often proved the forerunners of Bloodshed. *Uriah's Wife* is unlawfully desir'd by *David*, therefore he must be taken out of the way, that *David's Lust* may be satisfied. *Herod*, to gratify a Lewd Woman, struck off the Baptist's Head.

Also, be careful to avoid all *Licentiousness*, evil Company, and *Debauchery*, and particularly Excess and Intemperance in drinking; for these proceed in time to this extremity of Wickedness. Experience hath made this too certain and unquestionable, that many of those who have given way to these Disorders, have proved Men of Blood; especially Drunkenness hath been known to have stir'd them up to Blood and Slaughter. Wherefore, in order to our being not guilty of this pernicious Vice, we ought to avoid those Extravagancies with great Care and Circumspection.

Again, be not forgetful to suppress the *inward Springs* and *Roots* of Actual Murder, and those are Pride, Hatred, Envy, Revenge, and excess of Anger; which are indeed themselves a kind and degree of Murder, as I have shew'd before. If you would effectually keep your Hands pure from shedding of Blood, stop up these Springs and Sources of Blood, cherish no Malice or Hatred in your Hearts, harbour no Spiteful or Envious Thoughts there, banish a proud and revengeful Spirit, and subdue all unruly Passion.

This likewise must be adjoin'd, that we avoid the *Outward Occasions* of this Sin, and whatever leads and prepares to it. Christians in the Primitive Times, were not allow'd to be Spectators of the bloody Prizes of the *Gladiators*, in which Murders were not only committed daily, but were made a publick Sport and Game to entertain the People. We should carefully shun all bloody Shews, and inhumane Spectacles, which are Incentives to Cruelty. *Cock-fighting* on this account is an undue Entertainment, and so it is to put any Creature to Pain, and to delight in shedding their Blood, for these make way for Humane Slaughter. *Domitian* by doing Execution on poor Flies with the point of his Bodkin, prepar'd himself for Cruelties on Men. The *Turks* (as fierce as they are) will not hurt or torment any Brute Animal. *Busbequius* (Epist. 3.) tells of a Trades-man among them, that was severely handled by the People, and afterwards by the Public Magistrate, for putting an innocent Bird to Pain. Thus far certainly it is laudable and commendable, as it may be serviceable to prevent further Cruelty. It is good to abstain from these lesser and inferior Acts of Inhumanity, that thereby we may not be disposed to take delight in being Savage towards those of our own Kind.

Lastly,

Lastly, Pray we unto God with great earnestness and fervor, in the Language of the Psalmist, that *we may be deliver'd * from Bloods*, Psal. 51. 14. that we may be kept by the Divine Assistance and Influence from the guilt of Bloodshed and Slaughter of what kind soever.

* Middam-
mim a San-
guinibus.

Thus I have finished the *main* Thing I undertook, namely, to shew what is *forbidden* under this Commandment. It remains that I briefly recount what are the *Duties required*; which we may easily gather from the *Negative* part of the Commandment which I have insisted upon. The *Positive* part of it which concerns *ourselves*, is to take care of our own Lives and Health, and to preserve them by wholesome Diet, necessary Physick, and honest Exercises and Diversions. These are proper Means for that purpose, and we are to effect the same by Contentedness and Serenity of Mind; by a free and placid Spirit; by an Air of Innocent Mirth, and by exact Sobriety and Temperance; and by a Religious and Holy Life, which is blessed with length of Days.

Then, as to *other Men's* Bodies and outwards Concerns, the *Affirmative* part is this, We are commanded here to take care about the Life and Health of our Neighbours. We are to use all means for preserving of their Bodily Welfare, and for the rescuing them from Dangers. Here are commanded Meekness, and Patience, and Gentleness towards those we converse with, preventing of Contentions and Quarrels, promoting of Peace and good Will, Friendship and Concord; and living Quietly and Lovingly with all Men. Here is required shewing of Pity and Mercy to the Poor, and giving Alms to the Needy and Distressed; for hereby we preserve their Lives, and contribute to the Comfort of them. *We must deal our Bread to the Hungry, and bring the Poor that are cast out to our House: When we see the Naked, we must cover him, and we must not hide ourselves from our own Flesh.* And if there be any thing remaining, after what hath been said, which is proper to the *Affirmative* part of this Commandment, it may briefly be summ'd up in this, That we are obliged to study the Safety and Welfare of others, as well as our own; and we are to procure and effect this by all those Ways and Methods which are in our Power.

T H E

Seventh COMMANDMENT.

[Thou shalt not commit Adultery.]

Under this Commandment is shew'd the Unlawfulness of Polygamy and Concubinage, and of Divorce, unless in case of Fornication. The Objections and Exceptions against it fully satisfied. A Resolution of that Noted Question, Whether after Divorce for Fornication, it be Lawful for Man or Wife to Marry any other? The Case of Incestuous Marriages, and the degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity largely Discussed. Scripture, Reason, and the Opinions of the Antients and Moderns produced. The Author's Judgment propounded, and back'd with Arguments. Why he condemns the Marriage of Cousin Germans. Fornication as well as Adultery Unlawful, even before the Mosaic Law. Proper Directions and Helps for the preserving of Chastity.

THE Original Word, which our Translators restrain to committing Adultery, is of a large Signification, and comprizes all Kinds of Uncleaness and Lewdness. So that all Unlawful Lust and Carnal Pleasure is here forbidden, and we are enjoyn'd to preserve and maintain Chastity in every kind and degree. I begin with the Negative part, and am to shew what are the Sins forbidden in this Commandment, and what are the Reasons of this Prohibition.

I begin with the former, *The Sins forbidden*; and First, of Polygamy, or having more Wives or Husbands than one at one time, is here Condemn'd and made Unlawful. For this is contrary to the Primitive Institution and Law in *Gen. 2. 24. A Man shall leave his Father and Mother and shall cleave unto his Wife, and they (or as Christ repeats it in Matt. 19. they twain and no more) shall be one Flesh.* Here it is evident that a Man is to Marry but one Wife: For the conjunction of one Man and one Woman is the first Institution, and which we ought not to vary from. Which shews how unreasonably *Grotius* and *Selden*, and *Bishop Taylor*, assert concerning Polygamy and Concubinage (of which latter anon) that they were not against the Primitive Institution, but were Lawful in themselves, and were no Sins before the Mosaic Law; the Jewish Doctors having taught them to say so, as appears by the Arguments which those Persons make use of, which are generally borrow'd from the Hebrew Writers. But it is more unreasonably asserted by *Mr. Thorndyke* and some others, that Polygamy was not prohibited by the Law of *Moses*; yea, that this Law makes it Lawful to have more Wives than one. This is confuted by that express Law in *Lev. 18. 18. Neither shalt thou take a Wife to her Sister (or one Wife to another) to vex her, to uncover her Nakedness, besides the other in her Life-time.* In which Words there is a plain and formal Prohibition of having more Wives than one. And it is a Copy of that Original Prohibition in *Gen. 2. 24.* before-mention'd. We read who was the first that broke this Law, *Gen. 4. 19. Lamech took unto him two Wives.* This is he that was a Second *Cain*, and committed Murder; and the same Person by his Bigamy became a corrupter of Lawful Wedlock. Others follow'd his Example, and transgressed the first Institution, and that Mosaic Law which back'd it afterwards. Yea, some of the Righteous Patriarchs fell into this Miscarriage, and it cannot be denied that this Practise was permitted to the Jews, for the speedier multiplying of that People.

And

And with *Polygamy* I will joyn *Concubinary*, for a *Concubine* among the *Jews* was a kind of a *Wife*. She may be styl'd (according to the Denotation of the * *Hebrew Word*) a *Half Wife*, or a *Secondary Wife*, or a *Wife-Servant*: For the *Concubine* was in subjection to the *Wife*, and the *Wife* still remain'd *Mistress* of the *Family*; And there was this Distinction between the *Children* of this latter, and of the former, that the one inherited what the *Father* left, but the others were put off with small *Allowances* and *Portions*. The *Concubine* was taken to the *Husband's Bed* with the consent of the *Wife*, that she might bear *Children* in her stead, thus *Sarah* gave her *Handmaid Hagar* to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 16. 2. and this was the first Instance of *Concubinary* that we meet with. He had other *Concubines* besides *Hagar*, as is evident from *Gen.* 25. 6. Afterwards *Jacob* had the like allow'd him by his *Wife Leah*, *Gen.* 30. 9. King *David* was a great *Polygamist*, and had several *Concubines*. And this practise was permitted by God to the *Jews* in order to the multiplying of that *People*, as was said before. But tho' it was thus tolerated and conniv'd at for a time, yet it was not lawful, because it was against the *Divine Institution* above-mentioned, and against a particular *Prohibition* given to the *Jewish People*. It must be asserted then, that the *Patriarchs* *Sinned* in allowing themselves in *Polygamy* and *Concubinary*: For here was no *Dispensation* from God, (which is a suspending, or taking away the *Obligation* of the *Law*, so that the *Person* is *Faultless*) but only a *Permission*, which takes not away the *Guilt*. And this *Permission* was made subservient to the increasing and augmenting of God's *Church*.

* *Pillegesh.* *Concubina,*
a [*palag*] *dividere,* &
[*ishab*] *uxor,* *quasi uxor*
divisa, vel Semy-uxor.

And I am apt to believe, that this was the chief reason why they were so desirous of *Children*, in the time of the *Patriarchs* and afterwards, namely, because of the *Promise* made to *Abraham* concerning the multiplying of his *Seed*, and particularly they hop'd thereby to see that *Blessed Seed*, the *Messias*, who was expected by all the *Faithful*: Yea, it is probable from *Gen.* 4. 1. (as the *Words* may be read) that *Eve* thought the *Promise* concerning the *Seed* that shou'd bruise *Satan* was then to be accomplish'd. All *Good* and *Holy Women* were ambitious of being the *Mother* of this *Blessed Babe*; which might be one reason of *Polygamy*, and entertaining of *Concubines*, even among the holiest *Persons* of *Old*: And the permission of it was by the special *Superintendency* of *Heaven*: For many *Things* are made use of to the great *Ends* of *Providence*, which are in themselves unlawful, and so was this; for it ran counter to that *Primitive Order* and *Constitution*, *They two shall be one Flesh*.

And now under the *Gospel* it is not to be doubted that it is *Sinful* and *Unlawful*: For our *Saviour* pronounces it to be *Adulterous*, *Matt.* 19. 9. *Whosoever putteth away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and marrieth another, commits Adultery.* The marrying then of more than one *Wife* at a time is absolutely *Unlawful*: And therefore, to convince us of this, he brings us back to the first *Institution* and *Divine Order* in the 4th and 5th Verses of that Chapter, *Have ye not read, that he who made them at the Beginning, made them Male and Female? i. e. he joyn'd together one Man and one Woman (and no more) to condemn Polygamy.* And the *Unlawfulness* of this is clear from what the *Apostle* enjoyns us in, *1 Cor.* 7. 2. *Let every Man have his own Wife, and let every Woman have her own Husband.* Which excludes *Plurality* of *Wives* and *Husbands*: For if every *Man* ought to have his own peculiar *Wife*, and every *Wife* her own peculiar *Husband*, then a *Man* is not left to his *Liberty* to have more *Wives* than one, or a *Woman* to have more *Husbands* than one. *Polygamy* therefore is against the *Law* given to *Christians*, whatever practise hath been allow'd of by others. As indeed the *Pagans* were very loose and extravagant in this matter; and even *Plato* himself in his *Republic* favours the plurality of *Wives*. Among the *Indians* at this *Day* many *Wives* are reckon'd a *Privilege*, and he is thought to be the best *Man* who has most of them. The *Mahometan Alcoran* allows a *Man* to have four, and as many *Concubines* as he will. The *Anabaptists* of *Munster* held *Polygamy* to be lawful, and *Bernardinus Ochinus*, and others have defended it. But it is in clear defiance of the *Primitive Law* given to *Mankind*, and in contradiction to that *Law* repeated, renew'd, and confirm'd by our *Saviour*.

S f f 2

Yea,

Yea, multiplicity of Wives is a Violation of the *Law of Nature*: For hereby the equal giving of due Benevolence, which the Conjugal State requires, is taken away, Domestic Peace and Unity are broken, and Emulations, Jarrs, and Quarrels arise; for the Wives will be irritated against one another, not only for the Reason suggested, but also because their Children will cause Division, and the Father's Love and Care will be thought to be Partial. But the having of one Wife excludes all these Evils, and creates Peace and perfect Harmony, unless there be other Things to cause Disturbance.

But some will say, these are Consequences, but not of the intrinsic Nature of Polygamy and Concubinary. I answer, Though they are Consequences and Effects of these, yet these do of themselves, and of their own Nature produce those Effects, and therefore we may justly say, they are Intrinsic to them, and adhere to the very Essence and Nature of them. Moreover, it is according to the Law of Nature and Reason to retrench our Lust toward many: Which is ill provided for, where there is Plurality of Wives. The greater the Indulgence is which is given to Lust, the stronger doth it grow, the more doth it spread itself; wherefore it is advisable to restrain and confine it, it is best to circumscribe it within Limits: For this Reason there was an early provision made against Polygamy by God.

* Περὶ
Πολυγα-
μίας.

Again, *Polygamy* is an Enemy to that *Love* which is required in the *Matrimonial* State; for a Mediocrity of Affection is too little here: Love must be in the utmost degree; it must be Entire and Vigorous, and therefore it is justly confin'd to a Couple only. In *Friendship*, which is the highest kind of Love next to that of the Married Persons, we read but of a Pair: as *Theseus* and *Pirithous*, *Pylades* and *Orestes*, *Nisus* and *Euryalus*. And in the more Serious History, we read of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Laelius* and *Scipio*, *Alexander* and *Hephestion*; and the Sacred Writings mention *David* and *Jonathan*, and other Pairs of Friends. And *Plutarch*, in a *Treatise* of his, gives this as the Reason why one Man cannot have a great number of Friends, and why Love and Friendship run in a narrow Channel, namely, because they loose their Strength and Force when they are divided and dispersed, as the flux of Rivers grows weaker, by their being cut into diverse Arms and Branches. It is so most certainly with the Conjugal Love; it is endamaged by being divided. There is a necessity then of its being contracted and confined, and that to a Pair: For if more share in it, it will loose its Virtue. In Marriage there ought to be the highest Love, and such a Love is best preserv'd between two Persons only: Otherwise it will be partial and languid, and the dividing of it will destroy it. This is the Dictate of Natural Reason: Whence it followeth, that Polygamy is intrinsically immoral. To conclude, There is an Innocent Desire or Lust in Mankind, in order to the propagating of their Like. This being a Natural Motion and Inclination implanted by God, is not vitious in itself and in its own Nature: For what is from God cannot be so. But this Desire or Propension may become Irregular and Inordinate, (and that, several ways, as I shall shew afterwards) particularly in the case of Polygamy, and when it is such, it is Sinful and Unlawful, and it is that which the *Seventh Commandment* forbiddeth.

The Second Thing forbidden is *unlawful Divorce*; as we learn from our Saviour's Interpretation of this Commandment in *Matt. 5. 31, 32. It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his Wife, let him give her a writing of Divorcement: But, I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his Wife, saving for the cause of Fornication, causeth her to commit Adultery, and therefore it is absolutely Unlawful.* And again, in *Matt. 19. 9. I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and shall marry another, committeth Adultery.* In both which places we see, that *Divorce* is made Unlawful, unless it be in the case of Fornication. Whatever the Jews Practise had been, and was at that time, our Saviour tells them that they must not give a Bill of Divorce for any other Cause whatsoever but Fornication or Adultery; for in this Case the Marriage Covenant is violated, and consequently the Conjugal Bond is dissolved, and the Party injured may proceed to a formal Dissolution, namely, by Divorce. This is our Saviour's Doctrine concerning *Divorce*: It ought not to be practised on any other Occasion or Ground, but the Unfaithfulness of the Husband or Wife.

It is true, in two other places there is not the exception of Fornication mentioned; for the Words run thus in *Mark. 10. 11. Whosoever shall put away his Wife and marry another committeth Adultery against her.* And the like you read in *Luke*

16. 18. But, according to the acknowledged Rules of Interpretation, those more General Texts of St. Mark and St. Luke ought to be restrained by the particular Exception of Fornication in the two fore-mention'd Texts of St. Matthew; so that the Exception is to be understood in those other Evangelists, tho' it be not expressed. And therefore from the one as well as from the other, we may conclude that a Second Marriage, whilst the first Parties are living is Unlawful, without any exception but in the Case of Fornication. The plain meaning of Christ's Words in all these Places is, That whosoever procures a Divorce from his Wife, unless she be guilty of Whoredom, and marries another Wife, is an Adulterer.

But there was a Law of Divorce for other Causes besides Fornication, pretended to be extant among the Jews, and it is in Deut. 24. 1. When a Man hath taken a Wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, then let him write her a bill of Divorcement, * and give it her in her hand, and send her out of his House. Where it is probable that by some Uncleanness (which in the Hebrew is matter of Nakedness,) is not meant Adultery; for Death (not Divorce) was the Penalty of that Crime according to Moses's Law; but rather we are to understand by this Expression either some Corporal Defilement, or some Dishonest Behaviour that really deserves Shame, as Nakedness doth. If a Husband found this Turpitude in her, he might be divorced from her. But the Jews stretched this Allowance, and if they liked not their Wives on any Account, they put them away. Rabbi Hillel extends this to any thing that offends the Husband, and particularly tells us, that he may dispose of his Wife, if she boils his Meat too much; and he quotes this Text for it. R. Akiba, † saith, he may do it, if he find one that is handsomer, or more fit for him, according to what is Written, If she find no favour in his Eyes.

* ἀφ' ἧς
καὶ γὰρ
Septua-
gint.

† Gittin.
de Repudiū
Libellis. c.

But all this is a gross Mistake, and a plain perverting of the Meaning and Design of this part of the Mosaic Law: for it doth not in the least allow of Divorce on slight and ordinary Grounds, or on meer Dislike and Averseness. Yea, it doth not command and enjoyn this practise toward a Wife, tho' she be guilty of some Turpitude, some indecent and shameful Carriage, which is short of actual Uncleanness and Unfaithfulness. I say, it doth not Command this Practise, and I prove it from our Saviour's Answer to that Question of the Pharisees, Matt. 19. 7. Why did Moses command to give a writing of Divorcement, and to put her away? Moses, saith he, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffer'd you to put away your Wives. Observe here, that the Pharisees held, that there was a Command from Moses to put away a Man's Wife on the fore-mentioned Occasions: But Christ tells them that Moses only suffered it: And the reason assign'd by Christ is, because of the hardness of their Hearts, i. e. because of their wicked and malicious Disposition, who, if they disliked their Wives, and could not be separated from them, would do them some Mischief: So that Divorce was meerly by Sufferance. There was not a Relaxation of the Law of Matrimony; there was no dispensing with the Obligation to it, but only a bare Permission to prevent a greater Evil among the Jews, namely, the killing of their hated Wives in their Anger, which they were prone to. This Permission then was in favour and pity to the Wife, who, by this means was freed from the Husband's ill Usage; and at her Divorce she was sent away with Provision.

But though this practise was chiefly for the Woman's sake, and exercised on her account, yet it was not wholly on her account; for this usage was executed even by the Women towards the Men: Which I here insert, to obviate an Error taken up by some Learned Writers, that among the Jews a Man might give a Bill of Divorce to the Woman, not the Woman to the Man. Dr. * Hammond peremptorily asserts, That it is no where permitted in the Old or New-Testament, to the Wife to put away her Husband. This Liberty, saith he, is peculiar to the Husband against the Wife, and not common to the Wife against the Husband: Which is confuted from Mark 10. 12. If a Woman put away her Husband, and be married to another, she commits Adultery. Which would not have been said by our Saviour, unless the Divorce of the Man was used (tho' but rarely perhaps) as well as that of the Woman. An Instance of this we have in Josephus's History of the Jews. And among other Nations it was no uncommon thing. The Roman Laws permitted the Wife to give a Bill of Divorce, as well as the Husband. And that this was the usage of the Grecians, appears from the different Names which are given to the Man's divorcing

* Catech.
1. 2. p.
148.

* ἀποπομ- divorcing the Wife, and the Wife's divorcing the Husband: The one was called *
πῆ. Sending her away, the other † leaving him.

† ἀπόλει- But to return to what I had before asserted, tho' Divorce was a common Practise in
ψ15. Pol- the Jewish Church, yet it was by Permission only, and cannot be said to be Lawful:
lux. l. 3. c. 3. yea, it was unlawful and a Transgression of the Moral Law, and a Sin against God, as the Prophet *Malachi* plainly tells the Jews, *Mal. 2. 14, 15, 16.* To gratify their Lusts, they perverted and violated the first Institution and Law of Marriage, which was not only a Positive, but a Natural Law and founded on Reason. And therefore we find that divorces are very unreasonable: And, if they were indulg'd, far greater Inconveniencies would attend them, than unhappy Marriages: For if Divorces were common, Matrimony would be a meer Shew, a new choice of Husbands and Wives would be made on every occasion, an extravagant Liberty would be gratified, Children would be left unprovided for, and Families would be ruin'd: There is therefore justly a Restraint upon Mankind. And hence it is that those, who were directed only by the Conduct of Reason, us'd not commonly to dismiss their Wives for a small Matter. I speak not of that Degeneracy which was among the *Romans*, of which *Tully* was an ill Instance, who put his Wife away because he had a mind to Marry a Young Woman, his Ward, that was Rich. And about our Saviour's time, Divorce was very common, and on any slight Occasion among them; especially the Women threw off their Husbands very fast.

* Juv. Sat.
6.

* Sic sunt octo mariti

Quinq; per autumnos.

But the Old Romans and Grecians very seldom Practised Divorce, and would never permit it but upon very great and weighty Occasions. For five Hundred and Twenty Years after the Founding of the City of *Rome*, there was no Divorce betwixt Man and Wife. The first who practised it was one *Spurius Carvilius* who Divorc'd his Wife because she was Barren: But he receiv'd a † just Reprimand for it.

† Quia nec cupiditatem quidem Liberorum conjugali fidei præponi debuisse arbitrabantur. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

And as for the Christian Law, we know which way it tends, yea, what it hath absolutely determin'd. When this Question was put to our Saviour, *Is it Lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for every Cause?* Matth. 19. 3. he presently refered the Querists to the Primitive Institution in Paradise, *Have ye not heard, (saith he) that he who made them at the beginning, made them Male and Female? v. 4. and Declar'd these twain to be one Flesh, v. 5.* And thence Concludes, *What God hath join'd together, let not Man put asunder, v. 6.* Here the Institution is unalterable; those that are thus United are not Separable, except on the account of violating each other's Bed. Thus Christ the great Law-giver decides one of those great Controversies agitated between the emulous Schools of *Shammai* and *Hillel*. He determines on *Shammai's* Side, that for no other Nakedness than that of Adultery or Fornication 'twas Lawful to Divorce a Wife.

But there are some Objections that are levell'd against this Doctrine, which I must distinctly consider and remove. There seem to be other Lawful Causes of Divorce besides the defiling of the Bed: For first we read that Divorce is allowed by *St. Paul* in Case that the unbelieving Husband will not cohabit with the believing Wife, or the unbelieving Wife with the believing Husband. 1 Cor. 7. 15. *If the unbelieving depart, let him depart: A Brother or a Sister is not under Bondage in such a Case,* that is, they are not obliged by the Bonds of Matrimony. Therefore some conclude hence for the Lawfulness of Divorce in Case of Desertion. But this is a groundless Conclusion: Because it confounds these two, a voluntary Desertion and a Divorce which is by Compulsion. The Apostle speaks here of the former, namely, the wilful going away of the unbelieving Party; and he doth as good as say, if a Heathen or Infidel Husband hath a mind to leave his Wife, let him go, and let the Wife live without him. There is no Necessity of a forcible recalling him, yea it may be better for her to live alone. This I conceive is the Apostles meaning, and therefore this Text is impertinently alleged for Divorce; for *St. Paul* neither bids the Deserted Party proceed to Divorce, nor after the other's going away, to Marry again.

But supposing or granting (with the Objectors) that the departing mentioned in this Text dissolves the Bond of Matrimony, then this is to be said, that this wilful malicious Desertion amounts to that which our Saviour makes the Cause of Divorce,

namely

namely *Fornication*. And thus the Apostle's Doctrine here doth not contradict that of Christ about Divorce. If the Man wilfully relinquishes the Woman, and thereby denies her Cohabitation and due Benevolence, he breaks the Matrimonial Covenant, and by abandoning his Wife, and living with others, he violates the conjugal Fidelity, and brings his Wife under the Temptation of Uncleaness, and doth interpretatively commit Fornication or Adultery himself: And so this obstinate leaving of his Wife without Cause may be judged a sufficient Reason for the Dissolving of the Marriage between them: For *in effect* it is the same Reason that our Saviour renders of it. Therefore when * Canonists and Divines generally assert that *Desertion* is a sufficient Cause of dissolving the Bond of Marriage, it is to be understood thus as I have Represented it, namely, that this *Departing* is accompanied with the violation of the Bed of the Person from whom the *Departure* is made, or else 'tis not true. For according to our Saviour's Doctrine, there is no Lawful Cause of Divorce but *Unclean-*

* Decret.
l. 4. Tit.
19. cap. 7.

ness. But it is objected again (and from the foregoing Text) that *Infidelity* is another good Ground of Divorce. *If the Unbelieving depart, let him depart*, saith the Apostle: Wherefore Unbelief is a Lawful occasion of Dissolving the Matrimonial Knot. The Doctors of the Roman Church, who hold that Marriage is *indissoluble*, yet make this one of the *excepted Cases*, and Found it on the Apostle's Words. But they have no reason so to do; because (as I have shewed already) it is not the *Infidelity* of either of the Married Parties, but the *wilful Desertion* that gives way for Divorce. And besides, the Apostle himself declares expressly that the *Unbelief* of the Husband or Wife is no barr to their Matrimonial State: *If any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the Woman which hath a Husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him*, v. 12, 13. And the reason of his advice is, because by Cohabiting together the Wife may *convert* the Husband, or the Husband the Wife. It is evident then that *Infidelity* of itself is not a Lawful Ground of Divorce.

Another excepted Case, according to the Romanists, is * *Heresy* and *Idolatry*: For these being Spiritual Fornication must undergo the same Judgement with the Carnal one. But if *Infidelity* or *Heathenism* is no Lawful ground of Divorce (as was said in the former particular) we have no reason to think that *these* are.

Another Case in which Marriage is Dissolvable in the Determination of the Church of Rome is, † when Matrimony is contracted and agreed upon (but not consummated) and afterwards either of the Parties enters into Religion, and assumes a *Monastick* Life. And the other Party, who enters not into a Religious House, but is left in the World, may Marry again. The Council of Trent is so stiff and peremptory in this, that it Pronounces a * *Curse* against those that deny it. But this is to make Religion, or rather the Pretence of it, evacuate *Truth* and *Honesty*: As if the being a *Friar* or a *Nun* would Compound for the Breach of ones Solemn Promise: And as if the after-vow of a Monastick Profession was able to Cancel and Null the former one of Marriage.

† Decret.
lib. 2. Tit.
16.

* Si quis dixerit Matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, Anathema sit. Conc. Trid. Sess. 24. Can. 6.

Another Case in which Marriage is vacated is, when the Pope pleases to *dispense with it*. Then (as all the Canonists, and several Popish Divines agree) the conjugal Tye is dissolved, and the Husband and Wife are discharged from their Relations to one another. But I am persuaded that there is no Man will believe that the Pope hath this *Power* till it be proved that he is *Omnipotent*.

Having discussed and settled the main Things relating to *Divorces* which are forbidden in this Commandment which I am Discoursing of, and having shewed that in Christ's Institution there is but one Case wherein there is place for Final and Absolute Divorce; I come now to give a Resolution of that famous Question, whether after divorce for Fornication, it be Lawful for a Man or Wife to Marry any other. This is bandied on both Sides; and first, there are some that take to the *Negative*, and are persuaded that the Person who puts away his Wife for Fornication, cannot Marry again whilst she lives. St. Augustine was of this Opinion, as appears from his Book of the conjugal Good, chap. 7. and his Treatise of *Adulterine Marriages*, Book 2. chap. 4. and 5. and other Places in this Father cited in the second Part of *Decrees*, Cause 32. Quæst. 7. where this present Question is handled. † St. Jerom is plain and express against Marrying after Divorce for Fornication. And so is the Council of *Mile-*

† Ad A-
mand. Pres-
byr.

Writers

Writers are for a Divorce only from *Bed and Board*, in Case of *Fornication*: But they hold Remarrying unlawful.

Others maintain the *Affirmative*, and they have as good Authority on their Side. For Marrying again after Divore is allow'd of by some of the *Antientest* and *Learnedest Fathers*, as we may satisfy ourselves in *Grotius's Annotations* on the 5th Chapter of *St. Matthew*. *Justin Martyr* commends a Christian Woman that divorced her Husband for being unfaithful to her Bed, and Married afterwards. *Tertullian* and *Origen* acquaint us that this was often used and practised in the Christian Church. And it is backed by the Authority of no less than Three Eminent Councils, namely, of *Eliebris*, *Arles*, *Orleans*. It is asserted by the *Imperial Laws*. It is held and practised by the *Greek Church*. Among the *Romanists* those two great Men * *Erasmus* and Cardinal † *Cajetan* have defended it. The *Lutherans* hold the same, and so do the *Calvinists*. And tho' in the Constitutions of our * *English Reformation* at first it was not thought fit to insert this Liberty, yet it was held Lawful by the Spiritual as well as Temporal Lords in Parliament, in King *Edward* the VIth's Reign, and since in King *Charles* the II'd's, and King *William* the III'd's Reigns. So that it is now the Sense of the Church of *England*, that after divorce upon Adultery, it is Lawful to Marry another, as if the offending Party were Dead.

* See the Canons of *Q. Elizabeth* An. 97. and 107. Canon of *K. James*, An. 1604. Where Caution is required by sufficient Sureties, that the divorced Persons shall not Marry again whilst either lived.

And there is a good and solid Foundation for this Sentiment and Practise in those Words of our Lord which I had occasion to make use of before, and were indeed the Ground-work of this part of my Discourse: *Whosoever shall put away his Wife, saving for the Cause of Fornication, causes her to commit Adultery, and whosoever Marries her that is thus divorced commits Adultery*. Where is first a general Rule, Whosoever puts away his Wife, causes her to commit Adultery; and he that Marries her doth so. And then secondly, here is an Exception to this general Rule, briefly expressed thus, *saving for the cause of Fornication*. Now, the exception to a general Rule is contrary to it, and consequently this Proposition is contained in the Words, Whosoever puts away his Wife for Fornication, doth not cause her to commit Adultery, nor doth he, that Marries her, commit Adultery: The exception manifestly implies so much both in Reason and common Use. Nor are the Words capable of any other probable Sense. And this we may gather from the Design and Scope of them: For by consulting the Context we find that it was Christ's intention here to teach the *Pharisees*, that the Marrying of a second Wife, after dismissal of the former, upon any other Cause than that of Fornication, is no less than Adultery: But upon a just dismissal for Fornication, a second Marriage is not Adultery. We may then with the utmost assurance assert, that to Marry after Divorce for Fornication, is not unlawful under the Gospel, but that it is allowed of by Christ himself.

Some will not subscribe to this, but pretend to infer the contrary from Christ's Words: For here, say they, he sets down two Rules, one concerning *Divorce*, the other concerning *Marrying after Divorce*. And the exception concerning *Adultery* is to be applied to the Divorce, not to the Marriage after Divorce: So that it might be Lawful only to Divorce for Fornication, but not to Marry after Divorce. But this is a plain wresting and perverting of the Words: For except the Restraint be referred to *Marrying again*, the Sense would run thus, Whosoever puts away his Wife, commits Adultery; which is false and unreasonable, since it is not the *Dismission* but the *Marriage of another*, that is Adultery. It is clear therefore, that Christ intended to extend the exception to Marrying again, as well as to Putting away. And from such Premises as these, [*Whosoever shall put away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and Marryeth another, committeth Adultery*.] We may rationally make this Conclusion, Therefore he that for so just a Cause as Fornication putteth away his Wife and Marryeth another, committeth not Adultery.

Some make use of the Apostle's Words in 1 Cor. 7. 11. *If she depart, let her remain Unmarried*, and thence infer, that Marrying again after Divorce for Fornication is Unlawful. And this indeed would be a good Inference, if it could be proved that the *Daparting* here mentioned is to be understood of Divorce in the Case of Adultery: But this cannot be proved. Yea, on the other Side it is plain, that this *departing* is meant of Separation for some other cause, as it was usual in those Times, to Separate on slight Occasions. Let not this be among you, saith the Apostle, Let not the Wife depart from her Husband, v. 10. Let not a Bill of Divorce be sued out for every small Disagreement, but if she depart, let her remain Unmarried, i. e. if she be so wilful

wilful as to sue a Divorce on a small occasion, let her not add to her Folly by a greater Miscarriage; namely, by marrying another Husband: For this is Lawful only in the Case of the breach of Conjugal Fidelity. Wherefore I enjoin that she proceed not to second Marriage, but rather that she be reconcil'd to her Husband, as the Apostle adds. Let her use means to gain the Affection of her Husband again, and to live with him as she did before. Thus we see the Apostle's words are no ground for an *Objection* against the Doctrine that I have asserted.

Others object against it from 1 Tim. 3. 2. *A Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife*; therefore he must not Marry again after he hath divorced his Wife, tho' on the account of Adultery. Here they over-shoot themselves: For 1st. These Words may be meant concerning *Bigamy*, or *Polygamy*, and so a Bishop is forbid to have two Wives at once, which was practis'd in those Times. Or 2^{dly}. Suppose the Text is to be understood concerning Divorce, all that is intended is this, that a Bishop must be one that doth not rashly and lightly put away and Divorce his Wife, and take another, according to the Custom that then was. And so St. * *Chrysostom*, and St. † *Theodoret* Interpret the Place. And accordingly it is impossible to argue from it that a Man may not take a second Wife, after he hath dismissed his former for defiling the Marriage-Bed. * Homil. 10. in 1 Ep. Tim. † In 1 Tim. 3. 2.

Lastly, It is Objected by the Popish Writers, that after Divorce for Fornication, it is not Lawful to Marry again, because the former Bond of Matrimony is not dissolved: For this cannot be done but in the Cases which have been reckoned up before. And besides the Apostle is positive, Rom. 7. 2. *The Woman which hath a Husband, is bound by the Law to her Husband, so long as he liveth*, Which is repeated in 1 Cor. 7. 39. And therefore Wedlock is Indissoluble, it being in force till Death; the Matrimonial Bond cannot be Null'd but by God himself; i. e. by the dissolution of Body and Soul. As to the former part of this *Objection*, the Invalidity of it appears from what is said concerning those Cases which are pretended to be exempted, and therefore I need add no more here. And as to the latter part, that the Wife is bound to her Husband as long as she lives, the Answer is, that these Words are to be qualified by Christ's exception of the Case of Fornication: He having established that Exception before, we must needs interpret the Apostle's Words with relation to that, especially if we consider that Fornication or Adultery do in themselves take off the Bond to the Husband or Wife. These untie the Knot, and let the Persons loose, and nothing else can do it. Wherefore there is ground to reject the Determination of the Council of Trent, that the *vinculum Matrimonii* is not dissolv'd upon the Adultery of one of the Married Persons. So much concerning Divorce.

The Third thing Forbidden and Condemn'd by this Commandment, is *Incest*, that is, Lewdness committed with those that are our near Kindred, carnal knowledge of those we are forbid to Marry. For if we must not be joined in Matrimony to those that are nearly Related to us, we must much less commit Filthiness with them. Therefore Marrying or Defiling without Marrying such Persons, is *Incest*. That we may particularly know who these are, they are set down distinctly in the 18th Chapter of *Leviticus*. There the Son is forbid to marry or carnally know his Mother, or his Mother-in-law, or his Father's Daughter, or his Aunt. The Father is forbid to have carnal Knowledge of his Son's Wife, his Son's Daughter, his Daughter's Daughter. The Brother is forbid to Know his Sister or his Brother's Wife. The Man is forbid to know or marry his Wife's Sister, his Wife's Daughter; his Wife's Son's Daughter; his Daughter's Daughter. These are the *Incestuous Degrees* expressly mention'd in the foregoing Chapter; and tho' there is mention only of what is forbid and Unlawful on the Man's part, yet it is easy to supply it on the Woman's. For if the Law forbids the Son to marry or defile his Mother, it is not to be question'd that it makes it Unlawful for the Mother to have carnal knowledge of her Son: And so in all the other Particulars. Here it is observable, that the degrees both of *Consanguinity* and *Affinity* are mentioned, and the *Incestuous* Marriages of both sorts are prohibited.

First, The prohibition is as to *Consanguinity*, or *Cognition* (as the Lawyers call it) i. e. when Persons are near to one another by Nature and Blood. Thus Father and Mother, and their Sons and Daughters, and Brother and Sister, are immediately near a-Kin by Blood. And to these are added by the *Mosaic Law* Uncle and Aunt, to keep Persons further off from the former nearness. Here then 'tis made Unlawful

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ful

ful and Sinful for *Men* to marry their *Mothers, Daughters, Sisters, Aunts*: and for *Women* to marry their *Fathers, Sons, Brothers, Uncles*. It is true, there is no express prohibition against a Man's marrying his *own Daughter*: But because he is forbid to marry his *Grand-daughter*, v. 18. or *Daughter's Daughter*, who is more remote; it is implied, that he shall not be joyn'd to his own Daughter, who is nearer. So 'tis not expressly said a Man shall not marry his *Niece*: But there is an express prohibition against *uncovering the Nakedness of the Father's Sister*, v. 12. Now, if it be Unlawful for a Man to marry his Aunt, there is the same Reason why the Uncle should not marry his Niece. And again, if it be forbid to approach to the *Wife of the Father's Brother*, v. 14. i. e. the Uncle's Wife, then much more is it Unlawful for the Uncle to marry his Brother's Daughter. Besides, if we may not *uncover the Nakedness of a Brother's Wife*, as we read, v. 16. then the marrying of the Brother's Daughter is forbid, because she is nearer to him than his Brother's Wife. It is not to be doubted then that the marriage of Uncle and Niece is Unlawful. *Cousin Germans*, or Brothers and Sisters Children are not expressly forbid to marry, but seem to be by proportion and parity of Reason, because degrees as remote are forbidden, as to marry with the *Uncle's Wife*, Lev. 18. 14. (the Uncle's Son being as near as the Uncle's Wife) or with the *Wife's Daughter's Daughter*, v. 17. which only are of *Affinity*: But the other is of *Consanguinity*. On this account the Marriage of Cousin Germans is Unlawful: For not only by what is expressly set down in this 18th of *Leviticus*; but also by *Reasoning from the Greater to the Less*, we know what Marriages are forbid. We are to interpret one Degree by another, and where the like Proportion is, there the like Judgment is to be given.

Secondly, As we are forbid to marry such as are too near to us in *Nature* (which is *Cognition*, or *Consanguinity*) so we must not be joyn'd to those who are near to us by *Affinity*, i. e. *Marriage*, or in Law. And we may observe, that the Laws of Affinity are just according to those of Consanguinity; that is, we are forbid to marry those, who by reason of Propinquity are reckon'd to be in the place of Parents, Children, Brothers or Sisters: Such are these, a Mother-in-law; a Son's Wife or Daughter-in-law; a Wife's Daughter; the Brother's Wife; the Husband's Sister: And the same is to be said as to the *Men* that answer to these. We do not find that the marrying of the Wife's Sister was expressly forbid, yet without doubt it was forbid according to the parity of Reason, and the 'Analogy of Things. And these prevail in the Interpreting of the Laws of Marriage, tho' there be not a naming of the Relation. It is said, *Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brother's Wife*, Lev. 18. 16. Now, the *Wife's Sister* is as near as the *Brother's Wife*: There is the same degree of Propinquity. The *Wife's Sister* is as near to the Husband, as the Husband's Brother is to the Wife; and the Sister's Husband as near to the other Sister, as the Brother's Wife can be to the other Brother: So that by good Consequence we may gather, that the *Mosaic Law* forbids the marrying of the Wife's Sister: For the *Rule* is, that the prohibition extends not only to the Persons mention'd by *Moses*, but those also who are equally distant in degrees of Affinity or Consanguinity.

Notwithstanding what I have said, it is not to be denied, that some of these Incestuous Marriages were practis'd before the *Law*; yea, some of them in the very beginning of the World; as the Marriage of Brother and Sister: And therefore it may be asked how they came to be Unlawful afterwards, and forbidden as such. In Answer to which I say, *Adam's Children* did then commit that which we now call *Incest*; that is, his Sons and Daughters Married each other, because there were no others in the World; and Mankind could not have been propagated and increased without this kind of Marriage. This was necessary at first, and was even commanded in that Preceptive Blessing, *Encrease and multiply*. The World could not have been Peopled but by carnal knowledge betwixt Brother and Sister. And as there was a necessity of this sort of Marriage in *Adam's Children*, so there was the same in the Children of *Noah's* three Sons, who must either marry their own Sisters, or the Children of their Father's Brethren. So then to marry the Sister was Lawful at first, because necessary. This hinders not but that it may be Unnatural and Unlawful ever after.

But can Necessity make any thing Good or Evil in itself? or can that which was Lawful in itself heretofore, become Unlawful afterwards? I Answer, That as in the Prohibition concerning *Killing*, Necessity and other Circumstances make it Lawful; yet so as *Killing* in other Circumstances remains Unlawful, yea, and is in itself Evil: So it is likewise in this present Case of *Marriage of Brethren and Sisters*. At first it was Necessary, and so Lawful: But afterwards this Necessity was taken away, and there were other Circumstances; and then it was and is Unlawful to Marry thus. For what is Lawful when Necessary, is not Lawful, nay, is unlawful when there is no Necessity. Killing a Man, unless we are Necessitated to it, is in itself Unlawful and Sinful; but when we are Necessitated, it is Lawful. Semblably, the Marrying, or carnal Knowing of Brethren and Sisters is Unlawful, where there is no Absolute Necessity for it; but when there was a Necessity for it, it was Lawful; as when *Cain* married his Sister, &c. The Law of God and Nature then prohibits this Incestuous kind of Conjunctions in certain Circumstances. For this is most certain, that the *sinfulness* of carnal Lust consists in the *inordinate* acting of it, which depends on *particular Circumstances*, and not in the *bare Act* itself. And so concerning all Humane Acts of the like sort, we may pronounce that they include Viciousity in them, as they are determined to such and such individual Objects and Circumstances.

This is a thing that we ought attentively to observe, that we may the better apprehend the full latitude of the *Moral Law*. The difference of *Circumstances* and *Cases* alters the Nature of Actions: As we may see plainly in the Instance of *Swearing*; which is Lawful, or Unlawful, according as it is circumstantiated. It is a Sacred and solemn part of Worship, if it be rightly and duly performed: But otherwise it is taking God's Name in vain, and a Signal Act of Prophaneness. But how can we distinguish these but by the proper *Circumstances*? That is, we Swear Lawfully when we are Lawfully called to it; when there is good occasion and ground for it, as in a necessary and just Cause, when we do it to good Ends and Purposes, and in that reverent and pious manner which is required of us: But on the contrary, if we have no Call to it, if there be not a sufficient occasion; if we propound to ourselves unlawful Ends and Designs; and lastly, if our Oaths be rash or irreverent, our Swearing is Sinful and Unlawful. And so for the circumstance of *Time*, it might be shew'd, that the lawfulness of some Acts of Natural Religion depend upon this. They are not always to be done, but only upon such or such Emergencies. It is not to be doubted, that some Moral Acts are Lawful at one time, which are not so at another. And yet, notwithstanding this, we are to say, and that with Truth, that the Laws of Natural Religion or Morality; are not changeable: For in such Cases as I have either propounded or hinted at, the General Nature of the Things continue the same, tho' the Particular Nature and Property of them, with respect to such and such Occasions, such and such Ends, &c. be altered. Still there is the same Law of Reason or Nature: For this very Law dictates some things Occasionally, and consequently Mutably.

As in the *Laws of Divers Nations*, according to the different Exigencies and Occasions, *Reason* prescribes this to be done now, and anon another thing: This is to be done in one Country and that in another; because Countries and the Inhabitants of them vastly differ, and therefore different Customs are reasonable; and yet still it is the *same Law of Reason*, that advises to these different Practises: So it is in some Acts purely *Moral* and *Religious*; the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of them is determinable, according to the difference of Time and Occasion, and according to the Necessity of the Thing: And yet we cannot gather thence, that the Law of Nature is Arbitrary and Changeable. It is true, the Circumstance or present State of Things is changed, but the Law itself is not so: For whilst this dictates a Change, it remains itself Unchangeable. In brief, the Law of Reason still remains as it was, fixed; tho' there may be new Circumstances and new Relations. If any Man of unprejudiced Thoughts considers this, he may fully satisfy himself about the fore-mentioned Case of *Incestuous Marriages*. That Law of Nature and Reason, which rendered these Lawful in the first Circumstances of things in the World, made them Unlawful afterwards in the succeeding Circumstances of Mankind. On which consideration the Learned *Grotius* saith rightly (and it is the brief decision of the present Controversy) * *That very thing which is Natural in one State of Things, becomes Unnatural in another.*

* *De Jure belli & pacis, cap. 10.*

T t t 2

But

But it may be objected here, that the *Marriage of Brethren and Sisters* was in use, and that among Pious Persons, a long time after the Necessity ceased; therefore it is likely this kind of Marriage was Lawful. I deny the Consequence: For all that Good Men do is not Good. When we read therefore that *Abraham married his Sister, the Daughter of his Father, but not of his Mother*, Gen. 20. 12. (Supposing that *Sister* is here meant in the strict Sense, which we have Reason to doubt, as I shall shew under the Ninth Commandment; but supposing it at present) we must not conclude that it was therefore Lawful. We have no more Reason to think and determine so, than that *Divorce* and *Polygamy* were Lawful, because practised by the best Men the World had. So likewise as to other degrees of Marriage forbidden by God in *Leviticus*, they are not to be thought Lawful in themselves, because we read they were practised by some Persons after the Flood, even till *Moses's* time. Thus, whereas the marrying of the Wife's Sister is forbid by the *Levitical* Law, yet *Jacob* married *Rachel*, his Wife *Leah's* Sister, Gen. 25. And we read that *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, married *Milcah*, his Brother *Haran's* Daughter, Gen. 11. 29. *Amram*, the Father of *Moses* and *Aaron*, married *Jochabed*, his Father's Sister, namely the Sister of *Koah*, Exod. 6. 20. And such-like Instances there are, but very rare, which prove that there was such a Practise in those Times amongst a few Persons, but they do not prove the Lawfulness of the Practise; and therefore they are alleged to little purpose.

As to the *marrying of the Brother's Wife*, tho' that was forbid expressly in *Levit.* 18. Yet afterwards an Exception was added, viz. If the Elder Brother died without Children, then the surviving Brother was to marry the Relict of the deceased Brother, *Deut.* 25. 5, 6. which is not to be wonder'd at; for God who gave the Prohibition, had power to add a contrary Direction afterwards, when there was so great an Occasion for it, to wit, to raise up seed to his Brother; that is, to preserve the Name and Family of the dead Childless Brother. This cannot seem strange in a Nation whose *Genealogies* were with such a religious Care to be observed and transferred to Posterity, and that for excellent Ends, especially for proving the descent of the *Messias*, who was to be born of *Jewish* Race. This Exception was but in one Case only, which seldom happened, and the Prohibition held good in all other Cases. This may suffice in Answer to the foregoing Objections: And from the whole it is clear, that the *Incestuous Marriages* forbidden in *Lev.* 18. were Unlawful and Sinful.

That they are so now under the *Gospel*, I shall briefly make good. The Marriage of Parents and Children is condemned by our Saviour, when he alleges, and at the same time approves of, *Gen.* 2. 24. in *Matt.* 19. 5. For if a Man must leave Father and Mother; and cleave to his Wife, it necessarily follows, that his Mother cannot be his Wife. The Marriage of the Brother's Wife is condemned by *John* the Baptist, *Matt.* 14. 4. It is not lawful for thee (*Herod*) to have her; that is, *Herodias*, thy Brother *Philip's* Wife. The Son's marrying of his Father's Wife, or his Step-mother, is sharply reproved by the Apostle, in *1 Cor.* 5. 1. And all Incestuous Mixtures are forbid in the first Apostolical Council, *Acts* 15. 29. for the word *πορνεία* in that Place (as well as in that before Cited) takes in Incest and all the kinds of it. It is evident then from the Writings of the *New-Testament*, that the Laws against Incest in *Lev.* 18. are obligatory now under the *Gospel*. Even in this Dispensation, Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity forbidden in *Moses's* Law: For this is confirmed by Christ's Law; and to act contrary to it is sinful.

Yet notwithstanding this, there have been Disputes and Controversies about this Matter; and some of the most Learned have not owned the Obligation of these Laws, or but in part: Whilst others of equal Learning have submitted to their Authority. I will briefly shew what hath been the Judgment and Determination both of the *Antients* and *Moderns*, concerning these forbidden degrees of Marriage, and then I will presume to offer you my own Thoughts and Apprehensions concerning them. First, as to the *Antients*: Most of the *Greek* and *Latin Fathers* held, that these *Mosaical* Prohibitions are obligatory now under the *Gospel*, as being of their own Nature Evil and Sinful: And some Councils also decreed the same; as that of *Neocæsarea*, the second of *Toledo*, and some others. But among the *Moderns* there is more difference: *Wickliff* held, That these *Levitical* Laws oblige not Christians. But the difference about this Point was chiefly observable and made known to the World

World upon occasion of propounding the Divorce of *King Henry the Eighth* from his Brother's Wife, whom he had married. At that time the Resolves and Determinations both of the *Universities* and *particular Divines* were various. As to particular Divines, *Malancton* thought these Laws in *Leviticus* Dispensable, and that Princes and States might make what Laws they pleased concerning those Things. *Bucer* likewise held, that these Laws do not bind, and are not Moral, because God thought fit to Dispense with them, as in the Case of marrying the Brother's Wife, which was forbid at first, but afterwards was Commanded and Enjoyed to be observed as often as the Brother died without Issue. But those of the *Roman Church* maintained the contrary, viz. That the Laws of the Forbidden Degrees of Marriage were Moral. And indeed, all the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, but one, do hold these Laws to be Moral, and obliging unto Christians. *Cajetan* is that one who asserts the contrary, and holds, they were Calculated only for the *Jews*. And then as for the Universities, all those of the *Popish* Perswasion, and our own also agreed, that all Laws in *Leviticus*, about the Degrees of Marriage, are Obligatory now under the Gospel, as being Laws of Nature and Morality.

Next, having mentioned the Opinion of others, I will humbly propound my own. I conceive we ought not to pronounce alike concerning all those prohibited Degrees of Marriage; but we are to make some difference between them: Wherefore, I am of Opinion, that it was a Fault in those Persons or Societies of Men, whom I have before mentioned, to give their Judgment promiscuously of every one of these forbidden Degrees, as if they were all of the same Nature, and came under equal Consideration: The contrary to which, I shall endeavour to make good. First, it is not to be doubted in the least, that some of these Marriages are morally, Unlawful, as the Marriage of *Parents and Children*. For if the Father marrieth his Daughter, the natural Reverence she oweth to him is abolished, and that Power and Authority which he hath over her, as he is a Parent, is lost. So if the Mother should marry her Son, the Order and Law of Nature are broken, by making her equal, whose Office is to Command and be Superiour, and by making him who ought to be Subject, to be the Head. This is against the plain Dictates of Nature; to be Son and Husband are two inconsistent Relations; there is a Repugnancy in the Nature of them. The mutual Offices of Parents and Children suit not with their marrying one another; and therefore this degree of Marriage is utterly unlawful, and unreasonable: Which is owned by the *Gentiles* themselves; * *De Jure* for though (it is true) there have been a few Instances of this mentioned by * *Selden* and † *Grotius*, yet (as these Writers observe) this practise was always detestable and execrable, and loudly declaim'd against. Yea, not only a Mans marrying his own Mother, but his Step-mother, hath been justly reckoned as a Violation of the Law of Nature, and hath been condemned by Men of mere Pagan Principles, as we learn from the Great Apostle, who tells us, that the Son's marrying his Step-mother, or his Father's Wife, was a Fault that is not so much as named among the *Gentiles*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 1. that is, 'tis generally disapproved of by the most civilized Heathens.

As for the Marriage of *Brother and Sister*, 'tho' it be not every ways so heinous as that of *Parents and Children*, yet a Man may conceive rather than express the great Disagreeableness of it to Nature and Reason: And therefore *St. Augustine* brings in the Reason of this Prohibition with a *Nescio quomodo*, * "I know not how, but sure I am there is something of Nature in that Modesty which is to be found in Mankind, whereby they are taught to abstain from those Persons, to whom, by reason of Propinquity, they owe a modest regard" And therefore, though among some of the *Pagans*, and the *Athenians* in particular, when they grew very dissolute and extravagant in their Manners, the Marriage of Brother and Sister was † allowed, yet it was disapproved of by the wisest Men, and reputed Scandalous and Criminal, and at last was exploded by the *Pagan Nations*, and wholly laid aside.

* ἐξῆναι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν πάρεσσι ἀδελφάς. *Athenæus*. lib. 13.

† *Athenis cum sororibus legitima conjugia*. *Minut.* Fel.

As to the other Inferiour Degrees of Marriage prohibited in *Leviticus*, I must freely declare, I do not think all of them to be in themselves so absolutely Unlawful, I say, in themselves; that is, they are not so directly repugnant to the Law of Nature, they are not so palpably contrary to the Dictates of Men's reasonable Souls, as those above-mention'd; and yet I am not convinced of the Lawfulness of

of them. The Marriage of *Cousin-Germans*, or Brothers and Sisters Children, hath met with the greatest Favour and Allowance of any of the prohibited Degrees: For the *Civil* or *Imperial Law* allows of it, and so do all the Great Divines of the *Reformed Churches*, that have Written on this Subject. It is their declared Judgment, that the Children of two Brothers or Sisters, or of a Brother and Sister, may marry, because (as they apprehend) this is not forbidden in God's Word: And our own *Municipal Laws* allow of this.

But notwithstanding this Approbation, I cannot be induced to believe, that the Marriage of *Cousin-Germans*, or First-Cousins, is Lawful, for the Reason that I have before alleged, which was this, That though there is not an *express Prohibition* against this *Practise*, yet by good *Consequence* and *Parity of Arguing*, it is forbid in that part of the *Levitical Law* which is approved of in the Evangelical Writings, as hath been shew'd in particular. Accordingly in the Canon-Law, *Cousin-Germans*, i. e. Sons or Daughters of the Uncle or Aunt, are added to the Rank of those that are near to one another by *Cognition* or *Consanguinity*; and these are expressly forbidden by this Law to Marry. And though the *Reformed Divines* abroad have given their Suffrage on the other Side, yet *Calvin* gives advice to abstain from Marriage in that Degree, lest the Churches should suffer Scandal: And accordingly the Churches of *Geneva*, the *Palatinate*, *Saxony*, &c. prohibit it. Yea, even *Heathens*, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, have sometimes questioned the Lawfulness of these Marriages, which argues them to have some disagreement with Nature and Reason. And truly I question not but that there was *good Reason* for God's prohibiting this and the other Incestuous Marriages mention'd in the Mosaic Law. Though we cannot fully describe the Evil and Turpitude of some of them, yet I am persuaded that there was and is *some* Inconveniency, Indecency and Obliquity in them; and God might think fit to forbid some Things which are only *approaching* to Vice, and *bordering* upon Immorality.

Yea, that there was some real Obliquity and Sinfulness in them, I gather from what I read in *Levit. 18. 24, 25.* *Defile not ye your selves in any of these things*, (that is, in Prohibited Marriages spoken of before in this Chapter) *for in all these things the Nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the Land is defiled: And therefore I do visit the Iniquity thereof upon it, and the Land itself vomiteth out her Inhabitants.* And the remaining part of the Chapter is all to this purpose. Again, in *Lev. 20. 23.* *They committed these things, and therefore I abhorred them.* Whence I observe, that these Laws concerning Marrying within certain Degrees, obliged the *Jews* not as mere *Jewish Laws*, and fitted for that People only, but as they were suitable to Mankind in General: And marrying within the other Degrees was forbidden them, because they were Evil and Vicious, and no ways fitting and convenient for any People. This is clear from this, that God punished the very *Gentiles* for these Things, he abhorred the *Nations* for these abominable Practises: Therefore it follows, that they were not Sins only in the *Jewish People*, but they were Sins *wherever* they were found; which plainly shews that they were really Evil, and forbidden for good Reasons.

This (besides what hath been said before) may be assign'd as a considerable one, namely, the Propinquity of Blood, or nearness of Relation; this makes those Marriages unlawful, because hereby *Love and Society are confined and pent up*, whereas it is far better to have them *Enlarged* and *Spread* abroad in a spacious circumference; which is most likely to be effected by forbidding Persons to marry with those that are of near Kin. There is *this* general dictate of *Reason* for these Laws, and it is (I remember) owned by *Plutarch*, who reckons it *unreasonable* that Kindred, and those that are near in Affinity should be married together, because Love and Good-will will be cramped by this Means, but by the contrary way they would be more largely diffused. And this indeed must needs be so; these near Conjunctions cannot but hinder the propagation of Amity and Love among Men, and the flourishing of Humane Society and Friendship; Whereas the other course begets new Alliances, and cements the World. On this account Nature forbids the Banns of Matrimony between those that are near by Blood or Cognition; that Persons may not engross the Love of their own Families only, but that they may extend Humanity, and Affection, and Converse.

This

This was a reason that could not take place at the first beginning of the World, (there being then but few, and they a-Kin to one another) and therefore these Laws did not prevail at that time; nor would they now, if there were the same Circumstances. For put the Case there happened a great Mortality and Slaughter in some remote Country, and few Men and Women were left alive, and they nearly Related to one another; if they had no Opportunities and Means of sending to other Countries to supply them with Inhabitants, they might in that case be married to one another, though they were near of Kin; for their Circumstances are like those of the first People of the World, who without Question were joyned in Marriage to their near Relations, the Necessity of the thing so requiring it, that is, the Paucity of Mankind, and the Concern of Propagation.

But as Matters now are, we are to act otherwise, and it is most reasonable so to do: For, though there is not the same Reason for these Prohibitions, as for the rest, yet there is Reason sufficient: So that I cannot consent to their Opinion, who hold, that it is nothing but Custom which makes these Incestuous Copulations Unlawful. But this is to be firmly asserted, that as the higher Degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity, are absolutely and directly against the Laws of Nature, so these remoter ones are in some measure, and on some particular account repugnant to it. They are not of an equal Turpitude, but they have some mixture of it. I conceive, this is a true and just Determination of the Matter before us, and gives us a right apprehension of the nature of Incest, which this Commandment forbids.

I proceed to speak of other Things directly forbidden by it. And the next and Fourth is Fornication, which is the defiling of an unmarried Woman. For though the Greek Word (from whence I derive the * Latin and English one) be sometimes taken in a large Sense, and comprehends Adultery and Incest, and all sorts of unlawful Lusts, and is as much as ערוה Turpitude among the Talmudists, as † Mr. Selden hath noted, yet at other times 'tis a stricter Word, and signifies only the Lust of two unmarried Persons (which is called simple Fornication) or at least it is implied that one of the Parties is single and unmarried. This is a Sin that is directly struck at in this Commandment, and is condemned in the Old Testament under the Name of Whoredom: And that kind of it which consists in prostituting the Body for * Hire or Gain, is particularly spoken against. Yet, the Jews were so corrupted, that they generally thought this Practice was forbidden only to the Native Hebrew Women: But they thought that Strangers, who dwelt among them, might practise this without Offence. The Jewish Rabbies and Writers generally held, that Fornication was no Crime in an unmarried Person, before the Law of Moses. One of the chief of them is express in this, and saith, † it was as lawful, before the Mosaic Law was given, to know a Harlot, as to know ones own Wife.

But how easily is this Doctrine confuted from what we read long before the publishing of the Law? Gen. 38. 24. Playing the Harlot, and being with Child by Whoredom, was punishable with Death even in those Days. And then no Man can doubt that Fornication and Whoredom were Vicious and Sinful before the Mosaic Dispensation. So that it is to be wondered at, that the Learned Mr. Selden, who without doubt was acquainted with this Text, asserts, that these are not repugnant to the Law of Nature, but were Lawful, Innocent, and Just. This must be imputed to his too much adhering to the Jewish Doctors, who held, that a Man's lying with a single Woman, by her voluntary Consent, was no Sin. But the clearest confutation of this Opinion is by our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles; for when they were in the World, this Notion prevailed as much as at any time, and therefore they particularly and designedly declared against it. Our Saviour shews his dislike of Fornication as well as Adultery (of which afterwards) in Matt. 15. 19. Mark 7. 21. And we find a whole Synod of the Apostles strictly commanding the converted Gentiles to abstain from Fornication, Acts. 15. 29. From Fornication properly so called, though other kinds of Lewdness and Uncleaness may be comprehended under this Term. Yet the Apostles do lay a special restraint upon the Gentile Christians as to the former, because this was not only frequently practised, but thought to be no Sin, or a Venial one. Nay, this and all Acts of Uncleaness were reputed Acts of Religious Worship by the Pagans, for they

* Fornicatio à πορνείᾳ Adj. of sorts

† De Fure Nat. Gent. 1. 7. c. 12.

* Thence a Whore, (i. e. one hired) from the Germ. Hur, from Huren to Hire. So meretrix à merendo, & πορνὴ à πρᾶν to sell.

† Ante legem datam coitus cum scorto erat sicut coitus hominis cum uxore sua. Maimonides.

they Worshipped their Gods by them, and accordingly many of their Sacred Feasts and Sacrifices were accompanied with those impure and lascivious Practises. Fornication and Whoredom were part of their Religion. He that knows not this, is a Stranger to the Writings and Manners of the *Heathens*. Whereupon * one hath rightly said, that "Fornication was so frequent among Idolaters, and was so closely joined to their Mysteries and Manners, that whilst Paganism prevailed, the whole World almost seemed to be turned into one great and common Stews. For this Reason, namely, because this was the common Practise of the Gentiles, and judged to be Lawful, St. Paul, the Doctor of the *Gentiles*, frequently inveighs against this Sin, 1 Cor. 5. 9. 6. 18. 7. 2. Gal. 5. 19. Eph. 5. 3. Col. 3. 5. 1 Thess. 4. 3. 1 Tim. 1. 10. Heb. 13. 4. and thereby sufficiently convinces us of the absolute Unlawfulness of it. And the *Antient Fathers* (who generally were Converts from Paganism) in their *Apologies* for the Christian Religion, are very warm in their Remonstrances against this Sin of Fornication.

Fifthly, *Adultery* (no less than Fornication) is a direct Sin against this Commandment, and is the *Particular kind* of Uncleanness which is expressly named in it. It is the corrupting of a *Married Woman*, as Fornication is the *Debauching* of one that is not Married. I have shewed, that this latter is absolutely Unlawful; but the other is much more so, because it is a wilful neglecting and violating the Divine Institution of Marriage, whereby one Man and one Woman solemnly oblige themselves to become one Flesh. Wherefore this renders the defiling of the Marriage Bed a great Crime, because the Sacred Bond of Wedlock, and the Conjugal Chastity and Fidelity are hereby destroyed. This Sin is extremely Heinous and Flagitious, because there is not only an Injury done to the Woman, by setting her into a course of Unfaithfulness and even downright Perjury, and thereby hazarding the Salvation of her Soul; but to the Man also, in whom she is concerned, by robbing him of the *incommunicable Right and Propriety* he hath in his Wife. This proves it to be the highest Injustice and Wrong; and it might be added, that this Injury admits of no *Reparation*: The offender cannot possibly (if he would) make Restitution and Satisfaction: On which Score perhaps *Death* was inflicted on the *Adulterer* by the *Mosaic Law*, Lev. 20. 10. And other Lawgivers, even among the *Pagans*, punished this Notorious Offence with the loss of Life.

That this was Vicious and Unlawful in itself before the *Legal Dispensation*, is evident; because it is so repugnant to the very Law of Natural Reason and Justice. And, that it was then a *great Wickedness and a Sin against God*, is clear from *Joseph's* express acknowledgment in Gen. 39. 9. So that this was justly inserted into the *Decalogue* afterwards as a considerable Part and Member of the Moral Law, and it is afterwards mentioned among other Laws in Lev. 18. 20. *Thou shalt not lie carnally with thy Neighbour's Wife, to defile thy self with her.*

And there is no ground of doubting whether the *Evangelical Law* strictly forbids this Sin, when we read Matth. 19. 9. Mark 7. 21. 1 Cor. 6. 9. Gal. 5. 19. Heb. 13. 3. James 4. 4. 2 Pet. 2. 14. From these Texts we may be satisfied of the Unlawfulness of *Adultery*, which is a violation of the Conjugal Bond, a breach of that Faith which was plighted in Matrimony. See my *Discourse of Moral Goodness*, introductory to the Commandments, and what is said in the *whole Concern of Man*, ch. 12. p. 236. which will convince us of the most detestable Nature of this Sin.

There are other Lewd Practises forbidden by this Commandment, among which, *Rape*, or *Ravishing* of a Woman is one. Which is a Carnal abusing of one of that Sex (whether Married or Unmarried) by force and Violence. A very flagitious Act! And we find that *Death* was the Penalty of it, if it was committed on a Maid that was *Betrothed*, Deut. 22. 25. And this is Represented as a great and detestable Crime (as well as Calamity) in *Isaiah* 13. 13. Lam. 5. 1. Zech. 14. 2.

Here is forbidden *Voluntary Self-pollution*, or Persons committing folly alone on their Bodies. For which kind of Disorder *Onan* was punished by the Hand of God: *The Lord slew him*, Gen. 38. 10.

Here is likewise forbidden all immoderate and exorbitant use of Carnal Pleasure.

And Lastly, here is condemned all *Unnatural Lust*, as Sodomy and Bestiality. Which are both mentioned together, and branded with the Titles of *Abomination* and *Confusion*, in Lev. 18. 22, 23. A * Learned Man is of Opinion, that by *πλεονεξία* in Rom. 1. 29. is meant excessive unnatural Lust, desiring what is not agreeable to the Sex and

* Dr. Spencer. de legib. Hebr. l. 2. c. 4.

* Dr. Hammond.

and Condition: And *πλεονέχης* 1 Cor. 5. 11. is an inordinate Luster: And he thinks that *ὕβρις* v. 30. (which we translate *Despiteful*) are unnatural Lusts, as the Word signifies in some Authors. But whether this be true or no, it is certain that Sodomitical and Bestial Lust are Condemned to the infernal Pit by the Laws of the *New Testament*, in so much as they wholly disapprove of all that is Unnatural. And particularly and expressly all unnatural and filthy Practises of this sort, are severely checked, *Rom.* 1. 24, 26, 27. and are made Marks of a *Reprobate Mind*, v. 18. And again they are Condemned in 1 Cor. 6. 9. and a third time in 1 Tim. 1. 10. in which Places perhaps, or in some of them, the Apostle refers to *Nero* the known † *Pederast* in those Times. And * *Grotius* thinks that this sort of Sinners is meant by the *Abominable* in *Rev.* 21. 8. which is no unreasonable Thought, seeing this vile and filthy Practise is called *Abomination* in *Lev.* 18. 22.

* *Sueton.*
in *Nerone.*
† *In locum.*

Thus far I have spoke of the *Actual Sins* of Uncleanness, which are comprehended in this Commandment. There is a Lewdness likewise of the *Thoughts*, of the *Eye*, of the *Tongue*, of the *Ear*, and of the *outward Gestures*; and these I will briefly Treat of.

First, This Commandment strikes at all unclean Thoughts and Desires. Our Saviour acquaints us, that there is the *Adultery of the Heart*, *Matthew* 5. 28. Namely, when the Thoughts and inward Inclinations of the Mind are corrupted and deflowered, and are a preparative to outward Defilements. Thus the same infallible Instructor tells us, *that out of the Heart proceed evil Thoughts, Adulteries, Fornications*, *Matt.* 15. 19. Those evil and debauched Thoughts are the Spawn of actual Uncleanness: And therefore are justly reckoned as Vicious and Unlawful, and are to be interpreted as Adultery and Fornication, &c. I lay no stress upon the Criticism, that the * same Words in Hebrew that signify *Cogitation*, signify also *Scortation* or *Whoredom*: But this I am sure of as a solid and substantial Truth, that Thoughts and Desires of Whoredom and any other lewdness, are judged by the Evangelical Laws to be lewdness and Uncleanness itself. Some please themselves in contemplating lewd objects and Actions, though their outward Behaviour is blameless. These are to be told, that their speculative Wickedness renders them Guilty, in the sight of God, of the breach of this Commandment against Adultery, as our Saviour himself hath expounded it. For all inward Lust and burning with unlawful Desires is forbidden here.

* *Zimmah*
& *Mezim-*
mah.

Secondly, there is the Adultery of the *Eye*; which we learn from our Saviour's Exposition of this Commandment, *Matth.* 5. 28. where *looking on a Woman to Lust after her* is interpreted as Adulterous, because the Heart or Mind which gives Denomination to all Moral Actions, is engaged here; and this it is which diffuses the Corruption and Defilement into the outward Senses. Hence it is, that Christ taxes wanton Looks with Adultery. And St. *Peter* lets us know, that there are those that have *Eyes full of Adultery*, 2 *Epist.* chap. 2. ver. 14. shewing by their lascivious Glances the Lustfulness of their own Hearts, and their Design of Corrupting others.

Thirdly, There is the Adultery and Uncleanness of the *Tongue*. For if, according to our Saviour's determination, wanton Looks be Adulterous, then it is not to be doubted that wanton and obscene Words are of the same Nature. Wherefore the Apostle commands the *Colossian* Christians to *put away filthy Communication out of their Mouths*, *Col.* 3. 8. As he had before left this Prohibition with the *Ephesians*, *Let no corrupt Communication proceed out of your Mouth*, chap. 4. ver. 29. And again, the very mentioning of Lewd things is forbid, chap. 5. ver. 3, 4, 12. *Fornication and all Uncleanness, let it not once be named amongst you, as becometh Saints, neither Filthiness, &c.*—It is a shame even to speak of those Things that are done of them in Secret. There is a Modesty in Words; there are some Things and Actions that are so vile and filthy, that they ought not to be spoken and uttered. A late Traveller tells us that the *Chineses* have no Words to express the Uncomely Parts; there is no such in any of their Books and Writings. We that are *Christians* should not disdain to imitate them in their Reservedness, and we should be careful to refrain from all indecent and obscene Speech.

Next, there is the Adultery of the *Ear*, that is, listening to such kind of Discourse as is filthy and lewd, delighting to be entertained with lascivious Talk, with obscene Songs, and unchast Poems; with which this Age abounds. *Martial's* obscenest Epigrams are chaste, and the worst of *Ansonius's Fescennines* are Modest in respect of what our Times afford us. The Rehearsal of these wanton and lewd Lines, and the

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hearkening to them are forbidden by this Commandment, which disallows the Adultery and Uncleanness of the Tongue and of the Ear.

And so it doth that of *Lascivious Gestures*, and whatsoever tends to the promoting of Lust and Lewdness: As wanton Dalliances, lascivious Dresses, and all manner of Temptations and Enticements to unchast Practices. Thus from all the foregoing Particulars it sufficiently appears what is comprehended under the committing of Adultery in this Commandment.

I will in the next place propound the *Reasons and Arguments* which we are to make use of against it. And some of these are proper to Christianity; that is, they were never used by Heathen Moralists, but are to be found only in the Apostolical Writings. As those three which we meet with together, in 1 Cor. 6. the first whereof is in the 15th ver. *Know ye not, (saith the Apostle) that your Bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a Harlot? God forbid.* As if he had said, *We Christians, above all others, ought to avoid Lewdness and Uncleanness, because we are United to Christ, and thereby our Bodies, as well as our Souls, are become his Members. Shall then these Bodies which are joined to Christ, be united to a Harlot, by Unlawful conjunction with her? Let us never be guilty of so absurd and impious a Practice.*

Again, the Apostle argues thus in v. 18. *Every Sin that a Man doth is without the Body; but he that commits Fornication, sinneth against his own Body.* That is, other Sins (as Murder, Theft, &c.) which are acted outwardly, have something without the Body for their objects, and the Body is but the remote Instrument; but in Fornication and Adultery, and the like Acts of Carnality, it is otherwise; the Body itself which is an individual part of us, is immediately concerned, for this itself is abused and injured; and so the Person who commits this Sin is rightly said to Sin against, or I would rather render it, *in his own Body*; for *his* here is opposed to *extra*: *Within his own Body*, is opposed to *without his Body*: Therefore I conceive this is the better Translation.

The Apostle subjoins another, or indeed a double Argument, in the 19 and 20th verses, *Know ye not, that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, and ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a Price? Therefore glorify God in your Body.* You and all Christians are obliged, saith he, to flee Fornication and all manner of Lewdness, because your Bodies are the Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in them, and consequently they are set apart from Prophane uses, and are dedicated to the Service of God; therefore let no Lewdness defile these Temples. And besides, we ought to remember that we are *bought with a Price*? that is, we are Redeemed by Christ's most precious Blood, and thereby rescued from the Bondage of Sin and Satan; so that now Christ most justly Claims a *Dominion* over us, even over our whole Man. We are not our own, we may not dispose of ourselves and our Bodies, as we please, but we are bound to glorify God with these (as well as with our Spirits and Souls) and therefore to keep them from all fleshly Pollution. These are the *peculiar Arguments* made use of by the great Apostle, and they are of very great Force and Efficacy.

But there are others drawn from Topics which are more common and known, but yet will be of great Use to us. There are Arguments against this sinful Practice taken from the *Spiritual*, the *Temporal*, and the *eternal Evil* which attends it.

First, the *Spiritual* evil is Sufficient to deter us from this Sin; and that is the Insensibleness and Sottishness which generally accompany this Vice. Which was long since taken notice of by one who had made Experiment of it. *Who so committeth Adultery with a Woman, lacketh Understanding*, Prov. 6. 32. And afterwards he is said to be *void of Understanding*, Prov. 7. 7. And in other Places he hath the Title of *Fool* fixed upon him. The Reason is, because the indulging of this Lewdness before his Mind, and betrays him to the utmost Folly, and even Unmans him. Two instances we have, above the rest, of this Sottishness which Whoredom brings with it, namely, *Samson* and *Solomon*. Lust made the former Insensate; for tho' he had several intimations, nay undeniable Evidences of *Delilah's* design upon him of betraying him to his Enemies, yet so stupid and unconcerned was he, that he would not quit her Company till her Plot took effect, and his Eyes were put out, and he was thrust into the common Prison and Work-House to grind there. And truly the darkness of his Mind was not unjustly punished by that of his Body. Which, tho' as to his Enemies, it was an Unmanly piece of Revenge, yet it was a fit and proper Recompense

Recompense for his wilful Blindness. For in another Sense than *Zaleucus's* Law meant it, Adulterers and unclean Persons are punished with the loss of their Eyes. And as the Strongest, so the Wisest of Men was bereaved of his Spiritual Sight, by the Unlawful Love of the other Sex. By following Strange Women he fell to the Worship of Strange Gods. Even he, that built a *Temple to Jehovah*, was by the seduction of his Mistresses prevailed with to offer Sacrifice in the *Idol-Temples*. He forgot God, and his Duty, and himself, and of a Wise Man became a Fool. It vexed *Abimelech* that a Woman should dispatch him: These persons in a worse Sense perish by Women, and are overcome and enslaved by those, over whom God hath given them Superiority. And for the most part (unless the Divine Hand interpose) they persist in their Folly, Stupidity and Insensibleness, and grow Shameless and Obdurate in their sinful Practises.

Secondly, among *Temporal Evils* I will mention first the injury done to the *Body*. It was the Counsel that *Solomon's* Mother gave him (and it had been well if he had took it) *Give not thy Strength unto Women*, Prov. 31. 3. implying thereby that this Sin doth oftentimes waste the natural Strength, and exhaust the stock of Life, and hasten Death. Yea, God designing to point out this Sin, and to plague it, hath made a Loathsome and Painful Disease to be the frequent Penalty of it, a Disease never heard of in Antient Days, a New-found Plague from the New-found Lands, that is, *America*, from whence it was first brought by the Lustful *Spaniards*, and thence got into *Italy*, and then clambered over the *Alps*, and so spread itself over all parts of *Europe*. Whoredom hath been punished with Putrefaction and Rottenness, even before the Sinners have descended into the Grave. And *Solomon's* words concerning such Offenders have been fulfilled in a closer Sense than perhaps they were intended, *They shall mourn at the last when their Flesh and their Bodies are consumed*, Proverbs 5. 11.

The *Estate* likewise (as well as the *Body*) feels the Mischiefs of this Vice; for Poverty and Necessity are the usual Consequents of it. By means of a Whorish Woman a Man is brought to a piece of Bread, Prov. 6. 26. Nay, Bread is too fine and delicate Viands; for we read that the Prodigal Son who had wasted his Substance with riotous living (which is the same with devouring his Living with Harlots) was glad to feed upon Husks, Luke 15. 13, 16, 30. This happens either by the natural Consequence of this Expensive Vice (for the Sinners of this Rank are wont to buy their unlawful Pleasures at a dear rate, rather than go without them) or by the Curse of God which blasts their Estates. Which seems to be the import of those words of *Job*, 31. 12. Who, having spoken in the Verses before of this Sin, against which he Covenants in the first Verse, and which he protests against and clears himself from in the ensuing ones, declares, that it is a Fire that consumeth to Destruction, and would root out all his Increase.

Another Evil that attends this vile Sin is *Disgrace*. Of the Adulterer saith *Solomon*, a Wound and Dishonour shall he get; and his Reproach shall not be wiped away, Prov. 6. 33. The child which *Lot's* younger Daughter had by Incestuous Converse with her Father, was called *Ben-ammi*, the Son of the People. None will willingly own such an Off-spring, because they know it is Disgraceful. Uncleaness was always attended with Shame and Reproach. And so it is now, tho' there are Multitudes of both Sexes that glory in their Shame. This therefore is an Argument of great force with those that know how to value a good Name, and understand the Points of true Honour and Repute.

Again, *Blood and Slaughter*, Murder and Massacres, War and Rapine, are the usual Concomitants and Effects of this Sin. *Dinah* was an early Instance of the evil Consequences of *Ravishing*; for *Simeon* and *Levi* in revenge of the Rape committed on their Sister by *Shechem*, Slew him, and all the Men of the City, Gen. 34. Upon the Rape of the *Levite's* Concubine by the Men of *Gibeah*, there were above five and Twenty Thousand *Benjamites* put to the Sword, and all the Cities of the Tribe burnt to the Ground: Besides that, there were Forty Thousand *Israelites* slain in Battle, 19th and 20th of *Judges*. *Uriah's* Blood was spilt by *David*, that he might the more freely enjoy *Bathsheba*. He Murder'd a faithful Subject, one of his Worthies and chiefest Men of War: He made him the Envoy of his own Destruction, and made him carry dispatches for his own Death. Yea, he involved *Joab* in the Sin of Bloodshed, dealing with him by his Letters for *Uriah's* overthrow. *Ammon's* Incest was followed with Murder; for his Brother *Absalom*, enraged at the Injury done to his

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his Sister, invited him to a Feast, where he killed him when he was Drunk, 2 Sam. 13. So Uncleanness and Murder went together, in the Relation we have of Herod and John the Baptist.

And sometimes we cannot but take Notice that a Peculiar and Extraordinary Judgment is sent from Heaven to punish these kinds of Wickedness. God in an unusual manner shewed his dislike of the Unnatural Lust of the Sodomites, in consuming them and their City with Fire and Brimstone. So when the Israelites and the Midianitish Women (by the evil Council of Balaam) committed this Notorious Crime of Uncleanness, a horrid Plague soon Alarmed them, and in a short time swept away Twenty-four Thousand of them. David's Adultery was avenged with particular Judgments and Calamities, as we find them denounced by the Prophet Nathan, 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10, &c. And the like Miscarriage in Solomon was punished by God in his Son and Successor, who was deprived of Ten parts of his Kingdom. And in sundry other Instances it might be shewed that the Evils of this Sin spread themselves in a vast Circumference, and affect not only Single Persons, but Families, and whole Cities, and Kingdoms; And not only the Delinquents themselves, but others that are Innocent and Guiltless, are involved in the Mischief and Punishment.

But this is not all: In the Third and Last Place I must add that the Punishment due to this Execrable Vice ends not with this Life, but reaches beyond the Grave. *Her House inclineth unto Death, and her Paths lead unto the Dead, [Rephaim]* which is a Word used by Solomon to express the Damned. *None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the Paths of Life,* Prov. 2. 18, 19. That is, they are irrecoverably lost. Which is expressed after the same manner in chap. 5. ver. 5. *Her Feet go down to Death, her Steps take hold on Hell.* And again, chap. 7. ver. 22, 23. He thus sets forth the fatal Issue of those that give themselves up to Uncleanness and Whoredom, *they go as an Ox to the Slaughter.* Which perhaps may refer to the Beasts that were led to be Sacrificed; they were Crowned with Garlands and Dressed up with Flowers gay and trim. This is a fit Representation, saith the Wise Man, of the Young Wanton; he takes his Pleasure, and indulges himself in his Lewdness, but all the while is fitting himself for Slaughter; he ruins and destroys himself, Soul as well as Body. Solomon adds another Comparison, *as a Bird hasteth to the Snare, and knows not that it is for his Life,* so the lewd Sinner pursues his unlawful Delights; he is caught and ensnared, and cannot extricate himself, but his dear Life and dearer Salvation, are the forfeiture of his inconsiderate Folly. Which is the import of Solomon's Words, Prov. 23. 27. *A Whore is a deep Ditch, and a strange Woman is a narrow Pit:* Where he compares her unto those Pits which were made in the Fields and Woods to take wild Beasts. Such are the extravagant Offenders I am Discouraging of, they are caught here as in a Pit-fall, being *as natural brute Beasts made to be taken and destroyed,* as St. Peter speaks of them that *walk after the Flesh in the Lust of Uncleanness,* 2 Pet. 2. 10, 12. And this Pit lets them down into the Bottomless one, and consigns them to everlasting Perdition. Which is confirmed by the Writings of the New Testament, where *Hell itself is particularly allotted to be the Portion of Whore-mongers and Adulterers,* Eph. 5. 5. Rev. 21. 8. Rev. 22. 15, 16. These are sufficient Reasons and Arguments to dissuade us from the breach of this Commandment.

Thus I have been all this time in pursuit of the Negative part of this Commandment. I proceed now to the Affirmative, which is the plain Reverse of what hath been said, and may be comprised in few Words. We are enjoined here to be chaste and pure in our Minds: For there is the Virginity of the Soul; and Chastity is a virtue of the Mind. Wherefore we are obliged to exert it in our inward Thoughts, Inclinations, and Desires. We are enjoined likewise to preserve our Bodies chaste and pure, and all the Parts of them, the Tongue, the Eye, the Countenance, the Ear, and all the Avenues or Organs of bodily Sense and Perception. We are to take care that our Carriage and Deportment be Modest and grave, and so well regulated and ordered that we discover nothing of Lewdness and Wantonness. We are to possess our Vessel (i. e. our Bodies) in Sanctification and Honour, 1 Thess. 4. 4. We are to keep it Holy and Undeiled, and thereby to bring Credit and Honour to our Christian Profession.

Moreover, This Commandment requires that we use all the Means and Helps which are useful in order to the preservation of our Chastity, and the preventing of Uncleanness. Especially, those who feel the Carnal Appetite very urging upon them,

them, and soliciting them to exorbitant Actions, ought to be very Cautious and Circumspect, and make use of such Methods and Expedients as will be serviceable to give an effectual check to their Lusts.

First, They must learn to be very Sober and Temperate, and to observe a Moderation in Meat and Drink. We may take those Words in the most literal and obvious Sense, *When I had fed them to the full, they then committed Adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the Harlot's Houses. They were as fed Horses: every one neighed after his Neighbour's Wife*, Jer. 5. 7, 8. Excess and Luxury are incentives to undue Lust and Wantonness; and therefore, Abstinence and Mortification are a proper redress of this Evil: But they must not be *excessive*; for then they will not be serviceable to this End, especially in some Bodies. So the *Monks* use themselves to great *Fasting*, but this generally takes not down their Lust, but heightens it: for immoderate abstaining from Food inflames the Body. It is therefore a discreet moderation in Diet, that is to be made use of; it is requisite to restrain from high Meats, which are the usual Fuel of Lust and Concupiscence, and to make some abatement in the ordinary and daily Repast. The Rule is this, The Food must not be *Delicate*, or *so much* as at other times, if we would correct this Vicious Inclination.

Secondly, All the *Occasions* of Lewdness and Uncleaness must be carefully avoided. Whatsoever we know will *administer* to these, we must with great Caution shun. We must beware of every thing whatsoever that by Observation and Experience we find to be a *Temptation* or *Provocation* to Lascivious Thoughts or Actions. Yea, we must take care not to approach the Confines of this Vice, and we must stifle the very first Sallies and Motions towards it.

Thirdly, Diligence in the Calling which Providence hath placed us in, is a great Preservative against the Sin of Uncleaness, and an approved Help to Chastity and Continence. For Sloth is the Parent of Wantonness, and Lust is bred and fostered by Idleness. We have too signal an Instance of this in *David*, who, when *Joab* with *Israel* were gone out to Battle against the *Ammonites*, and the Public Interest and Welfare of the Kingdom called him to go forth, degenerated from his wonted Courage and Nobleness of Spirit, and regardless of the Common Good stayed at Home, and in a lazy Posture stalked upon the Battlements of his Palace, and there fixed upon that Spectacle which was the occasion of his Adultery. Wherefore it is very unsafe to neglect our Place or Calling, this being the common inlet to lewd Practices.

Fourthly, Another good preservative against these, are Solemn *Resolutions* and *Vows*, according to the Example of Holy *Job*, who made a Covenant with his Eyes, that he would not transgress so much as in his Looks, and that he would bar out all Thoughts of Uncleaness. He found it requisite to bind himself to the keeping of his Chastity by this Sacred Tye: And 'tis not to be questioned that others may make use of it with good success; especially if they depend not on their own Strength, but rely on the Divine Power and Assistance, and implore these with great Earnestness and Zeal.

Fifthly, They may effectually give a repulse to their Carnal Inclinations, or to any outward Temptations to this Vice, by continually preserving on their Minds a due Reverence and Awe of the Divine Majesty, and a Fear of Displeasing Him. This made *Joseph*, when solicited by his wanton Mistress, boldly reject the Temptation, namely, because he was afraid to sin against God, Gen. 39. 9. This made *Job* to enter into that Covenant of Chastity before-mentioned; for (saith he) *what portion of God is there from above on Lascivious Persons? And what Inheritance of the Almighty from on high to such Vile Sinners? Is not Destruction to the Wicked* of this kind, *and a strange Punishment to such workers of Iniquity? Doth he not see my Ways, and count all my Steps?* Which is as much as if this Pious Man had said, I dare not be Guilty of the Sin of Uncleaness, for I fear God, whose Eye is upon all my Ways, and who will certainly punish me (and it may be in a strange and extraordinary manner) for the Commission of this Vice. Thus we may check all wanton and inordinate Desires, and suppress all the Effects of Unlawful Concupiscence, by nourishing in our Minds and Consciences a deep Sense, and a great Dread of the Almighty, and of his Judgments. Whilst these are imprinted on our Souls, we are strongly guarded against all Solicitations to Lewdness.

All these Particulars that I have mentioned contain in them the most Sovereign Remedies against Lust, and Helps to the exerting of the contrary Virtue: But there is one yet behind, and that is this; In order to Chastity and Purity lead a *Conjugal Life*. For there are these Three Ends of *Marriage*, 1. That the Parties married may be a mutual *Help*, *Gen. 2. 18.* that they may be fit Companions in the Comforts of Life, and be able and willing by their near Relation and Intimacy to assist one another. 2dly. It is for the Increase of Mankind. 3dly. To prevent Uncleanness. Which last is particularly mentioned by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 7. 2. To avoid Fornication let every Man have his own Wife, and let every Woman have her own Husband.* And again, *v. 9. If they cannot contain, let them marry.* Wedlock is absolutely enjoined as a preservative against Fornication and Incontinence, and all Unlawful Lust. Which our Church takes notice of in her *Office for Matrimony*, and saith, it was ordained for a Remedy against Sin, and to avoid Fornication, that such Persons as have not the gift of Continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled Members of Christ's Body.

But here it may be asked, Doth the *Conjugal* Relation alter the Nature of *Concupiscence*? Doth the married State make that Sensual Desire Good and Lawful, which before was Evil and Unlawful? I answer, it doth not make that individual Thing Lawful which was Unlawful, but it regulates that Sensual Passion, it rectifies those Carnal Amours, and Venereal Desires, which before were Irregular and Inordinate, and therefore Unlawful. Carnal Love is not Unlawful in itself, there is no real Turpitude in that Corporeal Indulgence, in the simple and bare perception of that Sensual Delight: And the reason is plain, because it is a Passion implanted in Man's Nature by God. We find this in the Frame of Humane Bodies, which have Organs given them on purpose for the exerting of this Pleasure, which demonstrates the Lawfulness of it. And further, Matrimony would not have been Instituted by God, (and even in the State of *Innocency*) if the Sensual Delight, which is proper to the Carnal Converse between the Sexes, were Evil in itself: For God would not have instituted a thing simply Evil. All this shews that this Natural Inclination is from God, and so is in some measure Divine; but the *Inordinacy* of it is that which is Vitious and Sinful. Whence it follows, that *Fornication* and *Adultery*, which are inordinate and irregular Acts of Bodily Lust, and are an undue Exercise of a Lawful Pleasure, are in themselves Vitious and Unlawful. But *Marriage* legitimates *Concupiscence*; Matrimony makes Lust become Lawful, that is, it leads it into the Right Channel, and makes it run Pure and Clear, Defecate and Refined. For it regulates the Appetite which was undue before, it restrains the Boundless Liberty and Inordinate Sallies of Lust, and keeps it within certain Bounds, whereby it is rendred Innocent and Harmless. By Marriage, which is the Conjunction of one Man and one Woman only, all rambling and wandring Lust is checked, and now they no longer spend their Lives in foolish Amours, and ranging and unsatiable Passions. Now a happy Enclosure is made, and another's Property is not invaded. The Natural Pleasure is rightly Circumstantiated, and one entire Love is mutually cherished, which is safest and best. In a word, Marriage cures and allays Lust with a Medicine of the same; and it destroys not the Carnal Appetite, but corrects it.

But here likewise this must be inserted, that Matrimony it self is not to be enterprized and taken in hand lightly or wantonly, to satisfy our Carnal Lusts and Appetites, like brute beasts, that have no Understanding, but indulge those Desires without Reason. It is to be remembered that the State of Marriage was instituted to be a check to the Carnal Desires, to confine and limit them, to make them serviceable to Religion. We learn from the Apostle, that even the Innocent Enjoyments of the Married State are to be restrained by consent for a time, *1 Cor. 7. 5.* Yea, and at all times they are to be moderated; for it becomes not Christians to be immoderate in those Pleasures which are even Lawful and Innocent. If this be observed, the *Conjugal* State is not only Lawful, but as to some Persons absolutely Necessary; because it is a Remedy against Unlawful Lust, and is so enjoined (as we have heard) by the Apostle, and it far excells those Arts and Devices which are made use of sometimes. St. *Jerom* beat his Breast and bruised it with Stones. St. *Augustine* complained of his Nocturnal Miscarriages notwithstanding the Mortification he used. Others lay covered with sharp Thorns, which tore their Flesh. And the Severities which have been exercised on this Occasion, have

have been very great and exquisite. But Marriage (in such Maladies) is the *Physic* God hath prescribed, and 'tis most Sovereign and Effectual. This is required of those that find the need of it, and it becomes their Duty for the extinguishing of Lascivious Fires and Burnings in Lust, and for the preservation of Chastity. I say, it is *required*; and that by Virtue of this Commandment, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery.*

I will conclude now with reminding the Reader of this Grand Truth, That *Christianity* (which is the Religion we profess) enjoins a Spotless Purity, and makes the best Provision for it by it's Holy Laws and Precepts. Wherefore we, that own the *Christian* Institution, and the *Author* of it, are obliged to observe these Laws with great Care and Diligence. Yea, we ought to remember, that by Virtue of these Laws we are obliged above all *other* Persons whatsoever, to be Pure and Chast. The *Jews*, with their False Glosses, and Corrupt Interpretations Adulterate this Commandment which I have been treating of. Among the *Gentiles*, not only their Poets represented their Gods Lewd and Wanton, but some of their chiefest Philosophers favoured Lewdness in Men and Women, as I have observed of *Plato* before. * *Tully* defends Meretricious Amours: *Plutarch* hath his *ἑσώλινδς*, * *Orat. pro* or *Amorous Discourse*, not fitting so grave an Author. And his *ἑσώλινδς*, tho' *M. Calio.* sometimes disguised, and after the *Socratic* way dressed up as Honest, and Chast, and Philosophical, yet at other times it is open and bare-faced, lewd and unsufferable. And generally Obscenity was the usual Sin of their greatest and famed Philosophers. The *Mahometan* Religion is the great Mistress and Patroness of Uncleaness and disorderly Lust: and so far indeed, that they place their Heaven and Paradise in Carnal Embraces. But *Christianity* alone gives us the strictest Rules of Purity and Chastity, and directs us to the proper Means of attaining them.

Wherefore it is a great Blemish and Reproach to *Christians*, that there are any among them that disparage those Rules and Means, and act contrary to them. Such are they that make it a Sin for some Persons to Marry, but they may commit Fornication as often as they will. For which, this Reason is given by him that glosses on the Canon Law, *Quia hodie fragiliora sunt corpora nostra quam olim erant.* And this (as the same *Gloss* calls it) is *honest Fornication*. A Bishop may Dispense with his Clerk in this Matter; because a Priest is not rendred *Irregular* by committing Fornication, or having diverse Concubines, as Pope † *Innocent* the III. deter- † *Decretal.* mines. But Marrying a Wife makes a Priest *Irregular*, and degrades him from the lib. 1. Tit. Priesthood. Yet *Sodomy* doth not make him *Irregular*, as their Great and Famed 12. Cap. Casuist *Navar* hath determined. And 'tis known what a * great Churchman used * *Cardinal* frequently to say, to wit, That a Concubine is the honest Man's (that is, the Priest's) *Richlieu.* Recreation.

But our Religion allows of none of these Things, but plainly condemns them. Our Holy Institution commands Sanctity of Body as well as Soul. Therefore (whatever others do) let us strictly devote ourselves to a Chast and Pure Conversation. Let us preserve ourselves Undeiled, whether it be in a Single Life, or in a Married State. Let us suppress all irregular Desires in the Matter of Carnal Pleasure, and let us not endure to hear lewd Things mentioned with any other Passion but Hatred and Detestation. To shut up all, let us ever reckon the Sin of Uncleaness the greatest Reproach to our Rational Nature, the highest Defamation of Christianity, the greatest Grievance to the Spirit of God, and that which will bring down the severest Judgments upon us without hearty Repentance.

T H E T A B L E O F Forbidden MARRIAGES.

There are these Thirty of the Female Sex which a Man may not Marry.

A Grandmother,
 A Grandfather's Wife,
 A Wife's Grandmother,
 A Father's Sister,
 A Mother's Sister,
 A Father's Brother's Wife,
 A Mother's Brother's Wife,
 A Wife's Father's Sister,
 A Wife's Mother's Sister,
 A Mother,
 A Step-mother,
 A Wife's Mother,
 A Daughter,
 A Wife's Daughter,
 A Son's Wife,

A Sister,
 A Wife's Sister,
 A Brother's Wife,
 A Son's Daughter,
 A Daughter's Daughter,
 A Son's Son's Wife,
 A Wife's Son's Daughter,
 A Daughter's Son's Wife,
 A Wife's Daughter's Daughter,
 A Brother's Daughter,
 A Sister's Daughter,
 A Brother's Son's Wife,
 A Sister's Son's Wife,
 A Wife's Brother's Daughter,
 A Wife's Sister's Daughter.

A Woman may not Marry any of these Thirty following.

A Grandfather,
 A Grandmother's Husband,
 A Husband's Grandfather,
 A Father's Brother,
 A Mother's Brother,
 A Father's Sister's Husband,
 A Mother's Sister's Husband,
 A Husband's Father's Brother,
 A Husband's Mother's Brother,
 A Father
 A Step-mother,
 A Husband's Father,
 A Son,
 A Husband's Son,
 A Daughter's Husband.

A Brother,
 A Husband's Brother,
 A Sister's Husband,
 A Son's Son,
 A Daughter's Son,
 A Son's Daughter's Husband,
 A Daughter's Daughter's Husband,
 A Husband's Son's Son,
 A Husband's Daughter's Son,
 A Brother's Son,
 A Sister's Son,
 A Brother's Daughter's Husband,
 A Sister's Daughter's Husband,
 A Husband's Brother's Son,
 A Husband's Sister's Son.

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APPENDIX

Concerning MARRIAGE.

HAVING mentioned *Marriage* in the foregoing Discourse, as a proper Preservative against the Sins forbidden in the Seventh Commandment, I will now distinctly speak of *that State of Life*, and display the *Benefits* and *Advantages*, and vindicate the *Honour* and *Credit* of it, and shew in what manner we are to enter into it, and proceed in it. It is not to be denied, that Marriage hath its proper Inconveniencies: There are peculiar Cares, Entanglements, and Hindrances belonging to it. For the New Relations that are acquired by it, as those of *Husband* and *Wife*, *Father* and *Mother*, *Master* and *Mistress*, are attended with particular Crosses and Troubles. But then it is to be considered, that there is no Condition of Life whatsoever without Inconveniencies and Grievances; and particularly Celibacy, or a single State, is a great Trouble and Nuisance of itself; it is Comfortless and Distressed, Naked and Unarmed, exposed to Hazards, and beset with dangerous Temptations. But the State of Wedlock (whereof I am now to speak) if it be Wisely and Prudently entered into and managed (to which I hope to contribute by this Discourse) hath a great and natural tendency to a happy way of living, as it is conducing to Order and Government; to Industry and Diligence; to good Husbandry and Frugality; to Stability and Settledness, and to a prospect and care for Futurity. It is best for the Good of Mankind; for the Uses of humane Life; for the Interest of the Universe, and the Welfare of Christian Societies. Thence Married Persons have been stiled *Blessed*, those that *live* in the World; and *Blessed* is synonymous with Marriage. Such Persons are properly said to *live*, whilst the Unmarried, as the Apostle saith of some Widows, are *dead whilst they live*. A loving Wife is a Charm against all Evils; this *Amulet* doth wonderful things; it cures Diseases more effectually than any other, by hanging about the Neck.

But there have been always some in the World that have remonstrated against this State of Life; and these are of two sorts, the *Religious* and the *Witty*; that is, those who would be thought to be such. As to the former, it is not to be denied that some in the *Primitive* times of Christianity, who pretended to extraordinary Piety and Sanctity, did highly extol Virginity, and on the contrary disparaged and vilified a married Life. But a full Answer may be given to this in these following Particulars. First, The Antient Fathers saw that in that time of *Persecution*, Marriage was very dangerous, and therefore they advised to the other State. Again, they praised *Virginity* as it was a help to Privacy and Retirement, and afforded more frequent opportunities of Meditation and Devotion.

But further, if any of them superstitiously prized that State, and thought it Meritorious (as the Roman Catholicks do at this Day) it was a Fault, and it cannot be defended. But it appears, that there were those in the first Ages that had other Thoughts of it, as one of them testifies. * "There are not a few, (saith he) that enjoy the perpetual Virginity of their unstained Bodies, rather than they can be said to glory in it." And truly our Reason will guide us to know this, that an *Unmarried State* considered barely and abstractly in itself, hath no more to commend it than the *Married*.

* *Plerique in violati corporis Virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius quam gloriantur.* Minut. Fel.

Moreover, we are to consider who they were that presumed to condemn Wedlock; none but deluded and heretical Persons. *Saturninus*, a professed *Gnostic*, held that Marriage was of the Devil, as *Irenaeus* relates; and most of that Sect cried it down as a cursed and diabolical thing. The *Marcionites*, the *Montanists*, and the *Manicheans*, declar'd it to be Unlawful. The *Hierachites* (call'd so from c. 22.

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Hieracha,

Hieracha, an Egyptian Monk, a little after *Origen's* time) held that Marriage excluded from Heaven, and they admitted none but Single Persons into their Communion. But here by the way we are to note, That the *Gnostics* and some others, who were very fierce against Marrying, allowed of, and practised promiscuous Lust and Lewdness. It is an Honour then to this State that it is Doomed by *such*, and by high-flown *Enthusiasts*, who are Strangers both to Reason and Religion.

Some make use of the Holy Scripture to Patronize this Cause; and the chief Place which they allege is 1 Cor. 7. 1. *It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman*; that is, to marry her, and know her, as the Word imports in Gen. 20. 6. Prov. 6. 29. And accordingly it hath the signification of * *Enjoying*, in some other Authors. We are to know then, that when the Apostle lived, the Times were difficult and perilous, and *Persecution* was the allotment of the Faithful Christians; and therefore that was an unfit Season for embracing a Conjugal Life. Seeing the Fury and Malice of the Heathens was like to separate Married Pairs from one another, and thereby Families would become forlorn and miserable, and all Domestick Affairs must needs suffer, it seemed good to St. Paul to dissuade his *Corinthians* from entering into the Matrimonial Bonds. They then mistake his Mind in interpreting the Words otherwise, as *Tertullian* and *Origen*, and some other Writers have done. This only is the thing that is deducible from the Apostle's Words, that the condition of *those Times* was a great discouragement to a Married Life. And the Apostle there Interprets himself in that Chapter, v. 26. *This is good* (saith he) that is, *not to touch a Woman*, not to marry, for the present Distress, namely, in regard of the Dangers and Calamities which the Church of Christ, and every Christian was exposed to at that time. We see then, that the Authority of the Apostle is made use of to no purpose, because it is wholly mis-understood. Of which we cannot but be convinced, when we find in this very Chapter, a positive License given to the Christians to change their Condition, if they saw occasion for it, and were willing to venture on the Dangers which attended Matrimony. But and if thou marry, saith he, thou hast not sinned, v. 28. There is no absolute Unlawfulness in doing so. And he condemned those Hereticks that taught otherwise, forbidding to marry, 1 Tim. 4. 3.

But the Witty People are another sort of Men, that affect to rally upon Marriage; and that they may have a full shock at it, they except against the other Sex itself. Though what they suggest be not worth a serious Reflection, yet because we live in an Age of Wit, it may be expected that something should be said to obviate their Railery, and thereby to discover their Vanity, which is the true ground of it. To Libel that Sex, they make no scruple of Jestings with the Holy Volume. They tell us, there are but too Books in the Bible that have the Names of Women prefixed to them, *Ruth* and *Esther*, and God's Name is not so much as mentioned in the latter of them, as if Women had nothing Divine in them. But this is very poor, mean and trifling, and if it must be call'd Wit, 'tis but the lowest Dreggs of it; for tho' that Book bears the Title of that Woman, it is not because she was the Author of it, but because she was the Person that was the Instrument of that remarkable Deliverance related there. And besides, these Witty Men forget that the Book of *Canticles*, wherein there is no mention of the Name of God, was Penned by one of another Sex, yea, by the *Wiseſt of Men*. It is not the bare Name of God that renders a Book Authentic and Divine, but the Principal Matter and the Inspiration.

Further, These Gentlemen allege, that *Female Sacrifices* were not accepted of God among the *Jews*, nor were they in use among other Nations; and thence they would attempt to blast the Reputation of that Sex. But first they unduly and unreasonably make a transition from one Species to another, and therein shew, that they cannot distinguish between Brutes and Rational Creatures. Secondly, They let us understand that they are not well acquainted with the Sacred Book (for we may observe this, that our Wits that Jest out of the Bible, are little acquainted with the Contents of it, but however, they snatch at as much as will serve them to make Merry with.) If they had looked into Lev. 3. 6. they might have seen there that the *Peace-offerings* among the *Jews* by God's own appointment, were of *Females* as well as *Males*. And as to the *Pagan Sacrifices*, they are very much out there too; for as *Servius* notes on *Æn. 8.* *Female Sacrifices* were accounted the most acceptable to the Gods.

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Some of the Persons with whom we have to do at present, are pleased to cross the Water and fly to the *Salique Law*. *The Lilies spin not*, (as they are pleased to Burlesque the Text) the *French Scepter* and the *Distaff* are not compatible, as that People knew by their own Effeminacy, that 'twas not fit a Woman should rule over them. But they might have inform'd themselves that other Nations, as Wise and Prudent, have allowed of *Female Reigns*. We are not destitute of Sacred and Prophane History to attest this to us by several Examples. In all Ages of the World the Scepter hath not been denied to that Sex. And *Plutarch* tells us that the Women of *Sparta* had the Privilege of Votes in the Publick Assemblies and Councils, by *Lycurgus's* Laws. This Privilege hath been granted to a *French Female*, and is not at this Day denied her; which shews that the *Salique Law* is but a Sham, that the *Lilies spin*, and *Female Government* in *France* is *A-la-mode*.

Our fanciful Objectors against Women, deal in Poetry and Fiction, and tell us, that the *Furies* and the *Destinies* were of that Sex: But it seems Wit and Memory are not Couples, for they forgot that the *Muses* and *Graces* are Women too. And they might also recollect that the *Furies* were not Married Folks, but Virgins. Again, those that have an ill Opinion of the Sex, vainly allege, that *Euripides* in his Plays, always represents Women *Bad*. But they should have informed themselves, that another Eminent Author, *Sophocles*, in his Performances, which are equally Famous, ever makes them *Good*. Wherefore they shew themselves Partial and Prejudiced, in giving Ear only to that Poet who was so very Tragical against Women, and justly got the Name of *Woman-hater*, for his inveighing so often against them. These Men, who will still be pretending to Wit and Pleasantry, tell us, that among the *Post-Pradicaments*, the *Modus habendi Uxorem*, is by Logicians called the *Worst* way of *Having*, and so they think they disparage both Women and Marriage at once. But these betray their Ignorance, whilst they confound one Science with another, and consider not, that tho' in the terms of *Logick*, the fore-mentioned Mode be reckoned the *Worst*, yet in *Ethicks*, *Oeconomicks* and *Politicks*, it is the *Best*.

In short, nothing is more observable than that great numbers of Men, out of Wantonness and an affectation to be thought Ingenious and Jocular, are wont to have a sling at Matrimony and Women. The *Jewish Rabbins* think themselves great Wits in jeering the Sex for their restless Tongues and false Tears, as we frequently find in their Writings. Nay, they are so Virulent as to publish to the World, that * the Honestest Woman on Earth is a Witch, and given to Enchantment and Sorcery. The *Arabians* vote all married Persons to be Fools, in that Proverb of theirs, *If all Men were wise, (that is, if they would abstain from Marriage) the World would soon be at an End*. And generally there is an intemperate way of Talking and Writing against the Sex, as if they were Monsters. *Mantuan* in his Fourth *Eclog*, represents them as the worst Things in Nature. The same Author that gives us the *Encomium* of an *Ass*, writes the *Praise of Women*. And even those Writers that admire them, thrust them below the Species of Reasonable Creatures. Thus the most Infamous Author of the *Oracles of Reason*, calls a Woman the most lovely Brute of the Universe.

* *Probißima etiam Mulier addita est maleficiis. Tract. Kiddushim in Talmud.*

Even some Men of Gravity cannot abstain from inveighing against the Sex, as such. *Cato* often said, That, *if the World was without Women, the Gods would come down and Converse with Men: But whilst those are here, these will never visit us*. Yea, *Chrysostom*, the celebrated Father of the *Greek Church*, the famous Pulpit Orator, made a *Sermon in the Dispraise of all Women*, and tells us, † That Matrimony in its own Nature is a Sin; only by Divine permission it is Excusable. In brief, he is reckoned the *Wittiest Man* that is most ready and dextrous in Defaming of Women, though at the same time he Defames himself. But no serious and thoughtful Man will give Ear to the lewd Harangues and common Places against that Sex, for all is meer Battle of Wit, and Trial of Skill, and they can say as much on the other side if they please.

† *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum. Homil. 1.*

But hear how they renew the Battle, and exclaim afresh against the Sex for being the Authors of the greatest Miseries in the World. "The Serpent began the Temptation with the Woman, and was Successful; *Adam* cried, *The Woman gave me of the Tree, and I did eat*: And by that first Transgression all their Posterity were ruined. Ever since that fatal Defection, Women have been pernicious

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ous to Mankind. *Jezabel* put the Project of *Naboth's* Murder into *Ahab's* Head, and carried it on. *Job's* Wife bid him Curse God and die. Hereticks have pro-

* *Arius ut orbem deciperet, sororem Principis prius decepit. Epist. ad Ctesiphon.*

pagated their dangerous Errors by the help of that Sex. 'Tis observed by St. *Jerom* concerning *Arius*, * that in order to deceive the World, he first deceived the Emperor's Sister. *Simon Magus* had his *Helena*; *Montanus* his *Prisca* and *Maximilla*; *Donatus* his *Lucilla*. The Emperor was instigated by his Wife *Eudoxia* the Empress, to Persecute *Chrysostom*, which it is probable, stirred him up to be so severe (as we have heard) against all Women for her sake.

The Answer to all this is obvious, and needs no studying for; as some Women have been the Authors of the greatest Evil, so others have been of the greatest Good. There are innumerable Examples in Sacred and Prophane History to confirm this latter. The *Old-Testament* furnishes us with Noble Patterns of Vertue, and of all Excellencies in that Sex. So doth the *New-Testament*. And the following Ages had their *Paula's*, *Eustochium's*, *Marcella's*, Women famous for Devotion and Piety, and all excellent Accomplishments. And no Age of the World hath been so barren as not to bring forth those of that Sex who have been eminently beneficial to Mankind, and serviceable to the World in the highest degree. And if you say that there have been, and are very bad Women in the World, it is no more than what they can object to us, namely, that the World abounds with bad Men. It is as reasonable then to inveigh against the whole Race of *Men*, as against that of *Women*. Thus you see what little ground there is to attend to the Raillery and Sophistry of those that study to expose a *Married Life*, and for the sake of that, *all Women*. Indeed I was questioning with myself, whether I should take notice of the Vain and Trifling, and even Ridiculous Suggestions of these Men; but I concluded at length, that it would not be improper to expose their Folly, seeing I had undertaken the Defence of that Sex, which God and Nature have made so agreeable and beneficial to us.

Whatever prejudiced, fanciful, and extravagant Men may suggest, we are sure the Apostle is in the right, and utters an incontestible Truth, *Marriage is honorable in all, and the Bed undefiled*. The Married State is not only Lawful, but Noble and Worthy, appointed by God, and of Divine Institution. It was first ordained in *Paradise*, in the State of Innocency; *God said it is not good the Man should be alone: I will make him a Help meet for him*, Gen. 2. 18. This gives Repute and Authority to Wedlock, and renders it Commendable and Honourable: And it hath been always esteemed as such by those who have a Reverence for God's Ordinance and Appointment. It is observable that our Saviour himself honoured Marriage with his Person and first Miracle, graceing the Solemnity by turning *Water into Wine*, the Weaker into the more Generous Liquor; by that as it were representing *Matrimony*, which is the mixture of Male and Female, the one Warm and Vigorous, the other Weaker and Cooler.

Here I may take notice of the high Esteem some Nations have had of a Married Life, and how concerned they were that Men should not always be

* *ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀγαπῶντες πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες. Pollux, l. 3. c. 3.*

† *Plutarch in Lycurg.*

* *Annal. lib. 3.*
† *Tit. de inf. p. ana. calib.*

Single. Among the *Lacedemonians* there were * *Actions* brought against Men for not marrying, and for marrying Late: and those that liv'd Unmarried were † Infamous among that People by the Law. There were Penalties among the *Romans* inflicted on those that refused to marry after such a term of Years, as * *Tacitus* and the † *Code* testify. Every one is bound to embrace Matrimony at 25 Years of Age by the *Alcoran*. The *Tartars* think this so good and excellent a thing, that they believe their God *Matagai* hath a Wife and Children. And if their Sons and Daughters die before they are at Age, they celebrate a Marriage between Parties thus Deceased, that they may be Man and Wife in the other World. Tho' this is very gross indeed, and is a sign they are unacquainted with what our Saviour said, *In Heaven they neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage*; yet it shews what respect and esteem these People have for the State of Wedlock, and how congruous it is to the Natural Reason and Sentiments of Mankind. The more deplorable is the Behaviour of this present Age, wherein nothing is more despised than Matrimony, by a sort of Men. It is not only Reviled and Ridiculed on every Stage, but Condemned in the common Practise of those who prefer a Concubine to a Wife, and count Marriage a Scandalous State of Life.

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And thus now having finished the two first Things I propounded, namely to display the *Benefits of a Married Life*, and to assert the *Honour and Reputation* of it, I proceed to the Third and last Part of my Undertaking, which is the Principal thing I design'd; namely, to offer some *Directions* whereby Persons may regulate themselves in their entering into this State of Life, and in their continuing in it. For though God created a Wife for *Adam* when he was *Asleep*, yet we must be *Awake* and *watchful*, if we expect such a Blessing. Great Care and Diligence must be used in this weighty Enterprize. That it may prove Happy and Prosperous to us, we should observe these following Rules.

1. Marriage must be with great *Deliberation*. * There is no Undertaking of Man's Life that doth more require freedom of Thought and Choice than this doth. And therefore we must take Time to consider and deliberate about this Weighty and Important Matter. *Plato* would have no Man Marry before Thirty, nor *Aristotle* before Thirty five Years of Age, designing thereby not absolutely and peremptorily to confine Persons to that very Computation, but to warn them against a precipitant changing of their State, and to put them in mind of acting very cautiously and Warily in this Affair, and not to enter into the Matrimonial Bonds till they have arrived to those Years, wherein they are able to act with some Discretion and Judgment, and give a full Consent to what they do. Nor should they only weigh and consider the Matter themselves, but apply to their Friends, but especially their Parents, for their Advice and Counsel. The contrary Practice is too frequent at this Day; and to it we may impute the unhappy Contracts that are made. For Love or Lust is Blind and Rash, and rushes into Mischief without any Precaution: And it is deplorable to mention that any *Ecclesiastics* stand ready to promote it. *St. Pancras* and *St. Alphage* have been open to all Comers.

* *Nusquam libertas tam necessaria quam in Matrimonio est. Quintil.*

2. Marry not meerly for *Money or Estate*. A great Fortune (as 'tis call'd) is the main inducement with some both Men and Women, to Marry. A remarkable Instance of the latter we have in the Sacred Story: King *Saul* had two Daughters, *Merab* and *Michal*. The former was *David's* due on the Day he slew *Goliath*, by *Saul's* public Promise, for she was the Reward proposed to the Person that could kill that Giant. But she despised the Match, and his Shepherds Habit and Low Family: And though he was promised and designed, yet she would not accept of him. His Valour and Prowess, and worthy worthy Atchievements, were disregarded by her, because he was a Younger Brother, and had no Estate. She married therefore to the Rich *Adriel*. But *David* was put off with a younger Daughter, and it proved by the Providence of God, to both their liking; for they entirely Loved one another. This is the prevailing Fault of Men, as well as Women, they Court the Estate rather than the Person who hath it; they may be said to wed the Lands and Money, not the Possessor. A Wife is put to Sale, and Marriage is a mere Bargain.

3. Let not the Man marry the Woman meerly for *Beauty*, or *Finery*, for *Feature*, or for *Dress*; which latter is the Body's Artificial Beauty. If Women's Faces were always the Pourtraict of their Hearts, they might deservedly be admired always; but some complain that there is not a constant Affinity between these two. If they be Beauties, they are seldom Chast; the Temptations being so many and so strong that it is difficult to resist them. Besides, the delicacy of their Vizard makes some of them Proud and Imperious, and those Qualities are attended with others as bad; with Passion and Rage; with Noise and Clamour: So that we may apply here the Proverb which the *French* have, *The Peacock hath the Wings of an Angel, but the Voice of a Demon*. And as for rich Apparel, though a Vertuous Woman deserves it, as a good Author's Volume a fair Binding and good Guilding yet it is egregious Folly in a Man to be Enamoured with her for her Ornaments and Finery, to fall in love with her Habit; to worship a Golden Calf made of Ear-rings: In a Word, to marry her Garniture and Ornaments.

4. Marry not a Woman meerly on the account of her *Wit*, *Learning*, or *Parts*. Arts and Sciences are not the proper Talent of that Sex. Though * One tells us, * *Selden* that he finds in *Enoch's Apocrypha*, that the Mathematicks were invented by Women, *de Dis Syr.* yet I do not think it requisite that a Wife should be a Mathematician, or very deeply skill'd in any of the Liberal Arts. I approve of that of *Martial* in his Epigrams,

— Sit non doctissima conjux.

It

† Non est
sapientia
Mulierini-
fi in Colo.
Joma.

It is not necessary that any of that Sex should be Great Clerks, though I utterly abhor what some of the old *Jewish Rabbins* say, That † She must know no more than her Spinning. This is indeed Jewish and Unchristian, Harsh and Barbarous: She ought according to her Genius and her Quality, to be furnished with useful Knowledge: She should cultivate her Mind with those Accomplishments that are proper for her Circumstances; but especially let her Embellish her Understanding with Divine and Sacred Knowledge, such as will promote Religion and Devotion, and the sincere practise of Godliness. But if with the neglect of this she sets up for a Wit, she will certainly abuse that Talent, and make it subservient to Levity and Prophaneness, and she will behave herself proudly and insolently, because Wit is the Accomplishment but of a few either of that Sex, or of the other: And if her Husband be destitute of this Attainment, he runs the risque of being despised by her, nay of having that petulant Faculty exercised upon himself, and perhaps in Company, which will joyn with her to make him their Sport.

5. Tho' you are not to Marry merely for Money, Beauty, or Wit, yet never Marry one that is *Poor*, or *Deformed*, or a *Fool*. Not one that is *Poor*, for when I advised you before not to marry for an Estate, I did not mean by it, that having no Portion is a good Qualification in a Wife, and that Poverty is a good Title to Wedlock, but that this should be entered into upon *other* Considerations chiefly: A *Single Life* with Indigency may be born, but that and *Wedlock* together are a double Misery. If you be not able with your own Estate and way of living to maintain a Wife, never take one that hath none. Again, choose not one whose *Deformity* is very Conspicuous and Remarkable, unless some extraordinary Qualities and Perfections compound for it, lest you should be tempted afterwards to change the Object of your Sight, and look upon others as more acceptable. Wherefore make choice of one who hath competent Comeliness, or who by Modesty mends her Countenance, and gives it a Beauty by Blushes: Yet, this I must add, that if after Marriage, she by Sickness, or any Casualty, happen to contract any considerable Defects and Blemishes, these ought not to occasion any abatement of Conjugal Esteem and Love; and to that End 'tis requisite that we always choose for our constant Mate such a one as we know is Mistress of those Accomplishments and Graces which are not liable to be impaired by any Accidents whatsoever, that so we may ever find that in her which deserves our Love. Lastly, Methinks there should be no need of advising a Man or Woman not to Marry one that is noted for *Folly* and *Weakness*; for this too plainly shews that they themselves are liable to the same Imputation.

* Cui erant
omnia præ-
ter bonam
Mentem.
Tacit.

6. Above all things make choice of a *Virtuous* Person, one that fears God, one whose Mind is endued with a deep Sense of Religion, and whose Conversation is Regular and Upright. All the foresaid Qualifications must give place to this, and without this they are mean and inconsiderable, and of no real Value. There are many of whom that which the Historian said of *Nero's* Mistress is true, * *They have all things, but a Good and Virtuous Mind*. And the want of this alone makes them unfit to be taken into the Conjugal Embraces. For we see what a powerful influence so near and intimate a Society hath: It makes the Parties mutually exchange their Qualities. Wherefore it concerns those that design a Married Life, to joyn themselves to such as are possessors of true Grace and Virtue. And let them remember this, that as there is no true *Friendship* but what is founded on *Piety*, so it is as certain that there can be no *Conjugal Fidelity*, which doth not commence on, and flow from the fear of God.

† Aristot.
Hist. Ani-
mal. l. 9.
c. 1.

7. Next to Religion, *Good-Nature* is to be prized most. This contains in it a peaceable and quiet Temper, a sweet Disposition, an obliging and winning Carriage, free from all extravagant Passion, Wrath and Bitterness. Else a Man, in a worse Sense than the *Duke of Venice*, marries the *Adriatick*, is espoused to Waves and Storms. For so 'tis here, as † Naturalists observe of some Brutes, the *Females* are more Fierce, when they are provoked and incensed, than the *He-Ones*. But Good Nature is Mild and Gentle, Benign and Loving, and begets the same Qualities in others. Good Nature in a Woman supplies the absence of Beauty, Wealth, and Parts; it is an inestimable Jewel, and is a rich Portion of it self, and in a Man it covers most of his Defects.

8. Be careful to marry one *suitable* to you; suitable in Age, Birth, and Humour: Such a one will be truly a *Meet-Help*. That Woman who is a very good Wife for one Man, would be a very bad one for another; and so of Husbands it holds as true. The Reason is, because *Suitableness* or *Unsuitableness* make good or bad Wives or Husbands. Wherefore great Care should be taken, that there be an Equality between them in all Respects, but especially as to their Inclinations and Genius. The Sullen and Chearful never do well together: The Angry and Meek are Antipodes to one another: The Niggardly and Free-hearted do but create Antipathies and irreconcilable Aversions to each other. Wherefore every Man's Wife should be as *Adam's* was, a piece of himself, that is, every ways like him.

9. Be well satisfied of one another's *Love, Chastity, and Faithfulness*, and increase and nourish them by all means. Though a Woman be never so Knowing, Rich, Beautiful, Good-natured, yea, never so Virtuous, yet if *she loves me not*, she is no Wife for me. For the Married Life is that wherein Love is exalted to its Height, and yet is tyed down to one. The Conjugal Love is not a common Affection, but is confined to him or her alone whom we have chosen. A Wife (as Sir Thomas Overbury rightly saith) is an Abbreviature of all the rest of the Sex; to her Husband she must be (as *Eve* was) all the World of Woman-kind. In a Wife a Man enjoys all the Sex, and yet none but one. Love is the main Ingredient of a Married State, and renders it transcendently Amiable above all others: Here are Sympathizing and mutual Bearings, desire of each other's Presence, delighting in their mutual Society and Fellowship. Here are peculiar Familiarities, Endearments, and Enjoyments, which no other State is capable of. Here is an union of Minds and Bodies: Here are two Persons made one, and ever continue so. Though the Fire of Love may *flame* out most at the beginning, yet it must *burn* always, and nothing must extinguish it. Which was perhaps meant of that Custom among the *Old Romans*, of the Bride's *touching Fire and Water*, to shew she must go through all Difficulties and Hazards with her Husband, and must persevere in Love and Chastity.

10. Let it never be known which of them is *Superior*. Always divide and share your Power. Not but that in case of Competition, the Man may and ought to claim Authority over the Woman, because as the Apostle saith, *The Man is not of the Woman, but the Woman of the Man: Neither was the Man created for the Woman, but the Woman for the Man*, 1 Cor. 11. 8, 9. And thereupon the subjection of the Wife to the Husband is become her Duty, Eph. 5. 22. Col. 3. 18. And in 1 Tim. 2. 12. the Apostle is very peremptory; *I suffer not a Woman to usurp Authority over the Man*. Though they are but *one Flesh*, yet they are two distinct Relations; and one is above the other by the Law of the first Creation, and by the positive Appointment of God. ~~But notwithstanding this, let them never dispute the~~ Dominion, but both Rule, and both be Subject. As *Sarah* obey'd *Abraham*, and called him *Lord*, 1 Pet. 3. 6. So I might observe, that her Name (that very Name which God himself gave her, and by which her Husband called her) signifies a * *La-*

* Sarah,
principem
esse, prin-
cipatum
obtinere.

Lastly, Begin and proceed in the Conjugal State with *Prayer* and great *Devotion*, and all acts of Religion and Piety. The *Sponsalia* among the *Hebrews* were called *Kiddushim*, from their *Sanctity*. Marriages among the antient Christians were † publicly performed with the solemn Consecration and Blessing of their Minister. We read that the Marriage-bed hath been Sanctified by Prayer: Thus *Isaac* obtain-
ed a *Jacob*; *Hannah* a *Samuel*; *Zacharias* a *John*, by religious Addresses to Heaven. And these being Children of Prayer, they were most eminently Good and Holy. And through the whole course of the married State, Devotion and the care of Religion must take place. And that these may flourish in the Family, I advise to the constant perusal of *Holy Scriptures*, for they furnish us with the best Rules and Directions, as for all other Conditions, so more particularly for this of Wedlock. I will mention only one, and conclude with it; *Brethren, the time is short, it remains that they that have Wives, be as tho' they had none*, 1 Cor. 7. 29. By which Words the Apostle doth not make a Divorce between Man and Wife, but intends this, that they should not immoderately value and esteem that State of Life, that their mutual Passions and Endearments should not be Excessive and Imprudent; that they should not over-prize the Domestick and Conjugal Blessings, but remember that the *Time is short*, the Season of these present and *Worldly* Enjoyments is of no long duration, they

† Tertul.
lib. 2. ad
Uxor. cap.
8.

they cannot tell how soon they may be snatched from them; therefore they ought to prepare for that time, and to be in constant expectation of it. For which Reason they must not pursue with inordinate Affections the Conveniences and Delights which are proper to the married Life: And they must take care that the Love they bear to their nearest Relations, hinder not their more zealous Love of Goodness and Holiness. Think of this, that you can never be able to excuse your offending and displeasing of God by your pleasing of them. Your Conjugal Union must not separate you from God and Religion. What was ordained by Heaven for a Help, must not prove an impediment to a Holy Life. They must not be permitted to tempt you to Sin and Wickedness, who were originally designed to further you in the ways of Vertue, and in the performance of your Duty.

To shut up all, look upon the Persons who are most nearly Related to you, as lent unto you only for a Season, and therefore you ought so to love them as to be ready to part with them whensoever it shall seem good to the All-wise disposer of all things to call for them. The Note you are to be always warbling to your selves is, *Linquenda domus & tellus & placens Uxor*; that is, you must bid farewell to all your dearest Enjoyments and Relations. Marriage is calculated only for this Life; in the other there is no such thing, for that Immortal State needs it not, but they are equal with the Angels, Luke 20. 36. exalted to the Rank and Perfection of those Glorious Spirits. Let the serious belief and contemplation of that Future State of Happiness render you willing to change this for it. Which is a high degree of that Accomplishment, which (as you have heard) the Apostle requires in Christian Husbands, and Wives too, who having those Relations, ought to be *as though they had none*.

THE

T H E

Eighth COMMANDMENT.

[Thou shalt not Steal.]

Under this Commandment is shewed what are the several Kinds of Theft: What is Theft, with regard to Commerce and Traffick. The nature of Sacrilege. The right Notion of Usury is settled, with respect to the Mosaic Law, and to the Gospel. How Luke 6. 31. is to be understood. The Office of a Judge or Minister of Justice. How far Going to Law hath the allowance of Christianity.

THIS Commandment was designed for the Security of our Possessions, Goods and Estate. And therefore here (before I go any further) I observe that there are *Distinct Rights and Dominions, Proper and Peculiar Interests*; else there could not be Theft, for this is an invading of another's Right and Property. Wherefore if there be Theft, there is Property. Tho' it is true, that the particular Laws of it, and the bounding of it are from the Laws of the Place, and depend on the determination of the Governors: Yet there is such a thing as *Title and Tenure, proper Right and Claim*, Maugre the fond persuasion of some *Anabaptists and Levellers*, who would have all Things common.

But these Men tell us that the *Wicked* are unjust Possessors of the Things of this World, for Dominion is founded in Grace, and Grace in Election, and therefore the Reprobates have no right to these Things. To which I Answer, 1. This arguing destroys what they pretend to, that is, *Community of Goods*, for this fixes the Propriety in one sort of Persons only, the Elect. 2. This would bring in endless Confusions and Quarrels, for who hath *Grace*, and who are *Elect* would be the Controversy, which it is impossible to decide, where there are contending Parties, and where Prejudice and Partiality have any sway. 3. Our Christian Religion directs the contrary, and Authorizes the lawful and just Title which Men have to their Possessions. Our Saviour hath let us know that *his Kingdom is not of this World*, John 18. 16. That is, the Kingdom of Grace doth not prejudice the Interest, or interfere with and impair the Civil Rights which Men have in this World; their Property still remains entire.

But the Practice of the *Primitive Christians* is alleged as an Example on the contrary. *The multitude of them that believed, had all things common*, Acts 14. 32. To which I answer, 1. Tho' it was so in the beginning of the Church, yet it doth not thence follow that it must be so ever after, for their Example is no settled Rule. But 2dly, it appears from St. Peter's Words to *Ananias*, that Property was not taken away even at that time. *While that it remained* (that is, whilst the Land remained unfold) *was it not thy own?* Acts 5. 4. Hadst thou not a Property in it, and couldest have disposed of it as thou pleasedst? It is clear then that the Christians might have kept their Land and Money to themselves, it being their *own*; they were not obliged to part with them. Only, for the present Exigency, they voluntarily offered their Possessions and Goods towards the common Maintenance of those that had imbraced the Christian Faith, many of whom were Poor, and stood in need of Relief from others. If we consider these Things, we shall be convinced that the Practice of those Christians in the first Times, and at *Antioch* only (for we do not find that it prevailed any where else) doth not oblige the Christians of future Times. Notwithstanding then what hath been objected, we have reason to be persuaded,

Y y y

that

that Men's *Rights* and *Titles* are inviolable, that there is a certain *Propriety* and *Tenure* which must not be invaded.

If we do not grant this, there is no such *Virtue* as *Truth* and *Fidelity*, for these suppose *Commerce* and *Traffick*, but there cannot be any thing of this Nature, where there is no *Title* to any thing. Again, we open a Door to all *Sloth* and *Idleness*, and banish out of the World all *Industry*, if a Man can call nothing his own, and it is impossible to gain a *Right* to any thing by all his *Diligence* and *Pains*. Besides, we destroy all *Bounty* and *Liberality*, yea all *Charity*, for where all is common, there is no room for giving more or less, as we see occasion. In short, the community of Goods is confuted by this Commandment against *Theft* and *Stealing*; for if all Things be common, there is no *Property* or distinct *Right*, and consequently there can be no *Theft* or *Incroaching* on that *Right*. But we see that God hath taken care of the *Rights* and *Possessions* of Men: He hath appointed that every one shall quietly and safely enjoy what *Providence* hath allotted them. As he Created the World, so he assigns unto the *Inhabitants* of it that *Portion* which his *Divine Wisdom* thinks fit and convenient for them; that so no Man may seek to grow *Rich* and *Wealthy* by doing any wrong, but that all may expect a *Blessing* from the Hand of God, who is the dispenser of every good Gift. To this end God hath imposed it as an indispensable Law, *Thou shalt not Steal*; by which our *Property* is secured, and all manner of *Wrong* is forbidden, and *Justice* in all our *Dealings* and *Converse* is strictly commanded.

And so I proceed to Discourse on the Commandment itself, and I will do it in the same Method I have used before, when I treated of the other Commandments. That is, first I will consider the *Negative*, and secondly, the *Positive* part of the Commandment. For the first, the *Negative* part, to wit, what is forbidden and condemned here, we are to know that it extends to *Ourselves* as well as to our *Neighbours*.

I begin with the former: We are forbid to *Wrong ourselves* as to our Goods and Possessions. We are to do nothing that will injure and impair our own Estates and Livelyhood. Wherefore one main Thing disallowed of in this Commandment, as it respects ourselves, is living without a Calling, or wholly neglecting our Calling, and living in *Idleness*. We are told that *the Idle Soul shall suffer Hunger*, Prov. 19.

*Prov. 10. 15. And in *other Places, the Wise-man confirms us in the same Truth, namely, 4. 12. 24. that *Idleness* is the way to *Poverty* and *Beggary*; and these are the way to that *Theft* 20. 13. which injures others. Whence the *Hebrew Ministers* say, He that brings not up his Son to some Lawful Calling and Employment, teaches him to Steal. A Careless Sloathful Person that lives on others Labours, is a Thief. *Idleness* naturally disposes Men to *Robbery*. Those that Work not, Steal from others. *Drones* filch Honey from the *Bees* who take Pains for it. But this is more than I need say at present, for I am now shewing that a Man injures and Robs himself, by indulging of Sloath and *Idleness*.

Again, a Man is a Thief to himself by *Niggardliness*, and denying himself those Things which are fitting and convenient for his Subsistence and Maintenance, tho' God hath given him great Plenty and Abundance. Solomon takes Notice of and checks this foolish Self-robbery, Eccl. 4. 8. *There is one alone, and there is not a second, yea he hath neither Child nor Brother*, (that is, there is no Heir in his Family to succeed him in his Estate, there is none that he need make future Provision for in his Family) yet is there no end of all his Labours, neither saith he, *For whom do I Labour, and bereave my Soul of Good?* Why do I pinch my self, whilst I Provide for others? And because this is an Evil that is common among Men, he Censures it again, chap. 6. v. 2. *A Man to whom God hath given Riches, Wealth and Honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his Soul of all that he desires; yet God giveth him not power to Eat thereof.* He makes no use of the Earthly Blessings which Divine Providence hath conferred on him: But by being Sordid and Penurious he deprives himself of the Comfort which he might take in the Enjoyment of them. This Man may be said to be a Beggar of a Fair Estate; and as he doth no good whilst he is Living, so he would not after his Death, but that he cannot help it, and he cannot be his own Executor. This is Self-Felony.

Others

Others are Guilty of this by a contrary Extreme, that is, *Wastfulness* and *Prodigality*. They steal from themselves by being Lavish and Profuse, and spending above their Income. They are of his Mind * who thought that there should be no other Use of Money and Wealth, but laying them out in Prodigal Expences. And even some of these Persons are *Sordid* and *Covetous* in some Things, that they may spend more *Profusely* in others. This is the Fault that the Historian Censures in *Vespasian*, † His Covetousness was the Fuel of his too Liberal Parting with his Money. So it is in others, *Sordid* Tenacity makes way sometimes for *Prodigality*. Which our Saviour observes in the Parable of that Covetous Rich Man, *Thou hast much Goods laid up for many Years, take thine Ease, Eat, Drink, and be Merry*, Luke 12. 19. He intended to change his Avarice into Excess and Riot. But this Lavishness, wherever it is, is Thievery, and Prodigality is the Consumption of Men's Goods and Estates. And therefore in the *Civil Law*, Spendthrifts and Prodigals had their *Curators* and *Guardians* appointed them, that they might not by their Extravagancy hurt themselves, as well as others.

Under this Head, *Gaming*, and keeping of *Lewd* and *Debauched Company*, and all *Gluttony* and *Drunkennes*, and giving up ourselves to Pleasures, may justly be mentioned, for these are naturally Consumers of the Estate. *He that loveth Pleasure* (or Sport, as the Original denotes) *shall be a Poor Man: He that loveth Wine and Oyl shall not be Rich*, Prov. 21. 17. The indulging ourselves in vain and superfluous Delights, and all Excess, Debauchery and Riot, are Robbing of ourselves.

And such is *Suretyship* reckoned to be by the Wise Man, Prov. 11. 15. *He that is surety for a Stranger* (one whose Condition and Circumstances, as we say, he is not acquainted with, as generally those who desire others to be bound for them, keep them ignorant of their State) *shall smart for it*, Heb. *shall be utterly broken*. And in the five first Ver. of the 6th Chap. the Danger and Mischief of such Engaging for others are most Elegantly and Pathetically described. According to the *Apostles Canons* * Κληρικὸς οὐκ ἔστω δίδος, καὶ ὑποβάλλων. Can. 19. (as they are called) a * Clergy-man is forbid to be *Surety* for others; so ill and unadvised a Thing it was Reputed by those that Compiled those Directions for the Clergy; and certainly it is as ill and unjustifiable in any other Person. From *Suretyship* as from a Man-slayer or Inchanter bless thy self, saith an † Intelligent Person. † Sir Wal. Raleigh's Advice to his Son. And he adds, to be *Surety* for another is to be wounded for other Men's Faults, and scourged for other Men's Offences, to pay the Reckoning of other Men's Riot, and the Charge of other Men's Folly and Prodigality.

From what hath been said already, it appears that the number of *Thieves* is greater than is generally thought, and there are far more of them than are taken and shut up in Prison, and brought out to be Branded or otherwise Punished. In this number you see must be reckoned the foolish Engager for other Men's Debts, the Gamester, the Drunkard, the Epicure, the Prodigal, the sordid Niggard, the idle Drone, and useless Loiterer. All these are comprehended in this Commandment, because they may be said to *Steal from themselves*, to *Rob* and *Defraud themselves*.

But this Commandment doth more signally respect our Dealings with our Neighbours, and therefore I will chiefly insist on it under that Consideration, and shew what Sins are forbidden by it. To begin with the lowest Instance of *Stealing*, here is forbid Covetousness, that is, an Unlawful desiring of other Men's Goods and Possessions. This is a degree of Theft, or an immediate Tendency to it. Which seems to be meant by the Apostle St. Peter, *Let none of you, saith he, suffer as a Thief, or such like Malefactor, or as a Coveter of other Men's Goods*: 1 Pet. 4. 15. for so I render the Word ἀλλοτριοςπίσκοπος, according to * the *Vulgar Latin*, one that * Alieno-rum appetitor. doth not barely look upon other Men's Goods, but wishes for them, and covets them, which puts him into the next Capacity of *Stealing* them, if there were an opportunity; and therefore the *Theif* and the *Covetous Person* are here joined together.

But *Actual Stealing* is that which this Commandment chiefly strikes at, and of that I shall speak next. It is † a taking away that which is none of our's. Or more fully thus, it is an unjust taking away or detaining from any Man what is his proper Goods, either without his Consent (express or tacit) or without the Warrant of some Superiour Authority. For a *Magistrate* may order the taking away of a Man's Goods by Force, and against his Will. This is the true Notion of Theft or *Stealing*, and it is the Sin here condemned. This is either *Open* or *Secret*; the former is called

* Divitiarum & pecunie fructum non alium putabat quam Profusionem. Suet. in Nerone.

† Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecunie cupiditas. — Mox Subjungitur, In omne hominum genus liberalissimus. Suet. in Vespasiano.

* Κληρικὸς οὐκ ἔστω δίδος, καὶ ὑποβάλλων. Can. 19.

† Sir Wal. Raleigh's Advice to his Son.

* Alieno-rum appetitor.

† Κλέπτειν ὁ τὰ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφαιρῶν. Suid.

* Rapina. called * Robbery ; which is an open and violent taking away of another's Goods, as when one on the High-way with force of Weapons doth this. This is a mixt Action, and is committed both against the Person and the Goods of him that is assaulted, the one being violently set upon, and put in fear of his Life ; and the other being taken away from him by force. The other sort of Theft, called by us † Larceny, is taking away privily from another that which is his, without his Knowledge, or in his Absence. To this Clandestine Theft belongs enticing away of Children or Servants, or taking them by force, and selling them for Slaves in foreign Countries. Hence Men-Stealers are put into the Catalogue of the most Notorious and Profligate Sinners, 1 Tim. i. 10.

† Latrocinium.

These are downright Thieves ; but there are several other ways of Wronging and Defrauding our Neighbours, and Usurping on their Propriety against their Will and Knowledge. As encroaching on our Neighbours Lands, called in the Mo-
saic Law removing the Land Marks, which were ever esteemed Inviolable, even among the Gentiles. Where Terminus was a God among the Old Romans, and Temples were built to him, because he was thought to fix the Boundaries of Lands, and to punish those that removed the Bounds, and invaded the Property of others. Another Instance of direct Injuring of others is, withholding the Wages of the Hireling, the not satisfying poor Labourers for their Work, or not paying them in due time, or using Artifices and Shifts to diminish their Hire. To Rob the Spittle, as we say, is worst of all, to take from those that are Poor and Necessitous aggravates the Crime. There are those who pant after the dust of the Earth on the head of the Poor, Amos 2: 7. Any thing never so mean that the Poor have.

Likewise all Oppression and Extortion, or unmerciful Exacting, Rakeing and Screwing of our Neighbours in any kind whatsoever is here forbid. Yea, denying of Alms to those that really are in Want, is a Sort of Thievery ; for we are not absolute Lords and Proprietaries of what we have, but are Stewards and Almoners, and therefore we are obliged to Dispense and Communicate some part of that we have, to our Brethren that are in Want and Penury. If we do otherwise, and shew ourselves Unmerciful and Hard-hearted to our distressed Neighbours, we Rob them of their Right, we detain from them what is their Due. I might reckon Ingratitude also among the other Instances of Defrauding and Wronging others, for we are bound to shew ourselves Thankful to those who have done us Kindnesses ; and consequently when we neglect to do so, but especially when we treat those ill who have deserved well at our Hands, we are highly Injurious to them.

And as there is Wrong and Injustice done to single Persons, so likewise to the Publick ; for there is a Publick Right in which the whole Community is concerned. And in the Imperial Law, and so indeed in the Law of Nature, it is commended to the care of all, that the Common-Wealth suffer no Detriment. And the good of the Community is to be preferred to our own private Profit. Yea indeed, these two may be said to be joined in one, and become the same, for our own Interest is involved in that of the Publick. When the Community is wronged, every individual Person feels the Effects of it, more, or less. We know then what to judge concerning the Crimes against the Publick, and raising the Price of Corn, converting the Publick Stock or Revenue to private Use, harassing and spoiling of whole Towns, Cities and Countries, yea Nations and Kingdoms. Which last is frequently done by Tyrants

and mighty Oppressors ; of whom one rightly saith, * They commit great Robbery, and under the plausible Names of Dominion and Empire disguise their Theft and Rapines. These are wont to say with him in Euripides, *If Right is to be violated, it cannot be on a better account than for a Crown*, which was also an usual Maxim with one of the Roman Emperors. But Injustice is Injustice, and Rapine is Rapine, tho' committed by Great Ones. If he that Robs at Sea with a single

Ship, be guilty of Piracy, then he that doth the same with a great Navy (as a Great, but Royal Ravager of Countries was boldly told) is much more guilty of that Crime. And if the Violences and Ravages be committed on Land, the same Judgment is to be made: And accordingly Great and Powerful Oppressors and Tyrannical Princes, who make havock of their People, are no other than Robbers, and deserve that Title, tho' it is dangerous sometimes, to call them by it.

Unto the Things forbidden by this Commandment, are to be reduced all Cheats and Circumventions, all Artifices of Tricking and Imposing upon others. For Injury is done

* Οἱ τὰς μεγάλας ἐρσάζοντο κλοπὰς σευνοῖς ἀνόμασι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐπιμερῶν τῶν λαῶν. Philo.

done to others not only by open Force and Violence, but by Fraudulent Practises and Deceits. The World abounds at this Day with these * *Impostors* and *Cheats*, who make it their Business and Liveliness to Defraud others by false Swearing, by Falsifying and Counterfeiting of Writings, &c. Among *Cheats* are to be Numbered those that Defraud others by *Gaming*; yea indeed, all Gaming for Money approaches to Theft, and is for the most part a Stealing from others. Hither must be referred the abusing and injuring of Men by *Quirks of Law*, under pretence of legal Procedure; or the putting them to undue Expences in tedious Law-Suits. It is certain that the Violent taking away of Men's Goods is not more Injurious and Felonious, than this way of Defrauding is.

* Knights of the Post is perhaps a vulgar Corruption of the Word *Impostors*.

Among *Cheats* may justly be reckoned those that borrow and pay not. Say that some of these are Generous and Liberal, and spend freely upon their Friends, yea and give to the Poor; yet they are some of the worst Thieves and Robbers, and were ever accounted so by those that can make a true estimate of Things. It was one of the Laws of the *Twelve Tables* (as † *A. Gellius* acquaints us) that the Man who † Lib. 20. had wilfully run into Debt, and was not able to pay his Creditors, was to be divided c. 1. alive by them, and every one was to take his part according to the Proportion of his Debt. Tho' this may deservedly pass for Inhumanity and too great Severity, yet it shews how detestable a Thing, and how worthy of Punishment this Sort of Injuring of others was thought to be. And questionless in all *Christian* Common-Wealths it ought to be looked upon and censured as a very unjust and wicked Practise, especially when the Borrower intends not to pay, and when he knows he is not able to do it, and is never quiet till he runs into Debt.

There are three Particulars more behind, namely, the *Abuses* in *Buying* and *Selling*, *Sacrilege* and *Usury*, which last (as well as the others) is commonly reckoned as a Breach of this Commandment. Of these I will speak more largely than I have done of the others.

First, Theft or Deceit in *Buying* and *Selling*, in *Trading* and *Merchandizing* is here forbid. The Buyer is guilty of Deceit when he knows the Condition, Use, and Advantage of what he Buys better than he that Sells it, and yet cunningly Dissembles it, and thereby Purchases it at a cheaper Rate than it is worth. This was the Guise of the Chapmen in *Solomon's* Days, *Prov. 20. 14. It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer, but when he is gone away, then he boasteth.* And now in our Days it seems to be legitimated by Prescription. The Buyer is wont to depreciate and vilify what he intends to Buy, especially if the Seller be Ignorant of the worth of it, that he may buy it the Cheaper. Likewise the Buyer doth too often take advantage of the present Necessity of the Person he deals with, and so even forces him to take less than the Thing is worth.

The Seller also is guilty of Injustice and Theft when 1. he obtrudes upon the Buyer bad Wares instead of good, or 2. When he takes an unreasonable Price for them that are good. In the former, that is, the putting off of Wares, there may be a Deceit three ways, to wit, in the Substance, in the Quantity, and in the Quality of them. Then there is Deceit in the Substance and Matter, when the same thing is not delivered to the Buyer which he bargained for, but some other thing of a different Nature, as when a courser Metal, being Disguised, is put off for one of greater Value, or when there is a Mixture of these together. There is a Deceit in the Quantity, when a Person hath less Sold to him than his Money is worth. In this place are to be reckoned all Deceitful Weights and Measures, which we find strictly prohibited in the Old Law given to the Jews, *Thou shalt not have in thy Bag divers Weights, a great and a small; nor in thy House divers Measures, a great and a small; for all that do such Things, are an Abomination to the Lord thy God, Deut. 25. 13, 14.* And in the Writings of the Prophets and Holy Penmen of Scripture this is often inculcated, because it is probable that it was usual among the Jews to Cheat and Defraud by using of deceitful Measures and false Weights and Balances. * *Joseph* the Jewish Antiquary relates, * *Antiqu. l. 1. c. 3.* that *Cain* was the first that found out Weights and Measures: But we have greater reason to Credit what *Solomon* saith, *A just Weight and Ballance are the Lord's; all the Weights of the Bag are his Work, Prov. 16. 11.* They are of his appointment, and he hath made them the Foundation of Commerce and Traffick. Wherefore to falsify these is an Affront to God, and a disrespect of the Divine Constitution, and of Right and Justice itself. Whence *Pythagoras's* Rule, † *Transgress not the Ballance*, was as † *μη ζυγόν υπερεβαινεν.* much

much as, *Do nothing besides Right and Just.* There is likewise Deceit in the *Quality*, when that is commended and sold for Good and Useful, which is indeed Defective and Unserviceable, Corrupt and Unsound. To this belongs the using of Tricks and Artifices to get off a Commodity, the crafty putting off of any Wares, and by any Means.

The other Fault of the Seller is the *inbasing of the Price of his Goods*, and selling them at unreasonable Rates. Thus he imposes too often upon the Ignorance and Simplicity of weak People, who know not the worth of what they buy. And 'tis usual also to heighten the Price, because of the necessity of the Buyer, as well as his Unskilfulness; but this, as well as that is dishonest and unjust. And so is all *Ingrossing* and *Monopolizing*, for by this means the Seller sells at what rate he pleases, and hath a Price that is not proportionable to his Goods.

I might add, and that most truly, that as there is a Deceitfulness and Theft in over-rating what is exposed to Sale, so there is in selling of Commodities at too low a Rate. He that doth this, not only defrauds himself by undervaluing his Goods, but he defrauds others of the same Calling, by getting away their Custom: For by selling at a low Price, he entices away Customers from others. Therefore this *Under-selling* is Unlawful and Unjust, and is to be reckoned as Thievery. Thus much for Deceit in *Buying* and *Selling*; and in all *Traffick* and *Negotiation*: We are forbid to over-reach our Brethren in Contracts and Bargains; we must not by any Evil Arts draw Men in to be Chapmen; yea, if they be over-seen we must not hold them to their Bargain to their apparent Loss.

Next, I am to speak of *Sacrilege*, which is a Theft of another and a higher kind, for it is robbing of God, and impairing, abusing or alienating of what is Sacred, and separated to Holy Uses. This Offence of Sacrilege reaches to Places, Times, Persons and Things. First, to *Places* and *Times*: Accordingly, the demolishing, alienating or abusing of Places dedicated to the Worship and Service of God, and the mispending and prophaning of the Lord's Day, and other times solemnly set apart for Religious Worship, are degrees of Sacrilege. Again, this Sin reaches to *Persons*, that is, such as are set apart to God and Religious Exercises. Thus every Christian is a Sacred Person, dedicated to God in Baptism; Every Believer is the Temple of God, consecrated by the Holy Spirit that dwells in him. Every Minister of the Gospel is a Sacred Person by Virtue of his Holy Function. And therefore whosoever vilifies and abuses these, and treats them as prophane, but much more if these Persons defile and pollute themselves by doing things unbecoming their High Calling, and make themselves Common and Prophane by their lewd Lives, they may be said to be guilty of Sacrilege.

But Sacrilege is chiefly, and more signally and properly conversant about *Things*, that is, those Things that are Sacred, and set apart to Holy Uses. And then this Sin is committed when a Man takes away, detains and withholds any thing that is due to God, or belongs to him, and diverts and alienates it to Prophane and Common Uses. *Achan* was guilty of this Sacrilege, for whereas the Spoils of *Jericho* were consecrated to the Lord, *Jos.* 6. 19. and consequently ought not to have been converted to any private Use, that covetous Man stole part of them, and put them among his own Stuff, *Jos.* 7. 11, 21. *Belshazzar* sacrilegiously made use of the Consecrated Vessels of the Temple, and at his impious Feast carouzed in them, *Dan.* 5. 2, 3. This is the Sin which God charges the *Israelites* with after the Captivity, *Mal.* 3. 8, 9. *Will a Man rob God? yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, wherein have we robbed thee? In Tithes and Offerings. Ye are cursed with a Curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole Nation.* From which Words 'tis plain, that the withholding of the Revenue or Income which is set apart for the Maintenance of those that serve at the Altar, is *Robbing of God*. This was the Sin of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*; they had dedicated their Lands and Possessions to the Church, and yet they kept back part of the Price, *Acts* 5. 2. Afterwards, there are some infamous in History for their Sacrilegious Attempts. The Emperor *Decius* seized on the small Revenues the Church had attained to; by the same token that *Lawrence* undauntedly opposed him, and would rather broil on the Gridiron than allow of it. *Diocletian* Robbed the Bishops and Pastors of what Goods they had; and tho' *Constantine* the Great made them amends, yet *Julian* took away what *Constantine* gave. And there have been some in all Ages that have not been contented with common Theft, but they must needs Prey upon Sacred Things, such as were set apart for Religious and Holy Purposes. Not but that in

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case of *extreme Necessity* it may be Lawful to change the use of those Things. Thus * we are told, that the foresaid St. *Lawrence* did not spare the Public Treasury of the Church in time of Necessity. And our own History acquaints us, that *Ethelwold*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in time of Famine, sold all the Rich Vessels and Ornaments of the Church, to relieve the Poor with Bread, saying, *There was no Reason the Dead Temples of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the Living ones suffer Penury.* But excepting such Cases of Necessity, it is not to be doubted, that the taking away of those Things which belong to Sacred Uses, and are not abused to Superstitious and Idolatrous Ends (as in the Church of *Rome*) is *Sacrilege*.

* S. Am-
brof. de
Officiis.

So likewise it is to defraud the Ministers of the Gospel of their *Dues* and *Lawful Maintenance*. For these become *theirs* by the appointment of God, who hath set apart a select Number of Men for his peculiar Service, and thereby they have a *Property* in that Maintenance, and therefore the detaining of it is *Sacrilegious*. The same Judgment is to be made where there are any *Goods* and *Lands* given to Holy Uses, and settled on the Church: These by the free and voluntary Devotion and Dedication of Pious Persons, being allotted for the Support of the Ministry, and the upholding of Divine Worship, are become the fixed Revenues of the Church, and the alienating of them is Robbing of God. The like is to be said of what is devoted to charitable Uses. Houses, Lands, or Money left by Religious Benefactors for this peculiar Purpose, are given to God, and are his for ever, and cannot be alienated and made common. If any attempt it, they invade Gods Portion, and violate what is Sacred.

But they are to know, that this Theft of Sacred Things is the worst of Thefts, and proves most dangerous and pernicious to those that are guilty of it. *It is a snare to the Man who devoureth that which is Holy*, Prov. 20. 25. It is such a *Snare* as is fatal and destructive, out of which the Man cannot extricate himself. *Athaliah*, who prophanely rushed into the Temple for such a purpose as this, was soon dispatched, 2 Kings 11. 13, 15. *Belshazzar* was Slain in the very Act of Sacrilege and Debauchery, Dan. 5. 30. *Antiochus*, who robbed the Temple, was smitten with an incurable Plague, 2 Mac. 9. 5, 9. *Heliodorus*, who was sent to rifle the Treasury of the Temple, was struck from Heaven, and ran Mad, 2 Mac. 3. 16. *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were struck Dead upon the spot. And we know what was the End of *Diocletian* and *Julian*, both Church-Robbers. Thus the Vengeance of God waits on the Sin of Sacrilege.

But besides this open and direct Violation of Sacred Things, there are other Instances that deserve to be brought under this Head. Here those *Lay-Patrons* are concerned who deprive the Church of its just Revenues by *Simoniacal* Compacts, and set to Sale the Benefices which are in their Donation. Again, as of Old under Popery, several good Benefices and Livings were annexed to Monasteries and Frieries; which appropriating of them to Religious Houses was very hurtful to the Church, for the Curates had a small Portion allowed them, and the great Benefit accrued to the Monks or Friars, who presented to the Livings, and took Tithes, and all the Profits belonging to them: So this kind of Theft, tho' in another Form, was continued even at the dissolving of Monasteries and Religious Houses; for many of those Benefices and appropriated Parsonages were not restored to their proper Parishes from whence they were taken, but were disposed of, and appropriated to Lay Persons, and turned into *Lay-Fees*, which (as a * Great Man of our Church hath observed) hath extremely lessened the Churches Revenues, and hath left us a great number of poor Vicarages.

* Bish. of
Worcest.
D. and R.
of the Pa-
roch. Cler-
gy. p. 94.

Again, those Reverend Church-men are concerned here who have *Impropriations* in their Hands, (for they, as well as Lay Lords and Gentlemen, hold some of these in their Possession). The Case is not much altered from what it was in the time of Popery, when Abbots and Priors, and some Bishops had the whole Tithes of some Parishes, and great Portions of them in other Parishes were granted to these great Ecclesiasticks. The same may be said of some *Colleges*, they unnaturally Prey upon their own Kind, and swallow up the chiefest Revenues of some Benefices. Upon this Account, I do not see how some *Colleges* and *Cathedrals* can clear themselves.

Further, it is robbing the Church, when those that have the disposing of Preferments and Dignities in the Church, bestow them on the Ignorant, or Idle, or Debauched:

bauched: When they take no notice of the Deserts and Abilities of the Clergy, and give no Encouragement to those that are Eminent for their Learning or their Piety, and their constant and faithful Preaching of the Gospel: But on the contrary they heap Benefices and Preferments on those that are unworthy of them, especially if they be their Nephews and Kindred; and they let some Ministers starve, whilst others have abundance, and live in Excess and Riot. This *Nepotism*, this Partiality, this Unfaithfulness in their Office must needs be Scandalous, especially when they very warmly Rebuke *Lay-Patrons* for something of this Nature. This certainly must come under the Account of *Sacrilege*, for 'tis taking away and detaining the Revenues of the Church from the Persons to whom they are of Right due.

Moreover, the ordinary Priests and Clergymen are too frequently and palpably guilty of *Sacrilege*, and that these three Ways, 1. By procuring Livings and other Ecclesiastical Preferments by *Simony* and unlawful Contracts. In the Church nothing ought to be Bought and Sold. *Buyers* and *Sellers* are to be whipt out of the Temple. This turns the Church into a Fair or Market, the Pulpit into a Shop, Religion into a Trade, and the Ministry it self into Thievery. 2. By neglecting to perform the Ministerial Office in their own Persons, and by enriching themselves with the Pains and Labours of their Curates. To sit Idle, and to enjoy such great Incomes for doing nothing, is a plain perverting and abusing, yea, an alienating of the Revenues of the Church. Therefore it is no other than a Religious Felony, and a plundering of Holy Things. 3. By making ill use of the Goods of the Church, by spending them in Pomp and Luxury, in Intemperance and Wantonness, in Pride and Vanity, and in the indulging of all manner of Vices. Thus to abuse the Revenues of the Church is *Sacrilege*, for this is the abuse of Things Sacred, whether it be by violently taking them away, or by prophaning of them; and it is certain that by a Wicked Life we Prophanize them: And then it is plain likewise, that these Persons rob others, who have a just Right to those Revenues, namely, such who are of holy and strict Lives, and are worthy to be employed in the Ministry. Thus I have briefly proved, that too great Numbers of our Profession and Calling are *Sacrilegious*. And I must add, that this is the most scandalous sort of *Sacrilege*, because it is committed by those who are Sacred Persons as to their Function, and who are wont to talk much against *Sacrilege*; wherefore it is a heinous Crime to be guilty of it themselves.

Lastly, I am to speak of *Usury*, which by some Divines is reckoned as a Breach of this *Eighth Commandment*; for they are of Opinion that *Usury*, yea all *Usury*, is a kind of *Theft*, and consequently is forbidden in this part of the Decalogue. I confess I cannot be so preremptory, for tho' I verily believe (and shall prove) that some *Usury* is Unlawful and Sinful, and a downright Thievery, and therefore is condemned in this Commandment, yet I cannot pronounce so of all *Usury*. Therefore, here I will take the liberty to be very Copious on this Subject, and largely and fully to discuss this Controversy about the Unlawfulness of this Practice. And because *Usury* is in the way of *Contract* or *Covenant*; the first thing I will undertake is to shew what kind of Contract this is.

We must know then, that *Obligation* by way of *Contract* is made diverse ways, 1. By bare Words, and this is called *Stipulation*, which is when a Man promises that he will do this or that. The *Civilians* distinguish between that *Stipulation* which is pure, when the thing promised may be demanded presently, and that which is *in diem*, whereby the thing promised becomes not due till the Day be come, and a third sort, viz. *Sub-Conditions*, when there are certain Provisoes and Conditions that go along with the Promise: But the general Notion of *Stipulation* is this, that a Man solemnly obliges himself by his Word and Promise to the performance of something. 2. *Contract* is also made by *Writing*, when a Person under his Hand confesses his Obligation to this or that. 3. By mere *Consent* and Agreement, and this is either *Buying* and *Selling*, viz. when there is a Contract for the perpetual alienating of the Right and Property of a thing for a certain Price; or *Exchange*, which is giving and taking one thing for another, and that for ever; or *Letting* and *Hiring*, viz. when it is agreed that the Use only of a thing shall be transferred from one to another, and that only for a time, on consideration of a certain Reward or Price. 4. There is yet another kind of Contracts, i. e. *Lending* and *Borrowing*, which are

when both the Use and Property of a Thing are passed over from one to another for a time, and at the time ended, the thing is restored and received again. This Contract is either *Mutuum* or *Commodatum*: The former is that whereby the right of a Thing is transferred, so that he who receives it, is to return another Thing of the same Kind, and not worse: The latter is that whereby the Thing is so granted and transferred, that he that receives it shall restore the same Numerical Thing, the very same Thing *in Specie*. And both these sorts of *Lending* and *Borrowing* are free, and without any consideration of Price or Recompense: Otherwise, this Contract would not be *Lending*, but *Location* or *Letting*.

Thus it is, if we speak of *Lending* in a strict and proper Sense: But there is a third sort of *Loan* improperly so called, and that is it which I am now to treat of, viz. A *Lending on Contract for Gain*; a passing over the Use and Property of a Thing for a Time, and at the time ended, receiving it again with Advantage. This is that which we call *Usury*, and it is distinguished from all other Contracts and Covenants. Nor are we to think that *Money* is the only Subject of *Usury*; if we consult *Exod.* 22. 25. *Lev.* 25. 26. *Deut.* 23. 19. we shall find, that *Lands*, *Raiment* and *Victuals*, and the like, come under this Denomination; yea indeed whatever passes by Number, Weight, or Measure, and all such things as may be Lent, are capable of being put to Use, i. e. to be Lent and Borrowed on a Contract for Gain and Advantage.

But though there is *Usury* of other things besides *Money*, yet now, in the common acceptation of the Word, it is appropriated to *this*: And therefore according to the usual and received way of speaking, *Usury* is that Gain which proceeds from Lending of *Money*. If I take Gain which comes not by reason of Lending, i. e. meerly for my Lending, it is not properly *Usury*, for this is a Contract on the Loan of *Money*. The true Notion of this Compact is, that it is receiving of Profit as due for *Money* lent. And this Profit or Gain, is called *Use*, or *Interest*, or * à *Rabab*, *Increase*: For it is of the Nature and Essence of *Usury* that there be an *Increase multum* and *Multiplying*. Whence * *Marbith* and † *Tarbith*, which are the Hebrew *esse, crescere, augeri* Words for *Fœnus* and *Usura*; are as much as *Incrementum*, because the Principal is *increased*. And the Greek Word (α) τὸ πλεονέκτημα, which signifies the *Money* received or paid, or gained by *Usury*, denotes the like. It hath its Name from *Begetting*, † à τὸ γεννᾶν, because *Money* by *Usury* begets other *Money*. So an Ancient Grammarian derives *Fœnus* from *Fœtus*, because it is *quædam fœtura pecunie parturientis*: There is a *ro*. certain *Brood* and *Increase* of *Money* to the Lender. The *Canon-Law* therefore defines *Usury* to be (b) whatever Gain arises above the Value of what is Lent. It is that Advantage which comes by the Overplus above the Principal: Or, as it is a Contract, it admits of this Definition, viz. The Bargaining and Covenanting for Benefit to the Lender from the Borrower for the Loan of *Money*.

(b) *Usura est quicquid ultra sortem mutuam percipitur.*

Having thus briefly settled the Notion of *Usury*, we are to enquire into the *Lawfulness* or *Unlawfulness* of it, or any Kind of it. We are to resolve this Question, Whether it is Lawful to raise any Gain by the Loan of *Money*, and that in a certain way by Contract or Covenant? Here I will examine, 1. How it was under the *Mosaic Law*. 2. What the Law of Nature and Reason dictates in the Case. 3. What the Rules of the *Gospel* determine about this Matter.

First, Let us see what the Law of *Moses* hath delivered concerning the practise of *Usury*. It is unquestionable, that *this* gave leave to the *Jews* to take *Increase* for the Loan of *Money* lent to *Strangers*. This is in express Terms permitted to them by the Law, *Deut.* 23. 20. *Unto a Stranger thou mayest lend upon Usury*. Where by a *Stranger* is meant a *Pagan*, and one of another Nation. And here it is generally said by Writers, that though the Law which forbade *Usury*, was Moral, yet it was dispensed with as to *Strangers*, as Theft was an Immoral Act; but God gave the *Israelites* special Warrant to rob the *Egyptians*. He that gave the *Jews* the Spoils of the *Egyptians*, could order them to take Use of the *Canaanites*. They might Lawfully oppress those with *Usury* whom they might Slay; nay, whom they were commanded to Slay. This is the usual way of speaking among Writers, and those of very great Eminency. But I conceive there is little Ground for it, for the *Israelites* had no Commission to put to Death any of those *Strangers*, unless they first refused to accept of the offers of Peace, and to become Tributary: And in order to this, Terms of Peace were propounded to all those Nations. If they would submit to them, they were to be kindly and humanely used. And so all other Fo-

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reigners and Aliens, if they came and lived peaceably with the *Israelites*, were by no means to be ill-treated and abused. For this there was an express Law, *Exod.* 22. 21. *Thou shalt neither vex a Stranger, nor oppress him.* And again, *Ex.* 23. 9. *Thou shalt not oppress a Stranger.* Which is repeated in *Lev.* 19. 33. *If a Stranger sojourn with thee in your Land, ye shall not vex him.*

Whence I gather, that though they might by the Law lend Money to *Strangers* upon *Usury*, yet it was not to be upon Immoderate Terms, and such as were *vexing and oppressing*: And consequently the Conceit of the *Hebrew Masters* is vain and groundless, *viz.* That *Neshec*, which is so often mentioned in the *Old-Testament*, is that *Immoderate Usury* which the *Jews* were permitted to exercise toward the *Gentiles*. On the contrary it appears, that they were forbid to deal hardly with any *Stranger*; yea, any *Profelyte*, whether he were of *Justice* or of the *Gate* only. Though they were not bound to shew as much Charity to them as to their *Brethren*, yet they were obliged to use them fairly and civilly. Nay, a *Convert to Judaism*, to the true Religion, was to be reckoned as a *Brother*, as may be gathered from *Lev.* 25. 35. For on this account, he that is called a *Stranger* in one part of the Verse, is called a *Brother* in the other. There is no Reason then to think that they might take Excessive *Usury* of a *Stranger*, i. e. a *Heathen*, who quietly lived and sojourned among them, whether he was a *Profelyte* or not. And besides, Immoderate and Excessive *Exacting of Money by Usury*, was Unlawful in itself, and therefore God would not permit it to be used even towards *Heathens*.

This I take to be good and sound Arguing: And if it be so, the common Opinion of those who treat of this Subject, is not to be embraced, i. e. that God allowed of the lending out on *Usury* to the *Amorites*, &c. who were *Strangers*, tho' it was Immoral in its own Nature, and that accordingly God *Dispensed* with it, because he might approve of *Usury* towards those *Aliens* whom he designed to Destroy, and that by the *Israelites* Hands; and if they might Destroy them, it was Lawful to Oppress them. This is a gross Mistake, for they were to destroy none but those that resisted and opposed them; otherwise they were not to be severe with them, because there is a plain express Prohibition against *oppressing of Strangers*. Now, it is certain that immoderate *Usury*, or taking excessive Gain for the use of Money, is *oppressing*, and therefore it was forbid to be practised even towards the *Gentiles*. But some sort of *Usury*, *viz.* That which was Moderate, Just, and Lawful, was indulged them with reference to Aliens and Foreigners; these they might lend Money to, and require some Interest for the Loan of it; for this there is a plain License and Authority; *To a Stranger thou mayest lend upon Usury.*

But what was the Constitution of the *Mosaic Law* with respect to the *Jews* among *Themselves*? Might they take Interest in consideration of the Principal Money they lent to their *Brethren*? No; by no means. Whether these were Rich, or whether they were Poor, the Case as to *Usury* was the same, they were peremptorily forbid by *Moses's* Law to receive any Increase for the Money they put out either to those that were Able, or those that were Indigent. This is clear from the very Words of the Law, *Deut.* 23. 19, 20. *Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy Brother. Unto a Stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but unto thy Brother thou shalt not lend upon usury.* Here a *Brother* and a *Stranger* are opposed, and so the Actions and Behaviour towards them are opposite; wherefore if they might put their Money out to Use to the latter in a moderate way, it follows they must not, even in a moderate way, put it out to the former, no not to the former, be they Rich, or be they Poor, for still they are *Brethren*; and we see the Command runs thus, *Thou shalt not lend on usury to thy Brother*, i. e. to any one that is not a *Stranger*. This made it absolutely unlawful for a *Jew* to let out Money upon Use to one of his own Nation, to an *Israelite*, for such a one is properly a *Brother*; and it is not his Riches or Poverty that can obliterate this Relation and Title. Be he Wealthy, or be he Needy, he is still a *Brother*; and therefore when it is said, *Thou shalt not lend upon Usury to thy Brother*, it is necessarily included that the *Jews* were forbid to lend upon *Usury* to their Country-men, whatever their Rank and Condition was; for they were debarr'd from doing this to any that were their *Brethren*.

But

But, it is true, in a more especial manner the Jews were forbid to take Usury of a poor Israelite, *Exod. 22. 25. If thou lend Money to any of my People that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an Usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him Usury.* Such a one's Condition requires that thou lend him Money freely; or if he be very Indigent, that thou give it him, looking for nothing again. For so runs the Law; *If there be among you a poor Man of one of thy Brethren, thou shalt open thy hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in this which he wanteth. Thou shalt surely give him, and thy Heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him, Deut 15. 7, 8, 10.* Towards such a one therefore thou must not dare to be as an Usurer, i. e. let him have no Money but upon promise of paying thee Interest for it; much less shalt thou lay upon him Usury: Which Phrase imports Contracting for Interest by Bond or Surety, obliging the Lender to pay back more than was lent, as Mr. * Selden Interprets the Place. You are not permitted by the Law to deal thus with any of your Brethren, though they be Men of Wealth and Substance; much more are you forbid to use the Poor after this manner. For that is a standing Law, and must never be reversed, *Lev. 25. 35. If thy Brother be waxen poor, and in decay with thee, then shalt thou relieve him. Take thou no usury of him, or Increase: Thou shalt not give him thy Money upon usury.* Whence some, and those of very great Note, would infer, that this Command is to be restrained wholly to the Poor, that is, that the Jews were forbid to take Usury of them, but they were at their liberty to deal otherwise with the Rich; of such they might expect Profit for the loan of Money; they might require more back than the Sum that was lent. This is grown into a general Opinion, but it hath no Ground at all; only is supported by this piece of Sophistry, viz. Mention is sometimes made of the Poor in Scripture when it speaks of Usury, therefore (say they) this is not to be practised towards the Poor, but it may be towards the Rich. It is said, *If thy Brother be poor, thou shalt not take usury of him*; therefore if a Brother be not Poor, thou mayest deal otherwise with him.

* De Furē
Nat. 5
Gent. 1.
c. 9.

This is an apparent Fallacy, and may be answered and refuted thus. 1. In some of those Places of Scripture where the Poor are mentioned, they are not opposed to the Rich, but to Strangers, Canaanites, Hittites, &c. 2. In other Places where there is mention of the Poor, the Rich are not excluded, but this only is signified, that towards the Poor especially they must observe this Law, they being Persons that cannot bear any Usury; not as if it were implied at the same time that the Law hath no regard to those of another Condition. We may as well from that Place, *Ex. 22. 22. Ye shall not afflict any Widow or Fatherless Child*, infer that we may afflict a married Woman, or a Child whose Father is living. And from *Prov. 22. 22. Rob not the Poor*, we may argue that it is no Sin to rob the Rich. If this be good Reasoning, then that concerning Usury is so too, but not else. 3. In some of the Laws about Usury, mention is made of the Poor because they are most liable to be oppressed by the Rich, and because it is a more grievous Sin to oppress these than the other rank of Men: For this Reason the Prohibition hath a special respect to them. 4. Let it be remembred, that in other Places of Scripture which speak of Usury, there is no mention at all of the Poor, but Usury is absolutely and generally forbid, *Psal. 15. 5. Prov. 28. 8. Ezek. 18. 13, 17. 22. 12.* and in many other Places. And the Law itself is delivered in general Terms, *Deut. 23. 19. Thou shalt not lend upon Usury to thy Brother*, to let us know that the Prohibition is not restrained to the Poor, but that every Brother, or Israelite, Rich or Poor, was understood in the Law.

Yea, and All sorts of Usury are forbidden them, whether it were by Contract in Word or Writing; whether it was a moderate or an excessive demanding of Interest: It was all one as to the Law, for this forbid the taking of all manner of Gain for the use of Money lent to their Brethren. The Jewish Rabbins Distinguish between *Neshec* and *Tarbith*; the one, they tell us, is derived from a * Word that signifies to Bite, and indeed it is applied to the biting of Serpents, *Numb. 21. 9.* whence the Hebrew Doctors say, *Usury bites like a Serpent*: It is a biting that carries Venom and Poison with it, and therefore they understand *Neshec* concerning immoderate Usury, such as is truly biting and Devouring; and this they acknowledge is forbid by the Law; and they own that it was Unlawful to practise this towards their Brethren the Jews. But the other Word, say they, which barely denotes Increase,

* Nafhac,
mordere.

Z Z Z Z

crease,

crease, i. e. some Overplus besides the Principal, expresses the moderate and tolerable sort of Usury, which was permitted to the *Jews* by the Law.

But this is a meer Fancy, and hath no Foundation at all in the Holy Scriptures, for these condemn not only *Neshec*, but *Tarbitb* (as also *Marbitb*; which is another Word of the same Signification, for they are both from *Rabath* to *Increase*) *Lev.* 25. 36, 37. *Prov.* 28. 8. *Ezek.* 18. 17. 22. 12. Whence it is evident, that all Usury is forbid, not that only which is *Biting*, as some say, not only all covetous, greedy, griping Usury; but that which exacts any Increase above the Principal, and requires more than was Lent. This no less than the other was forbid by the Law of *Moses*. And as for that Word *Neshec*, it is apparent that it is a General Term for all Usury; it is a common Word or Name whereby that Practise is expressed in *Hebrew*: And it imports the greatness of the Sin, not any distinction of the *Kinds* of Usury.

We have Reason then to infer from what hath been said, that Usury of what Kind soever, so far as it was practised by the *Jews* towards any of their Brethren, was unlawful under the *Mosaic* Oeconomy. And accordingly the Holy Prophets and Writers of the *Old-Testament*, who so frequently remonstrate against it, express it without any Limitation, without any Reserve, as supposing that the Law against *Universal Usury* was well known. The Sacred Writings forbid it in General Expressions, not only in the Places which I have before mentioned, but in several others, as in *Psal.* 15. 5. where *not putting out his Money to Usury*, is made part of the Character of a truly Pious and Holy Man. And the Prophet *Jeremiah* alleges it as an Evidence of his Integrity, that *he lent not on Usury*, *Jer.* 15. 10. We find that *Usury* and *unjust Gain* are coupled together as synonymous, *Prov.* 28. 8. *Oppressing the Poor and Needy*, and *giving forth upon Usury*, and *taking Increase*, are represented as equally Unlawful, *Ezek.* 18. 12, 13, 17. And *taking Usury and Increase*, are joyned with *gaining by Extortion*, *Ezek.* 22. 12. And, in short, Usury is never mentioned in Scripture but it is Condemned.

Thus we see what Judgment we are to make concerning the Practise of Usury, as it hath relation to the *Mosaic Dispensation*. Though in some part it was Lawful for a *Jew* to require a certain Allowance and Profit for the use of Money that was lent to one of *another Nation*, and *another Religion*, yet no kind of Usury was permitted to be exercised towards one of the same Nation and Religion, whether he were Wealthy, or whether he was Needy. And there was a particular Reason of this Dispensation, *viz.* Because the Jewish People were all of a Kindred in a manner, all of one Stock, one Family, that came into *Egypt*. They were all Brethren, and therefore God would by this Prohibition keep up that *Nearness*, and would increase it by the Tye of Charity and Brotherly Love. Besides, they were a People peculiarly distinguished from all others by God's Love and Kindness to them, and by their particular way of Worshipping him; and therefore it was the Divine Pleasure that there should be a difference between them and others, by that singular and distinguishing Friendship which was among them, which could not be maintained and nourished if Usury had been allowed of. So then this Practise was forbidden to the *Jews as Jews*, and consequently that Law doth not oblige us in that manner and extent in which it did them: Seeing it was in a manner proper and peculiar to that People, as being a branch of the Law of *Moses*, it cannot directly bind us. But yet, though this Practise was Unlawful, because it was forbid by the *Mosaic Law*, yet if the Prohibition can be found to appertain to the *Moral Law*, so far as it is a breach of *Charity*, it will concern *us now*. Wherefore that is the thing which we are next to enquire into, *viz.*

2. Whether by the *Law of Nature*, *i. e.* the Law of right Reason, and good Manners, Usury be Vicious and Criminal. Some have thought that all Usury is abhorrent to Nature, because (as *Aristotle* hath long since delivered it in his **Politicks*) *Money is a Sterile thing by Nature*. If it be such, it is against the Nature of Money to put it out to Use; for if it be a Barren and Fruitless thing of itself, then it is a perverting of the Quality of it to expect and require Interest for the Loan of it. They further add, That no Man ought to set a Price upon Money, and to sell that whereby all other Things are Saleable.

* Lib. 1.
c. 7.

But

But I see nothing Solid in this, for first, Money in some Cases is a Traffickable Commodity, the Price whereof rises and falls in several Countries on Occasion, and yields either Profit or Loss in the exchange. Secondly, tho' Money be the Price of all other Commodities, yet it is capable of being one itself, and thus considered (*viz.* as a Commodity) and as it were turned Merchandize, may be Bought and Sold, and improved to a just Profit. Thirdly, why may not Money be capable of Profit in the Loan of it as well as a Horse or an Ox? These being Saleable, may be let out for Profit: And so it is with Coyn, and Consequently is capable of a warrantable Increase. Fourthly, why may I not make Gain of letting my Money, as well as my Houses and Lands? Are not these of themselves *Sterile* and Unprofitable? Yes certainly, but a Man makes these Things which by Nature are Barren, become Fruitful, and Gainful. Money is no more Sterile than Houses, which unless let out, yield no Profit: It is no more Sterile than Lands, which must not only be let out, but cultivated, or else they are of no Advantage to the Occupier. Then indeed Money is *Sterile* when it is Coffered up, when it lies Idle by a Man: But when it is Lawfully employed in the Way which we are speaking of, it becomes Fruitful. The Barrenness of it ceases, and now there is *τὸκος* (for that is the known Word for *Use*) a Profitable Offspring or Brood: Now it brings forth, and that not only to the Advantage of the Lender, but the Borrower.

It is therefore to be reckoned as a false and groundless Notion, that *Metals* are not capable of *Superfecundation* (as they speak:) And consequently they argue very weakly who say, that Usury is Unlawful because Money of itself cannot be made Profitable and Useful; for if the Letting out of Houses and Lands be Lawful, how can that of Money be Unlawful? What brings in Fruit and Profit is not Barren, but Money doth this as effectually as Houses or Lands, therefore to make Advantage by one as well as the other is equally Lawful. Usury then is not an unlawful Gain and Profit, according to the Measures of *Reason*, which is the Standard by which we judge of it at present. This I will particularly evince by these following Arguments.

First, some Usury, that is, the taking of more than the Principal, cannot be Unnatural and Unreasonable, because it is according to the *Laws of Justice* and *Equity*. For,

1. With respect to *Lucrum cessans* (as the Lawyers call it) Usury is receiving a Recompense or Reward (* *Merces*, as some have called it) for the use of the Money lent, for that Use is Advantageous to the Borrower. Nor doth the Lender take a Recompense only for the Use of the Money, but because he is without his Money, and wants it for the sake of the Person he lends it to. The Case is this, if I see an Opportunity of an apparent Profit that I could fairly make by the Disbursing of such a Summ (*bonâ fide*) and if another that hath a more gainful Bargain in chase, shall at that time sue to me to borrow my Money for his own Advantage, there is no Reason I should respect his Profit more than my own; and therefore I may accept of such a Summ as may be answerable to the Gain which I forego for his greater Profit: And the Borrower may justly pay me that Summ, because it is a compensation for that Gain, which I might have had for my Money if I had not lent it out to him. Here is nothing but what is fair and equitable.

* *Fœnus est merces pro
usa pecunie mutuo datæ.
Salmasius de Usuris.*

2. With respect to *Damnum Emergens* (as the Stile is) there is the like *Equity*; for if by accommodating another Person with Money, I suffer Loss, if that want of my Money proves a real Damage to me, I may Lawfully expect to be Recompensed by the Person to whom my Money was lent, because I should not have undergone that Loss unless I had lent it him. I think it will be granted, as a Principle of right Reason, that to pleasure another Man, I am not obliged to hurt myself; I am not to Enrich others by my Loss. Wherefore I may justly in this Case look for a Satisfaction from the Borrower, for the Gain which I missed by parting with my Money. If I have not only been hindred from Gaining, but have been Endamaged by want of the Summ lent to him, I may demand something above the Principal: And he is obliged to allow me a *Merces*, a Compensation, and a due Reward for his *use* of the Money accompanied with my Damage. Thus *Equity* dictates.

3. With respect to the Law of *Gratitude*, (which is a fixed Principle of Nature) Usury, in the general, cannot but be allowed of. For this Natural Law dictates that the Creditor should be gratified, if he hath been damnified by the want of his Money. Nay, tho' he hath not sustained any Loss, yet the Debtor is bound in Thankfulness to make him some Allowance, and to let him partake of his Gain. *It is a natural*

* Perkins
on the 8th
Command-
ment.

tural Obligation, saith a * Judicious Writer, *Which commands that he who receives a Benefit and is enriched by another's Money, should make a due Recompense to him, and that above the Principal*; tho' this Learned *Casuiſt* holds the taking of Gain only for the Loan of Money, is Unlawful Usury. This then we may build upon as a Law and Dictate of natural Thankfulness, that more than the Principal may be returned to the Person who hath obliged us with the Loan of his Money. And thus far I have proved that Usury is not *Unjust*.

Secondly, some Usury is Innocent and Lawful, because it is according to the *Laws of Charity*. Thus in the Case of Widows and Orphans, who have nothing left them but such a Sum of Money as will, by the Legal use of it afford a competent Maintenance, here it is Charity and Mercy to give Use for Money, it being for the preservation of the Lives and Comforts of the Poor and Fatherless. Therefore the *Turks*, who are forbid by *Mahomet's Law* to take Interest for Money, yet allow of it for the Support of Orphans, and the uses of Moschs, and Temples. But especially in the former Case they hold it Lawful, because it is an Act of Charity, and Consequently conformable to the very Law of Nature. Besides, there are other Instances of Usury which are for the real *Benefit* of our Neighbours, and therefore are to be reckoned as Acts of *Charity* and *Benevolence*. Thus lending on Usury to those that are Traders, promotes their Traffick and Commerce, it is Serviceable towards the enriching of Tradsmen, and Merchants, and (as the Consequent of that) the benefit of the Community. Now, if a Man borrows Money to advance his Trading, and to enrich himself thereby, the Lender may safely take Gain for the Loan. For the Law of Reason and Nature doth not Dictate, that a Man is bound to profit another with Detriment to himself. Why should he baulk his own just Advantage, by parting with his Money, for the enriching of another? If the Person I trust the Summ with, improves it to his Benefit, then the lending him that Summ is a real Kindness to him; and if so, it cannot be disallowed of. Yea, all Lawful Usury must be designed for the *benefit* of the Borrower: And what is not *beneficial* to the Borrower, is not Lawful. Thus far then we have proceeded according to the received *Law of Nature*, that Usury which is not against *Justice* or *Charity* is Lawful; and I have shewed that there is some improving of Money by Use which is absolutely so.

Thirdly, all Usury that is *Moderate*, is justifiable, and then it is *Moderate*, when the Lender takes no other Increase of his Money than what the Borrower is well able to allow him. The Lending of the Money to the Person must be worth as much as I take in Interest, else I take too much of him, and Consequently I Cheat him that pays it. With reference to which common Practise the *Deceitful Man*, and the *Usurer* are the same according to the *Seventy's Version*, Prov. 29. 13. and according to the Margin of our Bibles. *Immoderate Interest* is defrauding and deceiving; and then it is Immoderate when it is greater than what is allowed by the Laws, or when we take Use upon Use, or even when we make an Improvement of the Money lent, above the Ability of the Borrower. This is undue and excessive Advantage, and is no other than Gripping and Extorting. On which particular and special account this Sin is reckoned by the Prophets, amongst the most heinous Transgressions of the Moral Law. *Psal.* 15. *Ezek.* 18. *Ezek.* 22. Namely, because of the Cruelty and Oppression which attend it: For it is *Unmercifulness* that is chiefly forbid in the prohibition of Usury in the Sacred Writings. This proves on the contrary, that if the Gain be *Moderate*, and such as can well be born with, it is not Unlawful.

Fourthly, That Usury which is not *Absolute* but *Conditional*, may be pronounced according to the Standard of *Natural Reason* Lawful. A Man may take above the Principal, when the Wealthy are willing to pay more. We may in such a Case Lawfully take Interest, and receive more than was Lent, for it is supposed that if he be willing to gratify the Lender, he can well afford it. There is no doubt then that the *Voluntary Usury* is Lawful. But as for the *Necessary*, *Absolute*, and *Certain Usury*, such as is without any Reserve, and Limitations, Reason if it be consulted, will impartially tell us, that it is not to be approved of. Indeed it is a good Definition of the common Usury, that it is *Lending for certain Gain*, for it is made *certain* by a Legal Bond and Obligation, fixing and determining the Interest, so that it must of necessity be paid, whether the Borrower hath had Advantage by the Loan, or not. This is called *laying Usury upon one*, *Exod.* 22. 25. And is distinguished there from *being an Usurer*. But the commonness of it doth not Legitimate it, for without Question it is unreasonable to demand a *certain* Increase and Interest of the Borrower, whether

ther he Gains or Loses. If it appears that since the Loan, he hath sustained some great Loss, as by Fire, Shipwrack, Robbers, &c. it is hard to exact the set Increment which he was obliged to pay by absolute Compact. If it be unjust to take more than the Use of the Money was really worth to the User, then assuredly there is Injustice in this Case. Wherefore I may conclude, that it is against the Verdict of Reason to require a *certain Gain* together with the Principal, where there hath been an honest endeavour of a just Benefit disappointed by unavoidable Casualty or Force. Rigorously to urge an absolute Payment in such a Case, is Oppression.

But is it utterly Unlawful, so far as Reason can Judge, to make an absolute Covenant or Agreement for a *Certainty*? Is it Immoral and Vicious to make a mutual Contract for the paying and receiving a *certain Summ* above the Principal? To this I answer, I ought not only to secure myself by Compact, that the Principal may be made sure to me, but I may *bind* the Borrower to allow me a certain Gain above the Principal. For tho' amongst Honest and Grateful Persons the Bond of Gratitude is as strong as any formal Obligation, yet the Number of those Persons is rare, and therefore seeing we cannot trust to a voluntary Satisfaction, and we are not certain that the Borrower will prove Thankful and Faithful, therefore that we may not run this Hazard, it is not improper to *bind* him; that by this Means we may make sure of such a Summ as will be sufficient Interest for the Loan. But when the time of Payment comes, our demands of Interest must be according to the Improvement of the Summ lent, and we must then have regard to the State and Circumstances of the Debtor. Wherefore I determine thus, that an *Absolute Contract* to receive certain Gain for the Loan and Use of Money, is not Unlawful, but the *taking* it sometimes is. Tho' I may absolutely Covenant with the Borrower, to receive more than was borrowed (for the Reason abovesaid) yet I must not require that Increase, unless I am persuaded that he is in a Capacity to allow it. For if I be rigid with him, and demand more than he is able at that Time to disburse, I violate that fixed Rule of Justice, *To do as I would be done to*. And indeed this Rule (which is the same that our Saviour prescribes in *Matt. 7. 12.*) is able to decide the whole Affair. He that exacts a greater Increase than the Party can really allow, doth not act as he would be dealt with himself. Whence it is evident, that tho' the Law of Natural Reason dictates, that an absolute *Covenant* for Gain is not Unlawful, yet it assures us, that an absolute *Demanding* of certain Gain in some Cases is Unlawful; as when the Borrower hath not been able to improve the Money lent, by reason of some great Disappointments and Losses, which he hath Sustained, and, which it was not in his power to avoid. In such Circumstances the *Absolute* and *Peremptory exacting* of Interest, without any Abatements, is that which makes Usury unlawful.

Fifthly and *Lastly*, All Usury that is exercised towards those whose Condition is very *Low* and *Mean* in the World, is Unlawful. There was a necessity of adding this, because though we suppose a Person's lending of Money to be (according to the forementioned Particulars) *Conditional* and *Moderate*, yet these Qualifications alone do not make that Action Lawful: But this is further required, that Usury be not abused by taking Interest of *Poor* and *Indigent* People. These perhaps borrow a small Summ towards a Livelyhood, and if they can repay it in due time, it is as much as they can do, and no more can be expected of them; and therefore the binding them to more, is a breach of Charity. Nothing can be plainer than this, that of such as will certainly be Damaged and Hurt by taking on Use, it is Unlawful to take Use. The Gain gotten for the Loan of Money thus lent, is to be abhorred by all good Men: Yea, on the contrary, it is our Duty, and it is pressed upon us by Natural Equity, to *give* or *lend freely* to our needy and distressed Brethren, and not to make any Advantage of what we accommodate them with. The *Law of Nature* urges this, and in this respect *Moses's Law* against Usury is not to be looked upon as *Political* and *Judicial*, and proper to the *Jewish Nation*, but perpetually Obligatory, and as an unalterable Decree.

The Summ then of all is this, that the unbiassed Prescripts of *Natural Reason* allow of Gain for Money lent, where either *Justice* or *Charity*, or *Gratitude* approve of this Practice; where it is on *Conditions* and *Limitations*, where it is *Moderate* and *Easy*, and where those that are in *Poverty* and *Necessity* are not concerned. But when it is an infringement of any of these, when it borders in the least on *Injustice* and *Uncharitableness*, when it is either *Unconditional*, or *Excessive*, or hath any thing to do with the *Needy*, it becomes wholly Unlawful, and unjustifiable, and that by
the

the Natural and Inbred Suggestions of the Light of Reason. Wherefore on these forefaid Accounts the *Pagans*, who were furnished only with Natural Light, utterly

(a) *De Legibus.*

(b) *De Politic.*

(c) *De Re Rusticâ.*

(d) *De Offic. Lib. 2.*

(e) *De Benefic.*

Condemned the practise of Usury. Not only particular Persons, as

those Wise Sages among the *Greeks*, (a) *Plato*, (b) *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*,

which last hath a peculiar *Treatise* against it: And among the *Romans*,

(c) *Cato*, (d) *Tully*, (e) *Seneca*, and other Philosophers remonstrate

against Usury, not in itself, but as to the undue Management and

Abuse of it, and as I have represented it in its unlawful Circumstances; not only

these great Philosophers, I say, but the Rulers of most Nations have forbid unlaw-

ful Usury; Witness the Decrees and Laws of *Egypt*, *Athens*, *Rome*, &c. I say un-

lawful, that is excessive Usury; for the *Athenian Law* was, that (f)

they should not take immoderate Increase of Money lent. And how

detestable a Practise this was amongst the *Old Romans*, is manifest

from what is left Recorded by (g) *Varro*, viz. That this Sort of Men

were so Odious, that their Punishment was double to that of Thieves.

And (h) one that understood the *Roman Affairs* very well, proves

out of their best Authors, that it was of ill Fame and Credit among

them, and reckoned a very Dishonest Thing.

3. Having seen what the *Law of Moses* and that of *Nature* prescribes concerning this Practise, it remains that we consult the *Evangelical Law*, and examine what that determines in the Point. Here I will offer these two Propositions, 1. So far as Usury is forbid by the Law of Nature, it is likewise forbid by the Christian Institution. 2. So far as it is allowed of by the Natural Law, it is also allowed of by Christianity.

First, I say, so far as it is forbid by the Law of Nature, it is likewise forbid by the Christian Institution, because this disallows of whatever is disallowed of by that.

On this Bottom we are assured, that *Christianity* condemns all Usury that hath the least tincture of *Injustice* and *Uncharitableness*, and as to the measure of it, is

Excessive, that as to the Terms of it, is *Absolute*, that as to the Persons, is *Unmerciful* and *Oppressing*, and such is all that Usury that is exercised towards the *Poor*

and *Neecessitous*, for these ought rather to be relieved than to have any thing demanded and exacted of them. Upon these accounts, and these only,

the *Ancient * Fathers* (who are supposed to have well understood the nature of the *Christian Laws*) warmly declare against Usury.

Nay, *Gregory Nyssen* is as smart and sharp in his *Invective* against *Usurers*, as in that against *Julian the Apostate*. They have been exploded and doomed not only by *single Fathers*, but whole † *Councils*;

yea, not only the *Clergy* (as some have thought) but the *Laity* promiscuously, the whole Body of the People have been forbidden by the

Ancient Canons to lend or borrow upon Use, as any one may satisfy himself, by looking into the 17th Canon of the 1st Council of

Nice, the *Carthaginian Council*, Canon 13. Council of *Elib.* Canon 20. in which last we find it determined, that a *Laick* persisting ob-

stinately in the Fault of Usury, is to be Excommunicated. One remarkable Council, viz. at *Vienna*, defines, that it is an *Heresy* to say, that *Usury is not a Sin*. And,

in short, all Synods and Councils, that make any mention of Usury, speak against it, namely, as it offends against those Rules which I have laid down before, and

not otherwise. Thus the *Canon Law* in its *Decrees*, *Decretals*, *Clementines*, &c. condemns it, yea, and punishes it with Excommunication, with deprivation of Christian

Burial. *Usurers* are forbidden, when Alive, to come to the *Communion*, when Dead, they are not allowed the usual Interment. And as for the *Imperial Law*, which

is *Christian* too, it moderates Usury, being taken up on the necessity of Mankind. If we consult the Laws of *this Realm* by its first and ancient Constitutions, Usury

(because it generally offended against the Rules which I have before set down) was unlawful and punishable. The Laws of the Land took Vengeance on the Usurer

in his Goods and Chattels, for they were forfeited to the King, if the Usurer Died in that Practise, and Excommunicate. Thus it was by *Common Law*, before any

thing was provided by *Statute*. Afterwards by a Statute in King *Edward the First's* Reign, and another in *Henry the Seventh's*, all Usury was forbidden. But in 37. of

Hen. 8. and 13th of *Eliz.* all Laws and Statutes against Usury were Repealed and made

Void, being thought to be too strict. Our Laws now permit Usury, and confine that

(f) *μη λαμβάνειν πολλὰς τόκους.* *Lysias* in *Orat. Cont. Theomnest.*

(g) *De re Rusticâ.* Lib. 1.

(h) *Car. Sigon. de Antiquo Jure Civ. Rom.* l. 2. c. 11.

* *Chrysost.* 57. *Hom. in Matt Basil. Epist. ad Basil. Lactantius de vero cultu.* l. 6. c. 18. *S. Ambros.* *S. Augustin.* in 36 & 128 *Psal.*

† 1 *Conc. Nicen. Can.* 18. *Carthaginense, Can.* 12. *Eliberitanum, Can.* 20. *Lateranense Sub Alex.* 3. *Can.* 1.

that great Evil which goes along with it (of which I have particularly spoken) within certain Bounds and Limits. They restrain a Man (if he puts out his Money to Use) from taking above so much in the Hundred. My Lord Bacon hath an * excellent Discourse on Usury, representing the *Inconveniences* as well as the *Conveniences* of it in a Nation: And he there prudently propounds a *Reformation* or *Regulating* of it. And we cannot then but think and believe that there is something *Evil* and *Unlawful* in the common Usury, when we observe, that *Christian Emperors, Fathers, Councils, Civil Laws, Divines, States-Men*, and Writers of all Ranks have generally voted against it. This may convince us, that so far as it is *forbidden* by an inferior Law, that of *Nature* and *Reason*, and Humane Constitutions, it is forbid by the Law of *Christianity*. * Essay 41.

Secondly, So far as Usury is allowed of by the *Natural Law*, it is also allowed of by *Christianity*, because this doth not contradict that. We may then with reference to the Particulars above-mentioned, conclude, that the taking of Interest for the Loan of Money is now under the *Gospel* allowable, when it violates neither *Justice* nor *Charity*, but promotes both; for these are *Evangelical* as well as *Moral Virtues*; when it maintains and cherishes *Gratitude*, which is another *Christian Endowment*; for if the Person to whom I lend Money, will freely, and of his own accord, and from a Principle of ingenuous Thankfulness, allow me something besides the Principal, I may lawfully accept it. Again, when the Interest exceeds not the Rules of *Mediocrity*, it is another Mark of its being adjusted to the *Christian Laws*, for it is enjoined by these, that our *Moderation* should be known unto all Men, Phil. 4. 5. Where the Apostle's ἐπιεικής properly denotes such a gentle Behaviour and acting as is opposed to *Rigour* and *Immoderate Exaction*. So in the next place we may be sure that it is according to the precepts of *Christianity*, when it is upon fair and equitable Terms, and not on an *Absolute* and inevitable Obligation. It is prudent to make sure the Principal, but it is *Unchristian* to force the Use. For the mild Laws of Christ's Institution bid us remit our Covenants in some Cases, and charitably recede from what in rigour is our Due, and to forgive the Creditor if his Condition require it. And need I add, that it is suitable to the abundant Charity of the Gospel, that no Man lend upon Usury, to such as are of the number of the *Indigent* and *Needy*? If bare *Reason* suggests this, the *Christian Religion* much more doth it. If the Law of Nature directs us here, we are sure that *Christianity* concurs with it, because this never acts contrary to that.

For this Reason the *Christian Fathers* and *Councils* allowed of Usury so far as it was Reasonable and Innocent; for the *Excess* and *Abuse* only was that which was condemned and inveighed against, as I could prove if it were necessary. The *Moderns* have more explicitly and directly maintained the Cause of Usury; for though the *Pontifical Divines* generally, and * some of our own Church, and some † *Foreign Protestants* seem to go another way, and to disallow of all Usury, yet the major part of those that own the Title of *Protestants*, declare themselves of another Opinion. And herein they are conformable to Mr. Calvin, who contends, that there is no express place of Scripture against Usury, that is, such as I have described, though he wishes the Name and Thing were out of the World, because some sort of it approaches so near to Cruelty and Fraud. But the other sort is that which this great Man allows of, and which Beza, Zanchy, Bucer, and other Reformed Divines have a good Opinion of; yea, indeed we shall find, that generally all the *Calvinists* but *Musculus* are for Usury, and so are all the *Lutherans* excepting *Chemnitius*. But it is not upon the Names of Men that I found this Doctrine, (or any other) but having first shewed its agreement with the Law of Nature and Christianity, I took occasion to shew by what Authors it is backed.

But here it may be objected, that our Saviour overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, Matt. 21. 12. Κολυβισαί, Fœneratores, Userers; which action of our Lord sufficiently shews his dislike of those Men, and their Practice. To which may be answered, First, That the true meaning of Κολυβισαί is not assigned by the Objectors, for both this Word and κερμαλισταί (which is used on the same occasion by St. John, Chap. 2. v. 14.) properly denote those that changed greater Money for smaller Pieces (in order to Buying and Traffick) for Κόλλυβις and Κέρμα were the Terms used to signify their lesser Coyn. But, Secondly, Supposing that these Words in the larger and comprehensive import of them, may signify such Money-Changers

* Bishop Jewel, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Downham, Mr. Capell, Mr. Bolton, Fenton, &c.

† Zuinglius, Musculus, Chemnitius.

A a a a

and Bankers as let out Money to Use, yet we cannot gather from our Saviour's casting them out of the Temple, and overthrowing their Tables, that all Usury is Unlawful; for, first, Christ dealt thus with them, not because of their accommodating Persons with Money, but because they did this in the places belonging to the Temple, the House of Prayer, a place designed for other Uses. Secondly, He was thus severe with them, because, when they let out Money to Use, they commonly exercised an unjust and griping Usury, and so made the House of Prayer a Den of Thieves. Thirdly, it is to be considered, that at the same time that our Saviour drove the Money-Changers and Bankers out of the Temple, he also cast out all them that Sold and Bought, Matt. 21. 12. Wherefore, as we cannot from hence infer, that Buying and Selling are Unlawful, so we can with as little Reason gather that Usury is so.

It will be objected, that this Doctrine of Usury, even as I have represented and limited it, is repugnant to the positive Command of our Saviour, *Luk. 6. 35. Lend, hoping for nothing again.* Lending, with looking for something again, is Usury; therefore, free lending, and expecting and demanding nothing again is opposite to Usury, and this is it which is here enjoined. The Answer is, That these Words have reference to the Poor, or such as it would be uncharitable to require Interest of: Of these we are not to expect any thing again, when we lend; but of others we may, if there be occasion, *i. e.* if our Condition requires it, and theirs will allow of it. Which meaning of the place is confirmed by what our Saviour adds in the next Verse, *Be ye therefore merciful,* as if he had said, nothing is to be done in this Case which is inconsistent with Mercifulness and Compassion, which are properly entended to those that are in Want, or whose Condition is mean in the World. *Lend to these,* saith our Master, *hoping for nothing again,* look for no compensation. It is true, some Fathers of the Church were enclined to think that this Text struck at all Usury; but, with due deference to those Pious Men, I conceive it is no more against Usury, than *† give to every one that asketh,* is against Selling. As this latter Advice of our Saviour is to be understood in a restrained Sense, *viz.* concerning giving to those that are in some Want, so the former is meant concerning lending to such Persons. We are obliged by this Divine Precept to a gratuitous Loan, as by the other to a free and voluntary Gift, supposing that our Circumstances are such, that we can spare either, for there must be this Limitation, as well as the other.

† *Luk. 6.*
30.

Yet, here I must add, that we ought to take our Saviour's Words in the utmost Extent of them, *i. e.* to Give and Lend freely to as many as we can, without endangering ourselves. Notwithstanding what hath been said before concerning Usury, and the Lawfulness of it in such and such Circumstances, yet we are to remember,

First, That Christ's Exhortation to Give and to Lend freely (as in *Matt. 5. 42. Luke 6. 35.*) is to be strictly and inviolably observed, *i. e.* whenever Reason and Charity require it; and it is a Sin not to Give and Lend thus, when there are these Principles and Motives.

Secondly, We are to remember, that though one kind of Usury, which I have described, be in itself lawful, yet sometimes it is not expedient; for, according to the Directions of that infallible Casuist, *1 Cor. 16. 12.* we are sometimes to refrain from Things that are in their own Nature Lawful. And if we speak of the Laws of the Place we live in, it is becoming a Christian not to do all that they permit him; for, as the Learned *Grotius* saith on this occasion, the Laws often wink at corrupt Manners which they cannot find a Remedy for.

Thirdly, This is to be thought of, that if the *Mosaic Law* enjoined those of that Dispensation to give to the Poor, *Deut. 15. 8, &c.* and forbid them to lend on Usury to their Brethren, especially the Poor, (as hath been shewed before) then certainly Christians, who are called to greater Instances of Vertue than the Jews, should be careful that they offend not in these Cases. Under the Gospel should be as great Charity, if not greater, than under the *Mosaic Oeconomy*: therefore those Commands of giving to those that ask, and of lending without looking for any thing again, should be practised to their height.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Such is the peculiar and exalted nature of the *Christian Institution*, that we are commanded thereby to *abstain from all appearance of Evil*, 1 Thess. 5. 22. from whatever hath a *shew* or *suspicion* of Vice. And such without doubt hath the *common Usury*, it generally proceeding from a Principle of Covetousness. Wherefore all Men professing *Christianity*, but more especially those that are Spiritual Guides and Instructors of others, who should take care to be very exact in their Conversation, they being Examples of Living, ought to be very cautious of making Gain by letting out Money to Usury; these Persons should be free from all suspicion and appearance of the Evil of Covetousness, which in a Minister of the Gospel is worse than in any others.

Fifthly, The elevated Principles of Christianity require of us to follow and practise those Things which are of *good report*, Phil. 4. 8. Wherefore, tho' there be such a thing as an innocent and laudable Usury, yet because most of the Usury that is practised at this Day is in one thing or other faulty, because the *exacting* of Gain above the Principal, by virtue of an *Absolute Covenant*, proceeds generally from a greedy desire of Lucre, and oftentimes proves highly injurious to the Borrower; therefore, in all Ages, and in all Countries, both among Christians and Infidels it hath been scandalous. For which reason, those that are of any eminent Station in the Church, are concerned above all other Men to avoid this Reproachful Imputation and Practise, which hath been animadverted upon by so many * Synods and Councils, and punished with Degradation and Losses of their Place and Office, as being reputed a Practise of ill Report.

* Can. 44. Apost. Nicen. I. Can. 17. Laodic. Can. 4. Agaisgran. Afric. 5. & 16.

To conclude all, these Three Things are the result of all that hath been said,

First, There is an *Unlawful* and *Unrighteous Usury*, such as is accompanied with Injustice, Extortion, Oppression, Fraud, exacting above Men's Ability, Rigor and Inhumanity in case of Losses, making no Abatement, cruel handling of the Debtor, and undoing him. This is forbid by the *Jewish, Christian, and Natural Law*: It is Unlawful by Humane and Divine Institution.

Secondly, There is a *Lawful* and *Righteous Usury*, and such as is not unbecoming a Christian Man. According to Scripture, Law, Conscience, we may be partakers of innocent Gain, by lending of Money with the Conditions and Circumstances which I have mentioned. And consequently it is a false and groundless Opinion, that all sort of Usury is unjustifiable. It is here, as in many other Points of Practical Divinity and Morality, though the Abuse of it be forbidden, yet the harmless Use of it is not. Wherefore to the Question, Whether Usury be Lawful? The Answer is, That *some Usury* is so, and some is not.

Thirdly, Though there be an innocent Usury, yet we are with great caution to use it, and we are not to suffer ourselves to make a common practise of it: For, though there be no Law of Christ that forbids it, and though in itself, as far as it is Rational and Equitable, it is suitable to the Christian Law, yet the Height and Excellency of the *Christian Institution* are such, that they disallow of a frequent, an usual, much more of an unnecessary exercise of it. It is not to be questioned that *lending freely* is the true *Christian way* that should generally and most commonly prevail. Upon which account, I joyn with * Calvin in his Wish, That all Usury, * Epist. and the very Name of it were expelled the World. And I am ready to give my 383. suffrage to what the Excellent Grotius saith, *I would, saith he, have this kind of Gain taken out of the World clearly and wholly, there being so many Evils that attend or follow it.* And to conclude, I most willingly grant, that Usury, as 'tis too often practised, is *Theft* and *Robbery*, and is forbidden in this Commandment, as well as those other Things before-mentioned.

Now, before I pass to the *Affirmative* part of this Commandment, let us be sensible of our Duty with respect to what hath been said already. We ought to see that we be not guilty of this Sin of *Stealing* in any of those Branches, Members and Parts of it which have been enumerated. We ought to avoid all those ways whereby our Neighbour is wronged as to his Property and Right, whereby that which belongs to him is taken away, or detained, either by Force or Fraud, either openly or privily. And this we ought to do the rather, because this Sin is grown so frequent. *Thieving* is the most common Trade in the World, saith Luther † in his time: And none, I believe, will say it is more rare since. There is a general † Colloq. Mensal. Complaint every where, that the Laws of Right and Justice are broken, and that

Mischief is grown rampant. Yea, some of the ways of Thieving and doing Wrong to our Neighbours, are now become Fashionable, and are grown into Repute. Wherefore we are obliged to bear up vigorously against this growing Vice, and not to give way to *any sort* of Theft and unjust Dealing with others; and let not any Motives prevail with us to favour such Practises, no not the least Filching and Pilfering.

To deter us from this, let us consider this, that not only Man, but God punishes this Sin. *The Lord will abhor* (not only the bloody but) *the deceitful Man*, Psal. 5. 6. *Who is partaker with a Thief, hateth his own Soul*, Prov. 29. 24. that is, he shews he hates his own Life and Safety, by rendring himself obnoxious to the Wrath of God. We read in Zech. 5. 1, 4. that the *Curse* contained in the *flying Roll* entred into the *House of the Thief*, as well as him that *Swearth falsely*, to let us know that Houses and Families, though enriched by Fraud and Violence, are Accursed. The Apostle assigns this Reason, *why no Man should go beyond and defraud his Brother, Because* (saith he *the Lord is the avenger of all such*, 1 Theff. 4. 6. And this was the Sense of all the Wise Men among the *Gentiles*, who unanimously concur in this,

* Τοῖς ἀδικῶσι μέ-
γιστον κακὸν ἢ ἀδικία
αὐτῶν. M. Tyr. Diff. 2.

That Vengeance and a Curse go along with Cheating and Defrauding, with Injustice and Wrong. * *The doing of an Injury*, saith the famous *Platonist*, is the the greatest Evil to him that doth it. Which is true, whether he respect the outward Punishment that usually attends dishonest and unjust Actions, or the inward regret of Mind, which

frequently goes along with them. *Lycurgus* made a Law that it should be Death to be caught in Thieving: Not that Theft itself deserved that Penalty; but we should be afraid of the Thing itself, and abhor the Crime, as such. The intrinsic Evil of this Vice, the inward Obliquity and Enormity of it, should dissuade us from the Practise of it, and giving the least Countenance to it.

I proceed now to the *Affirmative* part of the Commandment, namely, what is required of us. This part, as well as the other, hath respect both to Ourselves and to Others. First, It concerns *Ourselves*; we are obliged by virtue of this Commandment to do ourselves Right, to get and preserve such Worldly Goods as are for our Convenience and Welfare. We are to be content with our own, and not to covet other Men's Estates. We are to be moderate and prudent in our Expen-

* Messe te-
nus propria
vive. Perf.
† Bishop
Andrews.

ses, to be * *Saving and Frugal*, remembring that usual Saying of a Great † *Churchman*, *Good Husbandry is good Divinity*: At least, we are not to spend above our Incomes. To which purpose we are to shun all Gaming; all Excess in Meats and Drinks; all Lewd Company, and whatsoever may impair or injure our outward Estates. On the other hand, we are to take care that we be employed in some Lawful Business and Honest Calling. They tell us indeed, that the Noble-men among the *Malabars* in the *East-Indies* wear long Nails, to shew they are no Workers, and to manifest their *Gentility*. But it hath been otherwise with the greatest Persons in the more Civiliz'd parts of the World: They have reputed *Work* to be a Credit to them. Many of the *Eastern* People, and particularly the *Jews*, of very

† Pulera est disciplina
Legis, si adjunctam habeat
Artem. Rabbi Gama-
liel.

good Rank, chose some Employment and Handy-work to exercise themselves in at fit times; yea, even † the most Learned Men and Students among them, learned some Manual Operation. And at this very Day the Greatest Men among the *Mahometans* have a Mechanical Profession, even the *Sultan* himself. But abstracting from this particular Custom and Practise in those Countries, it is certain that even Kings and Princes, and all Persons of Honour and Quality have a *Calling*; that is, they have something to do which is proper to their Station; they have a peculiar Concern, of use and advantage to themselves and others, to busy themselves with.

But because these Persons are but few in respect of the rest of the World, I shall speak to the Case of these latter, and shew that they ought to use Labour and Industry in an honest Calling. All must Work, all must be employ'd, either in Bodily Labour, or in the Labour of the Mind (for there is the Labour of the Head, as well as of the Hands: There is the Sweat of the Brain no less than of the Brow.) Some Work or other must be the entertainment of our Lives: Every Man must apply himself to some Business, whereby he may be serviceable to others and to himself. A Nobleman, a Gentleman, one of a fair Estate, is exempt from the usual Toils and Labours that others undergo, but yet he hath a Calling. I look upon this as a *main* thing required in *this Commandment*, and so all Expositors upon it

it have agreed. which is confirmed by the Apostle's Words in *Eph. 4. 28. Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good.* Where we see that *labouring* and *working* in some honest Calling is opposed to *Stealing*, and wronging of others: Therefore this Commandment enjoyns Diligence in our Callings as a Remedy against Idleness and Theft. But those that do not Work, and get their Living by some Labour, are justly said to *Steal*. This then must be inculcated, in pursuit of this Commandment, that we are obliged not to sit still, but to apply ourselves to some Business, to be stirring and moving in the World, in some lawful Employment. Look into the Frame of Nature, and you will find that there is a Motion every where. Which appears from the Fluidity of the *Heavens* confessed now by all, and the Porosity of all the *Planetary Bodies*, and even of the *Earth* itself, which is continually exhaling Steams out of its Bowels. And even those Bodies which are thought to be most Unmoveable, are not so. The firmest Rocks are not at Rest, for they diminish; which implies Motion. In short, 'tis probable there is no *Quiescence* in the World, considering the minute and invisible parts of Matter are always agitated: So that nothing is utterly void of Motion.

Thus it is in the Natural World: And God hath appointed it to be so in the Moral and Intellectual one. Motion and Labour were enjoined in the State of Innocence, *Gen. 2. 15. The Lord God took the Man and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it.* He was set to Work as soon as he was Created. Honest Labour was the entertainment of *Paradise*. If any one might have pleaded an exemption for it, *Adam* might, who was a Prince and a Monarch, and had the World ready furnished to his Hand; yet was he not permitted to live in Sloth and Idleness. It is no wonder then that his Eldest Son was trained up to Agriculture and Tilling the Ground, and that his Second Son took upon him the Shepherd's Employment; for Industry and Labour was the Original and Fundamental Law given to Mankind. And we find that this Law hath been urged and imposed by the Divine Lawgiver in all succeeding Ages, as absolutely necessary. Yea the *Gospel* hath not abrogated this Law, but ratified and confirmed it. Christ Jesus himself was pleased to Sanctify Labour by his own Example, when he condescended to employ himself in the Carpenter's Calling, it being the Occupation of his reputed Father, with whom he lived till he was Thirty Years of Age. The Great Apostle presses this labouring in an honest Calling as a Duty of indispensable Concern among Christians, *2 Thess. 3. 10, 11, 12. When we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not Work (would not exercise himself in some Business for the good of Mankind) neither should he eat: for we hear that there are some that walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are Busy-bodies. Now, them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own Bread.* Here we see that a necessity of *Working* is enforced from a necessity of *Eating*. There is a Natural necessity of the one: There is a Moral necessity of the other. And it is not our own Bread, but stolen, if we work not for it. The Apostle therefore had good Reason to call this *walking disorderly*, for it is opposing of God, the God of Order, and it is against the design of bringing us upon the Stage of this World, which was, that we might act our Parts. Man was born for Employment, and therefore Industry is necessary for the use of Life, and the needs of Mankind. But Sloth unfits Men for Action and Business, and hinders them from shining in the World, and doing what is commendable and praise-worthy. This is a very unnatural and unmanly Vice; and accordingly *Solomon* sends the Sluggard to the very Ant, one of the least and most contemptible Creatures, and yet able to be his Tutor, and read him Lectures of solid Wisdom; for though *she hath no Guide, Overseer, or Ruler, yet she provideth her meat in the Summer, and gathereth her food in the Harvest*, *Prov. 6. 6.* She is a true Emblem and Pattern of Labour and Industry, and prudent Diligence; and consequently the *Sluggard* is inexcusable, who fails in that Duty which is taught him even by Brute Creatures, and is the dictate of Nature.

But this should fasten it yet more upon us, that it is a Precept which *Sacred Writ* commends to us, as we have seen: And thereby Labour becomes the *Service of God*, and is an Act of Obedience to him: It was a false imputation laid by *Pharaoh* on the Ministry of *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Wherefore do you let the People from their Work?* Religion enjoyns Industry and Diligence; yea, indeed these are a part of it: For if

* the

* Prov.
21. 4.

† Talmud
Beracoth.

* στρ-
σαι.

* *the plowing of the wicked be Sin*, then the Worldly Employment or Calling of a Good Man is Vertuous and Good. Not only his Prayers, and other immediate Acts of Devotion and Worship, but his Secular Business and Work are Religious, and are in a sort made Spiritual Services. It is hyperbolically and extravagantly said by the Hebrew Rabbins, to excite young Men to Labour and delight in it, † *He that lives on his Labour, is greater than he that fears God*. Such bold Speeches, (many of which are to be found in the Jewish Writers) are not to be allowed of; but this is a sober Truth, that those who perform the Labour of their Callings with Faithfulness, and with a Sense of their Duty, and in obedience to the Divine Command, do truly fear God, and are good and Righteous Persons. Which appears to be a Natural and Reasonable Notion from the Greek's making the * same Word to denote a Good and a Diligent Man; as much as to say that Probity and Industry are inseparable.

And further, to encourage us to the practise of this Duty, we are to consider how Advantageous and Profitable it is. Our daily Travels and Labours are accepted of God, and rewarded by him, and attended with a Blessing. We may observe that God hath graced his Servants with singular Favours when they have been Conscientiously employed in the business of their Callings. He appeared to Moses when he was keeping his Sheep. He sent an Angel to Gideon when he was Threshing out his Corn. The best News that ever the World heard was brought to the Shepherds by Messengers from Heaven, when they were watching their Flocks. Our Saviour called many of the Apostles whilst they were exercised in their accustomed Occupations. And the daily Experience of Good Men can testify that their conscientious discharge of their Duty in the Stations and Callings that Providence hath placed them in, is signally attended with Success.

But on the contrary, *Idleness* blasts every thing, and proves pernicious to those that cherish it. This was one of the crying Sins of Sodom, and it was a fit Nurse for their other foul Sins; but we know how destructive it was to that People. *He that follows idle Persons shall be filled with Want*, saith the Wise Man, Prov. 28. 19. And he told the Sluggard before, chap. 6. v. 11. that *his Poverty should come as one that travelleth*, (i.e. suddenly, unexpectedly, as a Guest comes upon us unawares) and *his Want as an Armed Man* (i.e. in such a manner as it cannot be resisted and avoided.) In the Evangelical Writings we read that the Figg-tree was cursed that brought forth no Fruit, Matt. 21. 19. The unprofitable and slothful Servant was severely punished, and according to his Demerits, for he was bound Hand and Feet, who was so before with Idleness: He was cast into outer Darknes, who wilfully withdrew himself from the Light, and lay hid in the World, Matt. 25. So his Punishment was answerable to his Fault. Plutarch tells us, in the Life of Solon, that Draco the Athenian Lawgiver, was very severe in this Point, and adjudged all those to Death who could be convicted of Idleness, whence perhaps it was that they said, his Laws were written in Blood. The Areopagites made strict enquiry after those Useless Persons, and inflicted severe Penalties on them. Which shews what Apprehensions they had concerning the Nature of this Vice, and how mischievous they thought it to be to Mankind. Whence it was excellently said of a great Moralist, † I had rather be Sick, or any other ways indisposed, than be addicted to Idleness.

† Malo
mibi male
esse quam
molliter.
Sen.

But Secondly, Our Duty enjoined in this Commandment, hath respect to our Neighbours, and that I am next to consider. In this respect, the general Duty of this Commandment, as to the Affirmative part of it, is *Justice*, which is giving to every one what is his own. We must suffer them to enjoy their Wealth and Estate, and we must help and further them in it. We are obliged to consult their Welfare as to their Goods and Possessions, and to promote, as much as in us lies, their Thriving and Prospering. This is a general description of that *Justice* and *Righteousness* towards Men which this Commandment requires.

Before I proceed to Particulars, I will shew what is the Spring and Root of this *Righteousness*, what is the great Rule and Standard of it, and I will endeavour to illustrate it by propounding some Instances. Without doubt the Great and standing Rule, as well as Spring of *Justice* towards Men, is that Command of our Saviour, *All things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do ye even so to them*, Matt. 12. which is thus expressed in Luke 6. 31. *As ye would that Men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise*. For the right understanding of which Injunction, we are

are to know First, That not every sort of *Will* whereby we *would* that any thing should be done to us by others, is the Rule of performing our Duty to them. For then he that Wills any dishonest thing to himself, may Will and do the same to others. He that would be Drunk himself, might Lawfully make others Drunk: He that would himself be drawn to lewdness and uncleanness, might entice and inveigle others to the same. This therefore cannot be the meaning of the Rule. But that which we *Will* with a rectified Will, not over-mastered by Passion, but guided by Reason, a *Will* whereby we desire that which is Good, that (I say) which with such a Will we *would* that others should do unto us, we may Lawfully do to them. For they are the regular Dictates of our Will (and not any other) that are the Measure of our Deportment to others. This is a necessary Restriction of our Saviour's Injunction.

And so is this, that we are not required by this Rule to *do* always the very same things in particular and in *Specie* to others, that we *would* they should *do* to us. For then the Set Laws of Families and Kingdoms would soon cease, and Princes must become Subjects, and Masters vail to their Servants, yea become Servants to them, and so Masters would be no longer Masters. But the same Things in *Proportion* are here meant, that is, a Master is obliged to be a Good Master to a Dutiful Servant, according to St. Paul's Christian Oeconomics, *Masters, give to your Servants that which is just and equal*, Col. 4. 1. Because if those that are Masters were in their Servants Place and Condition, they would desire to have just and equal Things done to them, and to be Kindly and Christianly used. So then the *same* things are to be done by us *upon a due Supposition*, as namely, put the Case we were in such or such Persons Place and Circumstances: We are obliged to do that to others, which we would be content should be done to us if we were in *their Condition*. It is a very good Rule laid down by an ill Man, (a) *A Man should, when he is to do any thing, imagine that he is in that Man's place and stead with whom he has to do, and that that Man is in his place.* This will set Things right between Man and Man, because Reason dictates to us that we ought so to deal with every one, as we ourselves would be dealt with, if we were in that Condition which he is in whom we are dealing with.

These are the necessary *Limitations* of that great Law, and we cannot understand it aright without them. And so in other Cases I might shew, that there must be *Restrictions* is the most received Maxims that relate to this Matter. As to Instance in that famous one, *We must render to every one his own*: This must be *restrained*, or else by vertue of this Rule we are obliged to give a Sword into the Hand of a Mad-man, if he be Owner of it. But who sees not that the Law of Nature never bound me to do this? For if I should give him his own Sword, it is likely he will make use of it either against me, or against himself, or some other that comes in his way. Wherefore this is the Limitation of that Maxim, that I must restore to every one his own, excepting in such a Case as this, namely, when the Restoring to him his own will be Hurtful and Destructive. And this Interpretation is confirmed by the foregoing Rule, and the Limitation belonging to it; for I am not to do that to another which I would not have done to my self, if I were in the like Condition.

We see then the force of our Saviour's Aphorism, and we cannot but be convinced that it is the great Basis of all upright dealing in the World. St. Jerom calls it (b) *the Abridgement of all humane Justice*. And an Antienter Writer than he tells us, "That the (c) Summ of all Righteousness towards Men is comprised in this, that we do not that to another Person which we would not suffer to be done to us from him. For (as he goes on) if it be a bitter thing to thee to suffer Injury, and if he that hath done it appears to thee to be Unjust, do but transfer that to the Person of another which thou feelest in thy self, and that to thy self which thou judgest of another, and then thou wilt as well perceive that thou dealest unjustly when thou hurtest another, as that another doth so when he hurteth thee." Alexander Severus, one of the Roman Emperors, who was better inclined than most of the others, Summed up the matter thus, (d) *Do not that to another which thou wouldest not have done to thy self*: Which Sentence he had often in his Mouth, and caused to be Proclaimed aloud by the Crier, whenever there was occasion to punish Offenders. Nay, he was so in Love with this saying, that he commanded it to be set up in his Royal Palace, and he fixed it up-

(b) *Totius Justitiæ brevium.* Epist. 14. ad Celantiam.

(c) *Fere in hoc Justitiæ summa consistit, ut non facias alteri quod ipse ab altero pati nolis.* Lactant. Instit. Lib. 6.

(d) *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

on

(e) *Quod quisque juris in alterum Statuerit, ut ipse eodem jure utatur.* Pandect. l. 2.

(f) *Scilicet ut quod ipse quis in alterius persona equum esse credidisset, id in ipsius quoque persona valere patiatur.*

on all Publick Works. The like (e) Rule was taken out of *Ulpian*, who was the foresaid Emperors chief Counsellor, and put into the *Pandects* by *Justinian*; where it is thus explained, (f) *that what a Man believes to be just and equal in another Man's Case, he should judge to be so in his own (if it be of the same nature) and be willing it should take effect.* This is agreed to be a Standing Rule by all Governours and Law-givers of what Denomination soever. And *Mahomet* inserted it among his Eight Laws which he gave his *Musselmens*, as delivered to him from the Angel *Gabriel*. And certainly this is the Root of all just and honest Dealing: For we must take our Measures of doing good

to others from ourselves. Our own Natures must be the Square of our dealing with our Neighbours. If this were firmly imprinted on our Minds, and lodged in our Memories, and practised in our Converse in the World, there would not be those Complaints and Outcries that are daily heard, there would not be that Oppression and Gripping which may be observed every where; but the Laws of Love and Peace would universally prevail in Men's Lives: And whereas now they act unjustly and dishonestly towards one another, they would then keep Innocency, and do the Thing that is right. Thus far in General, and concerning that great Standard and Rule of Justice which this Eighth Commandment is Grounded upon.

I come now to the Particular Acts of Justice and Righteousness which are required in this part of the Decalogue. We are enjoined here to be true, just and exact in our Traffick and Commerce. There ought to be great Integrity in making of Contracts, and as great in keeping them. We must observe the Conditions agreed upon between one another, and never break our Word. Particularly, in Buying and Selling there ought to be great Faithfulness and Sincerity: There must always be a just Proportion between the Price, and the thing Sold. The Sale ought to be according to the true worth and value of the Goods. We are to take no advantage of the Ignorance and Simplicity of an unwary Chapman, or of any Man's Want and Poverty. And we must never conceal the Faults and Defects of what we expose to Sale.

This is Justice, and this is Religion, and they both go together. To which purpose it is observable, that according to *Moses's* Law, the Standards of all Weights and Measures were kept in the Sanctuary, and it was part of the Priests Work to oversee these, 1 Chron. 23. 29. And so it was afterwards among Christians; those Weights and Measures which were Standards to others, were kept in their Temples and Churches. And we have a particular Order concerning this in *Justinians* * *Authenticks*. Thus we see that justice in Buying and Selling is accounted a Sacred Thing, and the Religious are concerned in it, and are to inspect, and take care of the observance of it. Which shews, that we ought to use great Fidelity and Honesty in our Dealings and Bargains, and to transact them out of Conscience, and a Sense of our Religion which obliges us to it.

* Collat. 9. es: Tit. 2. cap. 15.

Again, this Commandment requires that we shew ourselves just and upright in paying our Debts. We should choose to be sparing, and even to cut ourselves short of some Worldly Conveniences and Enjoyments, rather than to take up more than we know we can repay. In common Law Debts are to be paid before Legacies; We must be just before we be Charitable. The Debtor must satisfy his Creditor, before he takes upon him to be a Benefactor. In brief, Justice teaches us to be very exact in our Payments.

Further, this requires of us to make Satisfaction for Injuries, to Repair all hurts and wrongs, to Restore what was unjustly taken from others. Examples of this are *Jacob* and his Sons, Gen. 43. 12, 21. *Samuel*, 1 Sam. 12. 3. *Zacheus*, Luke 19. 8. Whom we are bound to imitate, if we have unjustly taken away our Neighbours Goods, or in any kind defrauded them. Restitution is an inseparable Ingredient of Justice, for this bids us give to every one his own. Which cannot possibly be done, unless we make amends for what we have unjustly got and detained.

We are obliged by the Laws of Justice and Righteousness to be Grateful to our Benefactors, to acknowledge their Courtesies, to pray for them, and to make returns as our Condition will permit.

By the same Law of Justice we ought to Relieve the Poor, to supply the Wants and Necessities of those that are in Distress. The same Commandment that forbids Theft, enjoins Charity and Beneficence. But I have spoken largely of these in my

Entrance

Entrance upon the *Second Table*, and therefore shall say nothing more on this Subject.

I may add, that Justice extends even to the *Dead*. Hence *Testaments* are permitted to the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, in a kind of *Piety*, which is thought incident to the performance of *Dead Men's Wills*. To do the *Dead* right, as well as the *Living*, is an Act of Religion: And accordingly *Executors* and those that are left to see the Will of the Deceased performed, ought to act in this Affair with a good Conscience, and to do what is Just and Righteous.

Besides Justice to single Persons, there is also the same due to the *Community*. For Man is made for Society, and calculated for Converse and Friendship. His natural Frame and Temper inclines him to Study the common Good, to make all his Endowments and Gifts subservient to the Profit of others, to the Welfare of the whole Community, as well as his own private Interest.

To this *Affirmative* part belongs also *Equity*, which mitigates the rigour of severe Justice, and tempers it with Benignity. This, under the name of *Moderation*, ^{* ἡ ἐπιεικής} is commended to us by the Apostle, *Phil. 4. 5. Let your Moderation be known unto all Men*, that is, let it be exercised towards all Men. And of this St. James speaks in his description of that *Wisdom which is from above*, saying, *It is gentle (or Moderate) and easy to be intreated*, *Jam. 5. 17.* The Office of this Virtue is to exact of others less than we might, for the sake of Peace; and to grant and yield to them more than they could look for, and that for the same Reason, namely to prevent long Disputes and Quarrels, and to maintain Peace and Amity. This is a Virtue of great necessity in the Life of Man: And it is as excellent and worthy as it is necessary. A Man cannot more Signalize his Christian Temper, than by putting this in Practice. He cannot do a braver thing, than in some Cases to remit of his Summ Due. He must not greedily pursue all Advantages that may be taken against the Persons he deals with. He is engaged by the Laws of Christianity to recede from his Right in some Circumstances that may happen. He must sometimes part with that, to hold fast his Charity with his Neighbour. Especially he must be kind and favourable where Gods Providence shews the way, and not add Affliction to the Afflicted. And in all other Cases he is so to act, as not to be Guilty of rigour and Severity, for these are inconsistent with Equity.

To what hath been said this must be added, that some Persons are more particularly concerned in this Commandment; for tho' all are to observe the Rules of Justice inviolably, yet this is more especially incumbent on those who are in places of Magistracy, and are conversant in Courts of Judicature, whose Business it is to preserve Men's Rights. Wherefore I am obliged here to Discourse of the Office of a Judge, or Solemn Minister of Justice, and (which is the same) to shew wherein Publick Justice consists. I will comprise all under these two Heads, 1. A Judges Duty, or Publick Justice, consists in a diligent discussing of the Causes that come to be judged. 2. It consists in a resolute Determination of the Causes according to Law, and thereby a doing Right to all Men.

The first is that which Job pleads as one Testimony of his Integrity and Uprightness as he was a Magistrate, the Cause which I knew not, I searched out, chap. 29. ver. 16. And Moses's Charge to the Judges ran thus, Hear the Causes between your Brethren, and so judge Righteously between every Man and his Brother, and the Stranger that is with him, Deut. 1. 16. Justice is not rash, but acts Deliberately; it uses its Balance, and heedfully Weighs what is alleged on either Side. The Procedure of the Judge of all the World is to be observed and imitated by Earthly Judges, who, when the Cry of Sodom and Gomorrah was great, and their Sin very grievous, said, I will go down, and see whether they have done altogether according to the Cry of it, which is come unto me: And if not, I will know, Gen. 18. 20, 21. Not that he was ignorant of any thing they had done, but he speaks after the manner of Men, and lets us know, that in Matters of Justice and Judgment, an enquiry into the Fact, and a distinct Knowledge of it, must always precede the Censure and Punishing of it. That Memorable saying in the Levite's Case may be the standing Rule in Matters of Judgment, * Consider it, take Advice, and speak your Minds. Carefully examine and ponder the Thing, and then (and not before) give Sentence. Solomon, that Royal Judge, had ^{* Judg. 19. 30.} an admirable dexterity in searching out the Truth in Judgment, as appears when two Women strove for the living Child. Other Evidences which are usual in Courts of Judicature being at that time wanting, he had recourse to Nature, and was resolved

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to hear what Testimony she could give, and what Verdict she would bring in. And so, by the natural Remorse and Sympathy of one of the Females towards the Infant, he found out which of them was the true Mother. This may instruct all Publick Ministers of Justice to examine with great Sagacity the Causes that are brought before them, and to dive into the Merits of them. To Condemn without a suffi-

(a) In King Henry 8th an Act for attainting of Persons in Parliament without being heard, or bringing them to make their Answers and Defence: But he that chiefly promoted it, felt the Evil of it. And certainly it is a palpable Breach of Justice (as well as it is Dangerous)

(b) *Μίση δίκην δίκης ποιοῦν ἀποφύγετον ἀνέστης.* Phocyl.

(c) *Pirk. Avoth. cap. 1.*

(d) *Sir W. Scroggs's Speech, when admitted one of the Justices of the Common Pleas.*

to let Causes go unexamined, or to give ear to one Side only. Justice requires, that (b) both Parties be heard with equal attention, and their different Pleas patiently scan'd. It was one of the Precepts of the great Synagogue, (c) Make not haste in Judgment, take time to examine both Sides. I will shut up this Particular with what a late Judge said, (d) [It seems to me that Saying, *Be quick to hear, and slow to speak*, was made on purpose for a Judge. No Direction can be apter, and no Character becomes him better.]

But when he hath sufficiently heard, then he may speak. Which is the second Thing belonging to a Judge's Office, and to Publick Justice, to wit, a Resolute Determining and giving Sentence in the Cause that is well Searched into and Discussed, and thereby executing Justice and Judgment. It was King David's oversight, that hearkening to Ziba's false Tale, he gave a wrong Sentence in Mephibosheth's Cause, *Thou and Ziba divide the Land*: Whereby Mephibosheth had but half his Inheritance which was left him by his Father Saul (and taken from him by Ziba his Steward) restored to him by David. A hard Allotment! Which was the effect of an unjust Decision. The Sin of Pilate was, that when he might have saved Christ from an unjust Death, yet upon the Accusations brought against him (tho' Contradictory in themselves) he passed Sentence against him, merely to please and satisfy a Blood-thirsty Multitude. Barabbas, a Notorious Criminal, was dismissed by him, but Jesus was Doomed to be Crucified. Thus the Wicked was justified, and the Just was condemned, both which Solomon tells us are an Abomination unto the Lord, Prov. 17. 15. But the Office of a Magistrate or Judge is to acquit and clear the Innocent, and to give Sentence against the Guilty. There is an Iniquity to be Punished by the Judge, Job 31. 11. And there is the Reward of the Righteous, Psal. 58. 11. Which those Ministers of Justice must also see distributed, for the Encouragement of Innocence and Goodness. And in a Word, they must do all Men right according to the established known Laws, and the Merits of the Cause.

In order to these Things, a Judge should have these four Qualifications, first, he should be a Religious Man, a Man fearing God: Which is part of his Character given in Exod. 18. 21. Among the Egyptians the Judges were the same with the Priests, because their Office was looked upon as Sacred. Among the Old Romans, Religion was twisted with their Laws: All the Suits and Actions were brought first to the

(e) *De Legib. lib. 6.* College of the Pontifices, to be approved by them. (e) Plato advised that the Temples of the Gods and the Judges Courts should be Built close together. And we know that the Athenians had their Seats of Justice in their Temples, and so had the Ancient Romans. The Ministers of the Imperial Law are stiled (f) Priests of Justice,

(f) *Digest. lib. 1. De Just. & Jure.* because they are to act as Religious Persons. And of the Judges and Ministers of our own Law it was said by one who was a Judge of the highest Station himself, that they may deservedly be called (g) Priests of good, and just. And

(g) *Sacerdotes boni & aequi. Fortescue de laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 3.*

(h) *Lord Bacon's Essay of Judicature.*

(i) *ὅς τις κρείσσονος ὀνομάζεται θεός, ὡς καὶ ἀμύμονιν ἦν Ἰωὴν ὁ δὲν θεὸς κρείνεν πεπευσμένως.* Theodoret. Qu. 51. in Ex. 22.

another (h) who was in the same great Station afterwards, tells us, that the place of Justice is an Hallowed place. Which is not disagreeable to the Stile of Scripture, where the place of the Magistracy or the Tribunal of Justice is called the place of the Holy, Eccl. 8. 10. that is, Gods Seat. And accordingly it is said in Deut. 1. 17. the Judgment is Gods. Judges represent him, and bear (i) his Title, and therefore ought to act as his Vicegerents. This was it which King Jehoshaphat gave in Commission to the Judges before they went their Circuit, *Take heed what ye do, for ye Judge not for Man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the Judgment*, 2 Chron. 19. 5. You do not Personate me

so much as God, who is the great Judge of Heaven and Earth; therefore behave yourselves as becomes the Representatives of the Almighty, and know that he is with

with you, to assist you in the impartial Administration of Justice, which is a Sacred and Divine Employment. Therefore, see that you act out of Conscience and Religious Choice, and then you will discharge your Office aright.

Secondly, Those Reverend Ministers of Justice ought to be Men not only fearing God, but hating Covetousness, as is particularly given in charge to those of that Character, in the fore-named Text. For if they be tainted with Avarice, they will be guilty of Bribery, and *this blindeth the Eyes of the Wise, and perverts the words of Righteousness*, Deut. 16. 19. that is, this makes them distort the Laws, and bend and rest them which way they please. Wherefore it must not be said of them as of the Rulers and Judges of Israel, *They love, give ye*, Hos. 4. 18. For then (as the same Prophet speaks afterwards) *Judgment will spring up as hemlock*, that is, Justice will be corrupted, and prove pernicious and fatal. Then (as another Prophet expresses it) *They will sell the Righteous for Silver, and the Poor for a pair of Shoes*, Amos 2. 6. that is, they will pervert all Right for Bribes and Gifts, and those very small and mean ones too. This is the bane of Justice, but is too frequently practised in the World; the pretended Ministers of Law and Justice being near a kin to that Roman Judge, who *hoped that Money should have been given to him*, Acts 24. 26. which would have had more Rhetorick in it than *Tertullus* the Orator's Speech. But this is turning a Court of Judicature into a Market (as indeed the * Greek and † Latin Words signify both). This is buying and selling of Justice, and making Marchandize of the Law; and then 'tis sure that none but the Unjust gain by the Bargain. A Judge should be so innocent as to this, as to say with *Samuel*, that Great Judge of Israel, *Of whose Hand have I received any Bribe, to blind mine Eyes withal?* 1 Sam. 12. 3. He should be careful to clear his Conscience as to this Matter, and never give the least occasion for having it objected to him, that he put Men's Rights to Sale, and made Justice vendible. The * Egyptians (who were the Ancientest Lawgivers among the Pagans, and indeed were zealous maintainers of Justice) had a Sense of this, and accordingly used to picture their Judges without Hands, as much as to say, that the Officers of Justice must have no Hands to take any thing to pervert Men's Rights. Particularly at Thebes there were set up the Images of † Judges without Hands, to shew, that they ought not to receive Bribes. And among other People Justice was portrayed Blind, to intimate, that she looks not at Rewards, and takes no notice of Gifts that are offered to her.

Thirdly, The Judges Office is to be discharged without respect of Persons. We find this often inculcated, as in Deut. 1. 17. *Ye shall not respect Persons in Judgment*, or according to the Hebrew, *Ye shall not acknowledge Faces in Judgment*. So in Deut. 16. 19. *Thou shalt not wrest Judgment, thou shalt not respect Persons*. And in Prov. 24. 23. *It is not good to have respect of Persons in Judgment*: Which is called accepting of Persons, Prov. 18. 5. Now, by Persons or Faces are meant the External Qualities of those whose Causes are to be tried and judged: And therefore, when the Publick Administrators of Justice are forbid to respect Persons, they are forbid to have regard to Friendship, Profit, Power, or any consideration of the like nature, in those whose Suit comes before them: And he is justly said to be a respecter or accepter of Persons, who in the Trial or Decision of any Controversy at Law, favours the Cause of any Man because he is his Friend or Relation, or because he is Wealthy and Rich, or because he is in great Power and Authority. Therefore in that fore-named Place, where 'tis said, *You shall not respect Persons in Judgment*, it is immediately added by way of Explication, *You shall hear the Small as well as the Great, you shall not be afraid of the Face of Man, for the Judgment is God's*, who (as we are told in another place) is no accepter of Persons, but the Small and the Great are alike with him: Therefore judge Righteous Judgment, and attend to the Groans of the Oppressed, and the Tears and Sighs of the Injured, and let not Greatness Authorize Injustice. In the Sense of this it was that the *Areopagites*, those celebrated Judges among the *Athenians*, * sat always in the Night, to remind them that they should attend to the Cause, and not to the Parties; to the Things alleged, and not to the Persons concerned in them. Therefore they only heard their Voices, but did not see their Faces, or know of what Quality they were.

This certainly is requisite in those that have the judging and deciding of Causes in their Power, namely, that they look not to the outward Qualities of the

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Persons, but give Judgment according to the Nature and Merits of the Cause itself.

Fourthly, Moderation and Equity become the Judge's Place. As I spoke before of this Equity, as 'tis necessary for all Persons, so now it comes under consideration, as 'tis more particularly required in all Administrations of Publick Justice and Judgment. The severity of Justice hath regard only to the Letter of the Law, and there takes notice of the least Apices and Punctilioes of it. The Rigour and Strictness of the Law proceed according to the bare Words, and allow of no mitigation or favourable Construction. The Judges ought to remember, saith * one of that Rank, that their Office is *jus dicere*, not *jus dare*, to interpret Law, not to make Law. And † another of that Profession tells us, That where the Law is known and clear, tho' it be unequitable and inconvenient, the Judges must determine as the Law is, without regarding the Unequitableness or Inconveniency. And afterwards he gives it as

* Lord Bacon, in his Essay of Judicature.

† Judge Vaughan in his Reports.

his Opinion, that tho' the Laws be defective, yet they are to be strictly observed. But Equity is a moderation of the Strictness and Rigour of the Law, it is a mitigating of the severity of Justice, a rebating of the Edge of its Sword, or a striking more easily with it. And it is pity that this is not lodged in the same Persons, but that we must repair to another Court for Relief. It is fit that the Sword and Ballance of Justice should be in the same Hands; that at the same time when the Letter of the Law kills, Equity may be made use of to restore to Life. This would be a compendious way of doing Men Right, and they would not perish in one Court before they can come to seek their Remedy in another. And truly it seems very just and reasonable that the Letter of the Law, and the Sense and Design of it should go together, and that the Meaning and Purpose of it should be attended to and urged as well as the naked Words. Yea, the former being the Chief and Principal, it should chiefly be minded, for Moderation and Equity are contained in the Laws themselves, and may easily be found there, if we take notice of (as we ought

* Lord Bacon's Essay.

† Talm. Tract. Sanhedrim.

to do) the End and Scope of the Laws. It was rightly therefore said by an * Eminent Minister of the Law, whom I mentioned before, That Judges must beware of hard Constructions and strained Inferences: for there is no worse Torture than the Torture of Laws. Those then of that Reverend Profession must take heed that they be not Tormenters, that they be not Severe and Rigorous, and screw Justice too high, but that they mix it with Lenity and Candour. Whence the † Hebrew Doctors made it one Qualification of a Judge, that he should be a Father of Children; because those of that relation are supposed to be Pitiful and Compassionate. Without question these are necessary Epithets for the Public Officers and Dispensers of Justice: Judgment and Equity must go Hand in Hand. The Reason and Design of the Law are serviceable to qualify the harshness of the Letter. So much concerning the Judge's Office, the great Arbitrator of Humane Right and Property.

Because this Eighth Commandment is the Commandment that secures our Rights and Possessions, therefore those that have writ upon this part of the Decalogue, have thought it proper to discourse concerning going to Law, and to consider the Objections which the Evangelical Writings seem to furnish us with against it. This Task then I will take upon me; and as I inserted into the former part of this Discourse, toward the conclusion of the Negative Part of the Commandment, a resolution of that Question, *Whether Usury be Lawful?* So now in the close of the Affirmative Part, I will resolve another Query, which is usually handled by Divines under this Commandment, namely, *Whether going to Law hath the allowance of the Gospel, and how far, and on what Conditions.* Here these Three Things I will undertake, 1. To assert the Lawfulness of this Practice in the general. 2. To set down the particular Conditions and Cautions which are to be observed in this Matter. 3. To give an Answer to the Objections which are brought against it.

First, I will assert and prove the Lawfulness of going to Law in the general; which may be evinced from such Considerations as these,

1. If Magistracy be lawful, (as is easily proved, and was never denied by any but such as were either of an Enthusiastic Temper, or given to Sedition) then Courts of Judicature are so, for Laws are the Decrees of Magistracy, and they must be Interpreted and Executed by it; which cannot be without a fair Examination and Trial of the Cause and Fact: In order to which it is necessary to repair to Courts of Judicature, and to submit to the Decision of the Law from the Mouth of the Magistrate.

Magistrate. If therefore we grant that the Office of a Magistrate is lawful, we do at the same time acknowledge the lawfulness of going to Law.

2. Our Saviour, when he came into the World, found in it Courts of Judicature, *Matt. 5. 22, 25. Luke 12. 58.* but we do not find that he disallowed them, or that he took from the Magistrates that Power, and transferred it on Himself, as is apparent from that known Incredation, *Who made me a Judge?* *Luk. 12. 14.* As much as to say, it belongs not to me to meddle with the Civil Rights of particular Persons; this appertains to the Magistrate and his Jurisdiction. And as our Saviour thus Authorizes the Publick Judicatures, so *St. Paul* doth the like by his Examples, for he *appealed to Caesar's Court, Acts 25: 10, 11.* and by so doing he owned him to be his Judge and Supreme Ruler, and approved of those Courts of Justice which were kept by his Authority. Which shews, that a Christian Man may lawfully have recourse to such Courts, for redressing of Wrongs and Injuries

3. The End of the Laws dictates this: For Laws were made, and Constitutions framed for the maintaining of Men's Rights. This every one acknowledges to be the Design of the Laws, and consequently Judicial Processes, whereby those Rights are maintained, are lawful and necessary.

4. It is to be remembred, that that which looks most severe in Judicial Proceedings, to wit, the inflicting of Punishment, is not unbecoming a Christian Magistrate, or those that legally call for it on the Persons that have done them Wrong; for this is profitable to the Offenders, to reclaim and amend them. And so *Vengeance* itself becomes a Work of *Charity*.

Lastly, There can be no Order or Peace in the World, if Civil Judicatures be not kept up; nothing but Rapine, Violence and Confusion would be heard of among Men. These short Hints are sufficient to perswade us of the Lawfulness, yea, and the Necessity of making use of the Legal and Judicial Methods.

Secondly, I am to assign the *Conditions* and *Cautions* which are to be observed in our doing this.

1. It is not fit to betake ourselves to this Legal Course *on every slight Occasion*, and to contend at Law about every trifling Matter: A Fault too common in the World, but such a Fault as is worthily punished by itself; for whether the Parties overcome, or not, they are both *Losers*, for the thing they sue for will not recompense their loss of Time and Money, no, nor their loss of Brotherly Love and Christian Charity. Punctilioes and Niceties are below the Law, much more below Christianity. It is unworthy of a Christian Man to Quarrel about little and petty Matters, to disquiet his Neighbours for an inconsiderable Thing, and when there is scarcely any harm done him. This Proceeding must be very Unlawful, because by this means the World would always be imbroiled, and infinitely at odds, and nothing but Contests would fill our Ears.

2. We ought to satisfy ourselves concerning the *Lawfulness* of the particular thing we contend about. This Caution must be observed, because, when we put the Matter upon the decision of Law, we should be careful to manage that Affair with a Love of Righteousness and Honesty; which we cannot do unless we be satisfied that the thing is lawful which we bring into the Court. Or at least we must be persuaded in our Consciences that the Cause we undertake is *not Unlawful* and *Unjust*. When we know our Cause to be of another kind, tho' we have great hopes of getting the better of our Adversaries, yet it is Unlawful to us.

3. Either in lesser or greater Matters we must not go to Law out of a *Contentious* and *Quarrelsome Spirit*: And yet this frequently is the Temper of those that commence Suits against their Neighbours, they delight to vex and molest them, and they will not let fall a Quarrel as long as they are able to hold it up. This argues that they are strangers to a truly Peaceable Disposition; which renders their going to Law Vicious and Sinful.

4. This is not to be done without *great considering and deliberating with ourselves*. When there is a Difference arises between us and our Neighbours, we must not be carried headlong, and even blindfold by our Passions, we must not act rashly and unadvisedly, and without Judgment. That excellent Caveat is to be observed, *Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof, when thy Neighbour hath put thee to shame, therefore, Debate thy Cause with thy Neighbour himself, Prov. 25. 8.*

25. 8, 9. Which is explained thus by our Saviour in *Luke 12. 58.* *When thou goest with thy Adversary to the Magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayst be delivered from him, (namely, by agreeing with him quickly, as we see in the parallel place, Matt. 5. 25.) lest he hale thee to the Judge, &c.* Anger and Passion hinder Men from considering the Event of their Striving, the end and upshot of their Quarrelling; but the contrary Disposition is commended by our Lord here. We should use all means first before we bring our Quarrel to the Public Tribunal, and venture it to the Trial of the Law: We must use this as our last Refuge, and when we are as it were forced to it.

5. We must lay aside all *Hatred* and *Spight*, all *Envy*, *Rancor* and *Revenge*, or else we cannot lawfully contest with our Neighbours. Generally those who prosecute their Adversaries at Law, do it with uncharitable Minds, and bear an inward Enmity to those they Sue. Many make it their design to impoverish their Neighbours by vexatious Suits; but this is barbarous and inhumane, and we must take heed that we give way to no such wicked Disposition as this. When we have occasion to make use of the Magistrates to punish the Injuries done to us, we must banish a revengful and malicious Spirit, and maintain a peaceable and friendly frame of Mind toward our Adversary: And when we have the Advantage over him, we must not indecently rejoyce, or insult him on that account; but the Debate and Controversy between us being ended, we ought to embrace one another, and heartily study one anothers welfare for the future.

6thly. and Lastly, If our Affairs be so, that 'tis necessary to have recourse to the Law, we must do it *as seldom as we can*; that we may not spend our Lives in Contention, and thereby imbitter our Spirits, and inflame our Minds with Hatred, and contract a habit of Revenge. But we must be ready and willing to come to Agreement, to compose the Matter, and to close with reasonable Terms.

We see then how the Case stands: *Going to Law* is not *Unlawful*, when 'tis done with good and lawful Designs, and in a right manner; that is, if we be wary and considerate, if we contend not for trifling Matters, if we be satisfied of the Lawfulness of the Thing which we contest about, if we act not out of a quarrelsome and vexatious Spirit, if we can govern our Passions, and (as one saith well) throw Revenge and Malice over the Bar when we go to Law, if we be careful to betake ourselves to this Legal Course as rarely as 'tis possible, if we make the Judicial Courts our last Assailment: If all these *Cautions* and *Conditions* be observed, we may with a safe Conscience seek to relieve ourselves, and recover our Right in this Legal way.

I am in the third place to consider those Texts of Scripture whence *Objections* are raised against this Doctrine that I have maintained. First, That fore-named place is alleged, *Luke 12. 14.* where, when one solicited our Saviour to speak to his Brother to *divide the Inheritance with him*, the Reply made by our Saviour was this, *Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider over you?* Whence some would infer, that it is unlawful to be a Judge of Inheritances, or of any Causes of the like nature, or to go to Law about such controverted Points. But this is a very groundless and extravagant Inference from Christ's Words, for tho' he would not undertake to be a Judge in Civil Matters, yet it follows not thence that that Office may not be performed by others: It was not *Christ's Work* (as was said upon this place before) to intermeddle in *Secular Affairs*; He came about *greater Things*. But we see here that Christ would not null the Legal Courts, and the Judges Employment, but authorizes and warrants them, by refusing to take upon him that Office which belonged to another.

Some *Anabaptists* and others alleged, *John. 8. 11.* where we read, that Christ would not condemn the Woman that was taken in Adultery: Wherefore, say they, he disallows of Legal Proceedings against the Guilty. But this (as well as that before) is a very precarious Inference, for Christ in declining the Office of a Magistrate, or Judge, doth not abolish the Office itself, but only lets us know, that he came not to take that Employment upon him. But in this it is implied that he remitted the Judging and Condemning of this Woman to the Court of Judicature, where the Trial was proper. And as for himself, he did what concerned him, that is, he gave her seasonable Advice, and bid her *sin no more*.

Another Text, wherein it is thought by some that Law-Suits are utterly condemned, is *Matt. 5. 39, 40.* *I say unto you, that you resist not Evil; but whosoever shall smite*

smite thee on the right Cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any Man will sue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak also. Celsus and Julian of Old understood the Words so, and cavilled against Christianity for breaking of Order, and putting down of Civil Judicatures. At least, in a scoffing manner the latter of them made use of these Words; and when the Christians complained to him of the Wrongs and Injuries that were done them, he in raillery told them, "That their God commanded them when they were Smitten, or had any thing taken from them, not to make Resistance, or to seek for Redress." And others since, (as some among the Socinians and Anabaptists) have denied it to be Lawful to vindicate their Rights, or seek for Satisfaction for Injuries done to them, either by Law or otherwise, alleging to this purpose our Saviour's Precept, that if a Man be smitten on one Cheek, he is obliged to turn the other to the Smiter, and patiently to wait his Blow: And if his Coat be taken away, he must give up his Cloak also, and so sit down with Bruises and Nakedness. This being the Grand Place on which the Batteries are raised against going to Law, I will distinctly consider it, and return a plain Answer to it, by assigning the true and genuine Interpretation of our Saviour's Words, both as they have respect to *his Time*, and the Ages afterwards.

As to the former, it is certain that this Precept was proper for the *oppressed and persecuted* Disciples of Christ, who lived in a wicked Age when Justice was perverted, and Christians were injured, as such, and for no other Cause. This very Doctrine was taught by *Jeremiah on the same occasion*, at the devastation of the City of *Jerusalem*, Lam. 3. 27, &c. *It is good for a Man to bear the Yoke; to keep Silence; to put his Mouth in the Dust; to give his Cheek to him that smiteth him:* Which last is the express Injunction of our Lord. This submissive behaviour was suitable and proper at that time, for they were in the Hands of *Oppressors*, and it could not be expected that the Heathen Magistrates then would take their part, but rather injure them; wherefore it was in vain to complain. This gives Light to what our Master saith, *If any Man will sue you at the Law, and will have your Coat, let him have your Cloak likewise;* that is, as the Case now stands, when the Law is perverted, and you cannot hope for your Right, rather than stand out in Law, give up your Right. Our Saviour doth not speak here of a fair and just *suing at the Law*, but of that which could not but be attended with Injustice and Violence. If the Case be thus, saith he, (as you know 'tis at this time) go not to Law with the Man that hath Robbed you of your Coat, or any other thing belonging to you, for let me tell you, the Remedy is worse than the Disease: You had better lose your Due, than sue for it. Therefore let me advise you to put up the Injury.

Secondly, I will explain the words as they have respect not to the *Times of our Saviour and the Apostles, and First Christians*, when the Magistrates and Officers of Justice were their professed Enemies, but the Ages afterwards, when there were *Christian Magistrates*, and Ministers of Law that impartially decided Causes between Man and Man: with respect to those Times, and even to our own, our Saviour's Words admit of this threefold Explication. First, I look upon them as spoken *in way of Comparison*. Christ's meaning is, that we ought rather to suffer others to strike us, and deprive us of our Goods, than to become like to them, and delight in Violence and Rapine. Or, if there be a Danger that our grappling with our Adversary will put us out of a right Frame and Temper of Mind; if it will destroy Brotherly Love, and kindle the sparks of Hatred and Malice in us, it is better for us to make no Resistance, for it is more eligible to lose our Temporal Goods than our Immortal Souls. We must part with our Coat, and our Cloak after that, rather than strip ourselves of our Charity, which the Apostle bids us put on above all things. We must sit down quiet and bear the loss, rather than do any thing that may raise in our Breasts a desire of Revenge. Thus Christ speaks *Comparatively* in other Places; as in *Luke 14. 26. If a Man come to me, and hate not his Father and Mother, &c.* that is, hate them in comparison of me, or rather than me, he cannot be my Disciple. In the same Sense Christ's Words may be understood here, *Whoever shall smite thee on the right Cheek, turn to him the other also*, rather than by using Violence, to stir up in thy Soul undue Passions. And if any Man will Sue thee at Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak also, rather than wrong him in the like kind. The Greek Word μάλλον rather is implied in the whole

whole : It is a *Comparative* way of speaking. And the Apostle St. Paul plainly shews, that *this* is the meaning of Christ in the Precepts of this Nature ; 1 Cor. 6. 7. *Why do ye not rather take Wrong, than go to Law ? Why do ye not rather suffer your selves to be defrauded, than hazard your Christian Temper and Charity ?* But this Place I shall distinctly speak of afterwards. That which I offer now is this, that a Christian may sometimes buy his Peace and Content with Suffering, and he may be no small gainer by the Purchase. He knows it is better to quit his Due than to sin against Charity, and therefore he chuses one before the other. This is the Ex-

† Homil. of Information to them that take offence at certain places of Scripture.

plication which our Church gives of Christ's Words. "Christ meaneth, saith † She, that he would have his Faithful Servant so far from Vengeance and resisting Wrong, that he would rather have him ready to suffer another Wrong, than by resisting, to break "Charity, and to be out of Patience." But this doth not in the least disparage, much less condemn our applying ourselves to the Law, when we can do it with a right disposition of Mind, and without the breach of Christian Love and Charity.

Again, if we take our Saviour's Words not in a *Comparative*, but *Absolute* Sense, then we must understand them concerning *Private Revenge*, for that is it which is here forbidden. This is the *main Answer* to the *Objection* from the Text, and therefore I will insist upon it. Christ acquaints his Followers that it is not Lawful for them, being Private Persons, to use Force and Violence towards others, but to leave their Cause to God. Which is thus expressed by the Apostle, Rom. 12. 19. *Avenge not your selves, but rather give place unto Wrath ; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord.* This God reserves to himself alone in some Cases, but most usually he commits it to the *Magistrate*, whom he hath ordained and appointed for this purpose, Rom. 13. 4. *He beareth not the Sword in vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth Evil.* But in vain should the Magistrate bear the Sword, if every one might use this Sword as he listeth, and even snatch it out of the Magistrate's Hand. He then that avenges himself, usurps both upon God and his Vicegerents, who act by his Authority. For this Reason our Saviour commanded Peter to put up his Sword ; for saith he, *All they that take the Sword, in an unlawful manner, shall perish by the Sword*, Matt. 26. 52. But it is the Magistrate's peculiar Office to take Revenge, and he doth it in God's place, to whom primarily and originally Vengeance belongs. When therefore there is occasion, we must crave the Magistrate's help, who is a Publick Person, and authorized by God ; but we must not act Revenge in *our own Persons*, because this is not in the Power of Private Men, no not of any in their *own Cause*. This is founded in the very Law of Reason ; and though Christ and the Apostles had not said it, we ought to embrace it : For the same Person ought not to be an *Accuser* and a *Judge*. We are not fit to determin in our own Causes ; for if this were permitted to us, we should favour ourselves, and endamage others : He that gave the first Blow, would be encouraged to double his Stroke, and second a lesser Injury with a greater, and so to Infinity, and thus Blood and Slaughter would take place of all Laws, and the World would be off its Hinges. Therefore none ought to be their *own Judges*. Again, all Men have an equal Claim to Justice, and the meanest Person that breaths on the Earth hath as much right to it as he hath to the Sun and Air : But if every one might have liberty to judge in his own Cause, those that are Great and Potent would always have the advantage of the Poor and Mean : Cruel Men would Tyrannize, and Meek Men Suffer.

Thus we see that it is highly reasonable that we should not make use of *Private Revenge*, and thereby encroach on the Office of the Magistrate, who is a Publick Person, and appointed by God to be an Avenger : But this Prerogative is not indulged to any Man that is in a Private Capacity. And this is it which our Saviour here intends ; and consequently, what he here saith doth not strike at the *Publick Judicatures*, whose business it is to help those that are Injured, to their Right. Yea, on the contrary it establishes these legal Appointments. This Text then, which is alleged by some against the proceedings of Law, is a firm Text for them, and it is clear from Christ's Words, that we may have recourse to Civil Courts of Judicature for the repairing of our Wrongs. It was not Christ's meaning that evil-minded Men might do what they would, and that there should be no Restraint upon them,

them, and no Legal Course taken with them; no: He only tells us that it is not our Work to *revenge ourselves*, but he hath left the *Magistrate* to do it:

Further, this is another Account that may be given of Christ's Words, namely, that when he forbids us to resist Evil either by Force or going to Law, his great aim and intention in these Prohibitions, is to express the *True Temper* of a *Christian*, that is, that he must not be apt to Quarrel, and to take every thing by the worst Handle, but that he is to be of a sweet and charitable Disposition, ready to forgive Injuries, and to pass by Affronts. Without doubt, the design of our Saviour in these Words is, that good Will, and Love and Charity, should possess the Hearts of his Followers, and rule in them. This is the *Exposition* of

an Antient Father of the Christian Church. * "These Precepts, saith he, rather inform us what the inward frame and disposition of our Souls should be, than what is actually and openly done by us. Our Minds are to be prepared against the greatest Disasters, and we are to be provided against the worst of Evils, and we are to under- go them with Patience." But this doth not vacate our going to Law on due and fit Accounts; and this doth not allow of our exposing ourselves to the Violence of our Adversaries, and wilfully giving up ourselves to them.

* *Ista præcepta magis ad præparationem cordis, quæ intus est, pertinent, quàm ad opus quod in operato fit.*

And that this, together with what I have said before, is the true meaning of Christ's Words, and that they are not to be taken in the Literal and Strictest Sense, is evident from this, that when Christ himself was struck by one of the High-Priest's Servants, he asked him *why he smote him?* John 18. 23. thereby complaining of that Injury, and defending himself; but he did not turn the other Cheek, according as he commanded his Disciples. Whence it is obvious to gather, that his Words admit not of that *strict Sense* which some would fasten on them. Nor did St. Paul, when he was smitten, turn the other Cheek to the Smiter, but took special notice of the Injury done to him, as being *contrary to the Law*, and told him who was the Cause, that *God should smite him*, Acts 23. 2, 3. From these Instances it appears, that the Text is not to be Interpreted in the plain Letter of it, and as the bare Terms import, but that the *Design* and *Intention* of them are chiefly to be minded. That Rule of *Clement* is to be observed here,

† *We must not insist on the bare Word, but the Things signified by it.* It was not intended that the turning the other Cheek should be taken in the rigorous meaning of the Words, but that it should be understood according to the *Explication* which I have given; that is, that it be taken in way of Comparison; that it be so understood as to forbid Private Revenge, and to commend unto us Patience and Meekness, and Brotherly Love.

† *Οὐ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ σημαίνοντα ἀναστρέφειν.* Cl. Alexandr. *Strom. lib. 6.*

There is another Text brought against going to Law, and that is in 1 Cor. 6, 7. *There is utterly a Fault among ye, because ye go to Law one with another. Why do ye not rather take Wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be Defrauded?* According to some Mens fond Glosses on these Words, the Venerable Judge hath his *Quietus* here; the Great Oracles of the Law are struck Dumb, and are never more to Plead: The *Affizes* are no other than a Riotous Assembly, and the Sheriff may make use of his *Posse* to disperse it; though indeed he cannot do that neither, if the Law be vacated. In a Word, the Judicial Courts and Legal Proceedings, are all condemned and made Illegal, for it is a *fault and utterly a fault to go to Law*. For understanding the Apostle's Words, we are to take notice that he blames the Law-suits, because they were between Brethren, v. 6. *Brother goes to Law with Brother*, and on this account their Contentions at Law were Unlawful, to wit, because they were between those that professed so peaceable a Religion, so Loving and Charitable an Institution. It was this that made it a *Fault* in the *Corinthian* Christians. And truly this ought to be considered now, to restrain Us who profess Christianity, from the like Practise, which is so blameable in those of our Character. It seems the *Christians* have been taken Notice of for this, according to an *Italian Proverb*;

*The Jews spend at Easter, the Moors at Marriages, and the Christians in suits of Law. Mr. Ray's Prov.

But it is very unbecoming their Title and Profession, and is a great Scandal to the Gospel.

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But this is not the only Reason why St. Paul checks the Christians for their Law-suits; yea, if there had been no other, it is probable he would not have mentioned it: For if one that makes an outward Profession of Christianity, will do things unworthy of that Holy Religion, I am not to lose my Right, and suffer myself to be greatly endamaged by him. But the Apostle blames the *Corinthians* Secondly, because they went to Law *before the Unjust*, v. 1. before *Heathen Judges*, who were Oppressors of Christianity, and therefore the *Corinthian* Christians could not expect any Redress from them. And v. 6. He dislikes their going to Law, because it was *before the Unbelievers*, who would take notice of the Behaviour of the *Faithful*, to censure and condemn them for it. If they saw them Quarrel, and bring their Complaints to the Pagan Tribunals, they would be forward to accuse and arraign Christianity itself. Now, in such a Juncture it was better to recede from their Right, that Religion might not be blemished and evil spoken of, and that a Scandal might not be brought on the Gospel itself.

Again, The *Corinthian* Converts are here blamed for going to Law on slight and inconsiderable Occasions, for the *smallest Matters*, v. 2. *Do ye not know*, (saith the Apostle) *that you and the rest of the Saints shall Judge the World?* And if it be so, *if the World shall be judged by you*, then (as 'tis in the Greek) *are ye not unworthy of the least Judgments?* That is, it is not fit for such Persons as you to go to Law about petty Matters. It doth not become you that are Christians, and design'd for such high Things, to contend about every small Trespass, and to create Law-suits for things that are trifling and of little moment, and not worth your contending about. These are the Apostle's *Disswaves* from going to Law; he tells them, that in *such Circumstances* it is not fit to do it. But this doth not render the thing Unlawful in other Circumstances, and upon other Considerations; that is, when it is not before Pagan Tribunals, when it is not like to prove Scandalous to Religion, when the Quarrel is not about trifling and inconsiderable Matters.

Thus I hope I have fully satisfied the *Objections* which are made from the foregoing Texts of Scripture, and have made it evident that it is Lawful and requisite, when there is occasion, to make use of the Law in Publick Courts of Judicature, and there to assert our own or others Property and Right, and to bring the Guilty to answer for their Crimes. For we are to use the proper means of Justice to help ourselves and others to what is our due; and these Seats of Justice are appointed as the proper Means. And here it is that this Commandment against *Stealing*, that is, doing Wrong to others in respect of their Goods and Possessions, is Vindicated, Asserted, and Upheld.

T H E

Ninth COMMANDMENT.

[Thou shalt not bear False witness against thy Neighbour.]

Under this Commandment is shewed what Lying or Falshood in speaking is. Of Ironies, Hyperbolies, Equivocations, Slandering, Flattery. Of Officious Lyes. Of bearing False Witness in Courts of Law. The Reasonableness of redressing the Abuses of the Tongue. The Method of reducing this to Practise. The Unlawfulness of Rash Judging and Censuring others.

THE Method which I used before, I shall follow here also. That is, I will speak First of the *Negative* part of this Commandment; Secondly of the *Affirmative*. Under the former are forbidden these Two Things; *First*, more largely all *Evil-speaking* that may be any ways hurtful to our Neighbours: And then more particularly all *Evil-speaking* that tends to the hurt and damage of our Neighbours, with respect either to their *Lives* or *Goods*, or *Good Name*, especially the last, which is more eminently concerned in this Commandment.

First, More generally all the *Abuses of the Tongue* are here forbidden; all *Evil-speaking* that may any ways prove hurtful to others. All Speeches that bring detriment to the Souls of Men, and corrupt their Minds and Consciences: Such are Impious and Blasphemous Communication, speaking irreverently concerning God and his Attributes; all prophane and Irreligious Discourse; all rash and prophane Swearing in common Converse. But of these I have treated before under the *Third Commandment*, because they are Sins of the Tongue immediately against God: But I mention them here likewise, because, as they are hurtful to our Neighbours, they are reducible to this Commandment, which checks the Vices of the Tongue. Here therefore is forbid not only all Prophaneness in Speech, but all Evil Discourse that invites to Sin and Vice, that proceeds from a corrupt Mind, and that tends to the corrupting of others, and therefore is deservedly called by the Apostle, *corrupt Communication*, Eph. 4. 29.

This Commandment condemns *Jesting* which is not convenient, Eph. 5. 4. such light and frothy Language as becomes not our Christian Profession. Not that all *Jesting* is Sinful; for then the Prophet *Elijah* must be blam'd for Jeering of *Baal's* Priests, and the Antient *Apologists* for deriding the *Gentiles*, and other Adversaries of the Christian Religion; and *Erasmus* and *Luther*, for being merry upon the *Lazy Monks* and *Ignorant Friars*; and the most sober Writers for their Innocent Railery, occasioned by the Petulancy of their Antagonists. But this way of Writing is to be rarely used, and on urgent Occasions only: And no man must waste many Hours in such a Work, lest by use it degenerate into that which is Evil. In short, all *Jesting* is forbidden that is harmful to our Neighbours, either by prophanely treating of Sacred Things, or by mentioning what is Lewd and Obscene, or by rude and scurrilous Reflections on Persons and Actions.

Nay, those Words and Speeches which are *Unprofitable*, are forbid by this Commandment, for these in some kind are hurtful to others. It is certain, that seeing we must give an account of every idle Word that we speak, (as our Saviour assures us, Matt. 12. 36.) it may be inferred thence, that this sort of speaking is of very ill Consequence to the Hearers. Idle Discourse, which neither tends to the Glory of God, nor to the Advantage of our Selves or others, is of a very hurtful Nature,

as it excludes other Discourse which might be of Advantage to those that hear it. Therefore all unprofitable and *foolish Talking*, (as the Apostle styles it, *Eph. 5. 4.*) all vain and trifling Chat, which is of no use to the Hearer, is forbidden. Thus far the Tongue offends against the Souls of our Neighbours.

Secondly, more particularly here is forbidden that Evil-speaking which is hurtful to the *Bodies, Estates, and Good Names* of our Brethren. This Commandment disallows of those Words and Speeches which are prejudicial to any of these; those miscarriages of the Tongue which are against *Justice and Charity*, not without a mixture of *Impiety*. To be distinct and Methodical, I will shew that this Injury done to our Neighbours by Words is either in *Common and Ordinary Converse*, or in *Judicial Courts*. I begin with the first, the Injury done to our Neighbours by Words in usual Communication; and I comprehend all under the general Notion of *Lying and Falshood*, and *Deceit in speaking*. And here, to be more Exact, I will shew what it is not, and then what it is.

First, *Falshood or Lying*, is not a bare speaking what is not True. A Man may speak that which is False, and yet not Lye, for he may think he speaks Truth when he utters things that are *in themselves False*. Out of meer Ignorance or Credulity he may tell what is not True; but this is no Sin, and we cannot charge him with Lying.

Again, *Hyperboles*, which are Expressions advanced above, or depressed beneath Truth, are not Lies, for they represent to us that which is really True, though in an unusual way. There is no Deceit designed in them, and accordingly, they are often used in the Holy Scriptures; as in *Dent. 1. 28.* *1 Kings, 1. 40.* *Psal. 18. 7.*

So *Allegories*, which are a way of speaking, wherein one thing is said, and another meant, are not to be reckoned as Falshoods, because there is no Man imposed upon by them; and therefore we frequently meet with Allegorical Speeches in the Sacred Writ. Our Saviour's *Parables* may be referred hither.

Ironies, strictly speaking, are not True, for thereby we scoffingly utter something contrary to what we really mean, yet here is no *Deceiving*, and no going against our Minds; and therefore an Ironical saying is no Lye; and we have Examples of it in Scripture, yea, of God himself speaking thus, as in *Gen. 3. 22.*, *1 Kings, 18. 27.* *Ecol. 11. 9.*

Further, all *Ambiguous Expressions* are not to be thought to approach to Falshood. Thus Abraham said of his Wife, that she was his *Sister*, being (as he explains himself) the *Daughter of his Father, tho' not of his Mother*, *Gen. 20. 12.* That is, she was the Grand-daughter of his Father, though not of his Mother: So that she was Abraham's Niece (the Laws of Consanguinity and Affinity being not strictly observed at that time.) Now it is well known, that *Sister* among the *Hebrews and Eastern People*, was a general Word to signify any one of that Sex that was *near a-Kin* to them. Wherefore, though it must be acknowledged that Abraham here in the present Case, betrayed too much Fear and Cowardise, and on that account is to be blamed; yet I cannot charge this Father of the Faithful with *Lying*, when he called his Wife his *Sister*, because that Term was applicable to any near Kinswoman, and particularly to a Niece. And so Brother was used in that Sense, namely, for a Nephew, *Gen. 13. 8. 14. 16. 29. 15.* And Christ's near Kinsmen are called his *Brethren* by himself. He was pleased sometimes to use a Latitude and Ambiguity in speaking, as when he said, *Destroy this Temple, and in three Days I will raise it up*, *John 2. 19.* But he spake of the Temple of his Body, *v. 20.* Whence I infer, that a Man is not always bound to speak words in that meaning and sense in which they may be, and are generally taken and understood by others: For there may be occasion sometimes to speak obscurely and darkly. And so our Saviour did when he used *Parables*, which are dark and mystical representations of Divine and Spiritual things by those that are Temporal and Sensual. Christ thought fit to exercise his Hearers in a *different manner*, to speak so to some as to be understood in the plain and obvious sense of the Words, and to speak darkly to others, that they might take pains to penetrate into his Meaning, and that they might exercise Faith and Industry.

Next, we are to know, that all seeming Violation or breach of what we say we will do, or not do, or of what we promise to do, is not Lying. For some Words are not absolutely obligatory, but only express the Choice and Design of the Person. One may say he will not do such a thing, and yet may Lawfully do it afterwards. Thus the Angels, when they were kindly invited by Lot to take a Lodging with him, said, *Nay,*

Nay, but we will abide in the Street all Night, Gen. 19. 2. we will lie in the open Air, it being Summer-time. But when they were much importuned, they accepted of Lot's Kindness, and did not abide in the Street; yet they cannot be said to be guilty of Lying. *I will see thy Face again no more*, were Moses's Words to Pharaoh, Exod. 10. 29. but they were not absolutely spoken, but with some Condition implied, for we read that Moses saw Pharaoh's Face once more, Chap. 11. v. 4. and 8. yet the asserting that he would see his Face no more was no Lye, because he spake according to what he designed at that time: But it seems he saw Reason to alter his Resolution afterwards. In the same manner it is said in Num. 24. 25. *Balaam went and returned to his Place*; that is, with a mind and purpose to return, but did not, for he was Kill'd among the Midianites, ch. 31. v. 8. as he was going back to Mesopotamia. Samuel said, *he would not return with Saul*, 1 Sam. 15. 26. yet afterwards he returned with him, v. 31. notwithstanding he had said he would not. *Ye shall not send*, said Elisha to the Sons of the Prophets, when they desired they might send to seek for Elijah: But upon their importunate urging him, he said, *Send*, 2 Kings, 2. 16, 17. So in the New-Testament we read, that when Jesus came to John to be Baptized of him, John forbade him, Matt. 3. 14. that is, he refused in Words to Baptize Christ: But presently after, he upon Christ's desiring it, Baptized him. *I will come and heal him*, said Christ to the Centurion concerning his Son, Matt. 8. 7. yet he did not go, being prevented. *Thou shalt never wash my Feet*, said Peter to our Saviour, John 13. 8. But upon our Saviour's letting him know the necessity of the contrary, Peter said, *Lord, not my Feet only, but also my Hands and my Head*, v. 9. Thus in several Instances it appears, that doing otherwise than a Man hath simply said or affirmed, is not to be interpreted a Lye. And I might observe here, that some Words are seemingly Assertory, but are not, being spoken only in way of Probation. Thus, *Ye are Spies*, said Joseph to his Brethren, Gen. 42. 9. though he knew they were not. But this he said to try them; and it is as much as if he had said, You may justly be looked upon as Spies, what have you to say to the contrary? This was not a Lye.

Again, *Concealing the Truth* is not Lying. One may Lawfully detain some part of the Truth, when it is dangerous to utter it, or when the detaining it may be very beneficial to those that are Good. When Pharaoh was angry with the Hebrew Midwives for sparing the Hebrew Male Children alive, they told him that the reason of it was, because the Hebrew Women are not as the Egyptian Women, for they are lively, and are delivered before the Midwives come in unto them, Ex. 1. 19. This was no Lye, but only a concealing some part of the Truth; that is, that all the Hebrew Women were not so lively as to be delivered before the Midwives came in unto them. But some, and most of the Women it is likely, were thus Quick and Lively, of which there are Examples in other Countries. Moses and Aaron, even by the express Direction of God, were to tell Pharaoh that they desired leave to go three days journey into the Wilderness, to Sacrifice unto the Lord their God, Exod. 3. 18. and accordingly they spoke these words to Pharaoh, ch. 5. v. 3. Their design was to leave Egypt, and never come again, but they concealed this, and desired only Pharaoh to permit them to go three days Journey: For they were not obliged to tell him that they intended to go further. When Moses asked Leave of Jethro his Father-in-law to go into Egypt, he mentioned nothing but a Visit, to see whether his Brethren were yet alive, Exod. 4. 18. but discovered not to him the true Reason why he desired to go to Egypt, namely because he had a Commission from God to do so. It is probable he concealed this, lest Jethro should prevail with him to stay, or to delay his going. Samuel was bid by God himself, to tell King Saul, that he was to go to Bethlehem to Sacrifice to the Lord, 1 Sam. 16. 2. which he did, when he came thither, but his great design was to anoint David King. So that we see Lying is not to omit some part of the Truth, when there is a great occasion to do so.

In some Cases it is Lawful to with-hold the Truth from those we deal with: Thus Mad and Distracted Persons are not capable of Truth, and therefore we need not communicate it to them. Nor are we obliged to inform aright, or speak all the Truth to Sick Persons and Children. The Governors of those that are Frenetic may impose upon them for their Good and Recovery. To cure a Melancholy Man, and bring him out of his fantastic Conceits, we may use some innocent delusive Arts. For as he cheats himself, so we may, to cure him of that Delusion, cheat him. Physicians

ficians and Nurses may innocently deceive their Patients or Children for their Health. They may tell them that such a Dose, or such a Drink is very good and wholesom; and in other Terms they may commend it to them; but to say it is Sweet when they know it to be Bitter, or the like, is more than ought to be allowed of: For though *concealing part of the Truth* be Lawful, yet it is Unlawful to tell a plain Untruth. Besides if Physicians, to make their Patients take their Medicines, should accustom themselves to Lying, they would not be believed at other times when they speak Truth. No telling an Untruth for a Truth is sufferable, tho' this is frequently done by Parents to their Children. But it is a great Fault, and by treating their Children after this manner, they inspire them with Falshood betimes, and breed them up to Lying. But a Prudent and Seasonable *Concealing some part of Truth*, on due and Lawful Occasions, is another thing, and may Lawfully be practised; for the right of telling the Truth to a Person ceases when it will be *Hurtful* to him; tho' this doth not Authorize any Man to tell him a Lye.

In the next place I add, that it comes not under the Notion of a Lye, if some *Actions* and *outward Gestures* (for these as well as Words are ways of signifying and declaring our Minds, and there may be Truth or Falshood in them) be sometimes made use of which have Significations of our doing something, which yet we intend not to do. Christ made as if he would not go to the Feast of Tabernacles, when some of his Kindred would have him go: But he went up thither privately after they were gone, *John* 7. 2, 8. So it is said, that *Christ made as though he would go further*, *Luke* 24. 28. That is, he seemed by some Action or Posture to be resolved to go, tho' he did not; for his Disciples *constrained him*, that is, prevailed with him to tarry with them. He was pleased to try the Minds of his Disciples, whether they were willing he should stay longer and Discourse further about his Doctrine. Hence it is clear that in some Cases the Gestures and Postures may not answer to the *intended*, Actions, but be disagreeable to them. All Semblance of Action, tho' the Thing signified by it be not intended, is not vitious: Tho' I must add, this is to be rarely done, and Christian Simplicity is to be cherished and observed.

So for *Habits*, a Man may disguise himself and go for another Person, if there be Necessity for it, as to save himself from great Danger. But there is not to be the same permission as to *Counterfeiting of Madness*, which hath been used by some, and those of no inconsiderable Note, as *Ulysses*, *Solon*, *Brutus*. The first feigned himself Mad because he would not go to the Wars: The other two did it to accomplish their particular Designs. Yea, *David* made as if he were Distracted, when he was in danger of his Life, *1 Sam.* 21. 13. But neither this nor any other Example can render the thing Lawful, because this Dissimulation and Falsifying is in a matter that is by no means to be feigned and Personated. Wherefore I conceive it is reckoned as a plain Offence against this Commandment which forbids Lying.

But *Deceits* and *Stratagems* in War are not to be accounted Lying. For if I may kill the Enemy (as all hold it Lawful) surely I may deceive him. But then I must subjoin this, that even in time of War, after a Solemn *Contract*, *Treaty* or *Agreement* in any Thing, it is Unlawful to act thus; for Treaties or Truces, which are accompanied with positive Promises and Covenants, turn the War for a time into a State of Peace. But otherwise, abstracting from such Treaties, Christianity doth not forbid us to use Stratagems and Arts of Circumventing the Adversary in time of War.

Having shewed what a Lye is not, I come to shew what it is. It contains in it these two Things, first, *speaking contrary to what we think*; when the Tongue answers not the Heart. As I said before, a Man may speak Untruth, and yet not be Guilty of the Sin of Lying, so a Man may Lye when he speaks Truth, that is, if he speaks as the Thing really is, and yet thinks that it is not so, and notwithstanding that, willingly utters it as Truth. For Lying is to speak one Thing, and think another. Secondly, it is contained in the Nature of a Lye to *speak falsely with an intent to deceive and hurt*. To deceive, that is, to impose a falsity upon the Persons we speak to, instead of imparting the Truth to them. To hurt, that is, by falsifying to occasion some harm and damage to them. This is the brief account of a Lye. And both these Things which I have mentioned, concur to the compleating of it, tho' oftentimes one of them alone is sufficient to constitute a Lye. Or take it thus; the formal Nature and Notion of a Lye is this, voluntarily to speak and utter that which we know to be False: But to speak falsely with an intent to Deceive and Hurt, is the Aggravation of a Lye, but not of the very Essence of it. Thus we see what a Lye is in the Moral

and

and Theological acception of it. And to give a more particular Account of it, I will offer these Instances of it :

First, *Equivocating Words* used in serious Affairs are Lying. The *Jesuits*, who learned the Art of *Equivocating* from the Oracles of the Heathen Gods, and from their Witty Priests who Transacted those Matters, have taken great pains to defend this way of speaking ; but when we come to examine it, we find it to be Falshood at the bottom, and the End of it is Deceit and Imposture, and therefore it must be a Lye. Those that use it, speak one Thing, and think or mean another ; and they do it on purpose to delude those they speak to, which frequently redounds to their Hurt. Wherefore it cannot be denied that Equivocations are Lies. It is true, they are Lies in Masquerade ; but on that Account they are the more Hurtful, because we entertain them for Truths. Whence it is, that the late Pope *Innocent* the XI, condemned *Equivocation* and *Mental Reservation* as Scandalous and Pernicious.

Secondly, A wilful and downright *Asserting* that to be which is not, or is not for ought we know, is Lying. This is the common Practise of the World, they deliver Things contrary to their Knowledge and Belief, they spread untrue Relations, to impose upon their Hearers. Sometimes this Falsifying proceeds from Lightness and vain Glory ; and it is usual with Men to vaunt of what they have not, or what they never did. Besides these bragging Lyes, there are others occasioned by some Fault committed, for nothing is more common than for Men to tell Lyes to excuse themselves for the Ill they have done. And others are the product of Covetousness and greedy desire of Gain, for some persuade themselves that plain Truth is not so Profitable and Thriving in the World as Dissembling. Others deal in false Asseverations and Lies even in Religious Matters, and think that this Course is very requisite to keep the People in awe, and to uphold the Government of Kingdoms and Common-Wealths. It is *Varro's* Opinion (as *St. Augustin* represents it) that (a) it was for the good of the Vulgar to be deceived about Religion. He held that a great Multitude of Gods and of Ceremonies was useful to be taught the People, and that it was a great piece of Wisdom thus to deceive them, as the same (b) Father testifies. And in another Place he tells us that *Scavola* the Roman High-Priest declared, that it was (c) expedient to cheat the People about their Religion.

(a) *Multa esse vera, quæ non modo Vulgo scire non sit utile, sed etiam tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare Populum expediat.* De Civ. Dei l. 4. c. 31.

(b) *Ibid.* cap. 32.

(c) *Expedire civitates Religione falli.* Lib. 4. cap. 27.

His Successors the High-Priests of the Church of *Rome* are of the same Strain ; they are for using of Cheats and Impostures in Religion ; witness their Lying and *Fabulous Legends*, which they pretend to be the Lives of Saints and Martyrs, but are stuffed with Notorious Falshoods and Forgeries which exceed all Belief, and consequently do justly baffle themselves : for to gain Belief one must keep himself within the bounds of Likelyhood. Witness their *Pious Frauds* (as they call them themselves) and *Feigned Miracles* and *Lying Wonders* (so Stiled by the Apostle, 2 *Thess.* 2. 9.) which are to support their false Doctrines, and to delude the Ignorant and Over-credulous People. They pretend a kind of Necessity of these Religious Frauds, for the People (say they) are to be amused with strange and uncommon Things, because that which is plain and easily to be understood, is despised by them : Therefore it is requisite that the Vulgar be entertained with some Prodigious Narratives, and that their Minds be employed about some Wondrous Occurrences. Well, but will not the greatest Wonders that ever were in the World, the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour, Recorded in the Gospel, serve to entertain their Thoughts ? Must they needs be False and Lying Wonders which the People are to be presented with ? And who sees not, that although the Superstitious and Credulous Rabble may gaze at these Things for a while, yet such vile Arts and Methods cannot really Conduce to the promoting of Religion, or serving the worthy Designs of Truth and Christianity ? Nay, This will be the effect of their Counterfeiting and Juggling with the People, that at last they will take all Religion for *Legerdemain*. But be it known that the *Innate Reasonableness* of the Christian Doctrine will do much more than all their forged Miracles and Impostures. Let the Priests discover to the People how Reasonable the Service of the Gospel is, and then there will be no need of Forgeries. But whilst they maintain these, they give us to understand that they think the Christian Religion is not Reasonable, or that they will not let the People know it is so.

Besides

Besides these Religious Lies among the *Romanists*, there are others among other People. The *Jews Talmud* is so replenished with Fictions and groundless Inventions, that Truth can hardly be discerned in it. Their *Midrashim*, (their Commentators) abound with Fables and Whimsies, their *Rabbins* delight in Dreams and Falsities. As for *Mahomet* he made his *Epileptic* fits pass for Inspiration and Heavenly Raptures, and his *Pigeon* for the *Angel Gabriel*, or even the *Holy Dove*. To this Head refer all the *Errors* and *Heresies* invented and spread to delude the World, and to infect Mankind; and all the *Holy Cheats* and *Impostures* which almost every Age furnishes us with. But certainly *Religious Lying* is the worst sort of Lying; and Mountebanks and Cheats in Religion are the most pernicious of all Men. The common Jugglers, in comparison of these, are Plain-dealing Folks, for they profess what they are, and acknowledge that what they do is by Sleight of Hand. But those that use *Legerdemain* in Religion, would persuade us that they act truly and uprightly, and that they have no design to deceive us: On which account their Delusion is the worse, and their Lye is the more dangerous.

Thirdly, *Promising* what we intend not to perform, is unquestionably the Sin of *Lying*. This is too frequent every where in Commerce and Contracts, in Trade and Traffick. Men are regardless of what they say, they make fair and ample Promises, but they intend not the accomplishing of them. These are Double-Tongued, they deny what before they affirmed, and affirm what they denied. And this Breach of Faith is seen in all other Matters; Men renounce their Words, and shew themselves Faithless and Perfidious. But this is most of all scandalous in Affairs of Religion, as we see it practised and defended by the *Roman Catholics*. If they enter into Leagues and Contracts, they have power to dispense with them. It is a Ruled Case with these Masters of Consciences, that all Oaths and Obligations made to *Hereticks* (and such are all but themselves) are void and of no value, and they may Lawfully break Faith with such. This is the known and professed Divinity of *Loiola's Pupils*, and they are not ashamed to maintain it in the open Face of the World. Among ourselves we know what trust is to be put in the Words of a professed Papist. We know how well *Queen Mary* kept her Promise to the *Suffolk Men*, that there should be no alteration in Religion. And we know since who Solemnly gave his Word, that the *Church of England* should be Upheld, and how he kept it. It was *Bucholcer's* advice to his Friend, a young Gentleman, when he was repairing to the Court, *I commend to you, Sir, (saith he) the Faith of Devils, who believe and tremble.* Believe their fair Promises, but with Fear that they will come to nothing. The same may deservedly be said with respect to the *Roman Catholics*. If you are inclined to give any Credit to them, let it be checked with Fear and Suspicion. But if you never trust them (which is the best Course) they will never deceive you.

Fourthly, To Lying belongs *Perjury* or *Forswearing*: For this is when God is called as Witness to an Untruth. So that Perjury is Lying, but it is not a bare Lye, but a Lye confirmed with an Oath. Thence *Lyers* and *Perjured Persons* are joined together, 1 *Tim.* 1. 10. And that these false Oaths are a formal Lye, is evident; for here is knowing and wilful falsifying, and none can doubt whether it be with a purpose to deceive and hurt. But I have spoken of this Sin before under the Third Commandment (for bearing false Witness upon Oath is forbid in that Commandment, as it respects God, and is an abusing of his Name: But as it respects Men, and is a Wrong and Injury to them, it is forbid in this Ninth Commandment) and therefore I say no more of it at present.

Fifthly, To Lying belong *Slandering, Defaming* and *Reviling*. For here also are the two Ingredients of a formal Lye, namely, willingly speaking what is false, and doing it with an intention to Harm others. This is the *false Witness* or *Testimony* of Detraction and Calumny which is here forbid, and is so in the Sacred Scripture very frequently. *Thou shalt not raise a false Report, Exod.* 23. 1. *Thou shalt not go up and down as a Tale-bearer, Lev.* 19. 16. And this Fault is tacitly condemned in that Character which is given of a Citizen of *Sion*, that is, of a Good Man, namely, that he *backbiteth not with his Tongue, nor taketh up a Reproach against his Neighbour, Psal.* 15. 3. And in many other Places Tale-bearing, Slandering, and all Reproaching are Censured as vitious and unlawful. The like we find in the *New-Testament*, as in *Matt.* 5. 22. Where *Raka* (which signifies a vain or empty fellow) and *Fool* are forbidden Terms, and under them all reproachful Language; all evil Speaking and Detraction; all unjust aspersing of Men's Names are forbidden. I say, *Unjust*; for we may Lawfully

Lawfully call those *Fools* who deserve the Title. Thus Christ who disallows of saying [*Thou Fool*] yet calls the Scribes and Pharisees *Fools*, Matt. 23. 17. and again, v. 19. *O foolish Galatians* is the Apostle's Language. Tho' *Raka* be forbidden, yet St. James on just occasion makes use of it: *O vain Man*, Jam. 2. 20. And so as to other Terms, we find them used by Christ himself and his Apostles; *O Generation of Vipers*, Matt. 3. 7. and 12. 34. And again 23. 33. *Thou Child of the Devil*, Acts 13. 10. *Beware of Dogs*, Phil. 3. 2. Such Language as this, when deserved (as in the fore-mentioned Instances) and not proceeding from Anger, Hatred, or Malice, is not unlawful, especially if the Persons whom we thus Characterise, are professed Enemies of the Church of God, and the Ways of Godliness, or publicly Speak, Write, or Act against the great and fundamental Truths of Christianity. To tell these with great freedom of their Errors, and even to rally on them with some Severity, is not Reviling. And though this is not the way perhaps to convince an Adversary, yet this is one way to Expose him, because he will not be convinced.

This we must know, that *Reviling* and *Reproaching* are a false and undue fixing of Things on those that are *Innocent*: But he that freely tells another (when just occasion is given) of his Faults, is not Guilty of this, and therefore he doth not *Revile* or *Reproach* him. But to speak Ill of a Man when he doth not deserve it, that is *Reproaching* and *Slandering* him, *Reviling* and *Defaming* him, and is the Sin condemned by our Saviour. And so it is by the Apostolical Writers; we read in 1 Tim. 3. 11. that the Deacons Wives were commanded *not to be Slanderers*. The Original Word is used to signify *Devil*: To inform us of the true Nature of *this Sin*, namely, that it is Diabolical. The evil Spirit hath his Name from *Slandering*; He that defames and calumniates others, shews himself to be Devilish and Malicious. The aged Women are not to be false *Accusers* or *Slanderers*, Tit. 2. 3. For it is the same Word that was used before. The Apostle would have Titus to put the *Cretians* in Mind to *speak evil of no Man*, Tit. 3. 2. Which perhaps St. Paul dictates with particular reference to the vain Humour of the *Cretians*, who were always *Lyers* and *Slanderers*, (if one of their own Poets was not too much a *Cretian* in saying so) but it is an Injunction that concerns all Persons, and therefore in other places of this Apostle, all *Reproachful* and *Contumelious* Words are disallowed of, yea all *Backbiting* and *Whispering*, 2 Cor. 12. 20. Rom. 1. 29. By which are meant secret and clancular defaming of any Person.

In two Cases especially, *Reviling* and *Defaming* are very Scandalous. The first is when *Rulers* and *Superiors* are made the Object of our Defamations. This is severely reprov'd as a very heinous Fault in those Sadducers and False-Teachers whom St. Peter and St. Jude speak of, *Presumptuous are they and Self-willed, they are not afraid to speak Evil of Dignities*, those in the highest Place and Dignity, 2 Pet. 2. 10. Jude v. 8. There is a particular Civility, Respect and Deference to be given to our Superiors; wherefore Enviously, Injuriouly, and without Cause to asperse their Names, and to speak evil Things of them, and to raise or suggest false Reports concerning them, is a Crime of a very high Nature. The other Case, wherein *Reviling* is most heinous and offensive is, when it is made use of in the Cause of Religion. Daniel's Adversaries could find no Error or Fault in him, except it were concerning the Law of his God, Dan. 6. 5. And here generally the Aspersions and Accusations run high, and the Language is coarse, and the Reproaches are virulent. The *Papists* abuse and revile the *Protestants*: Strongly to Calumniate is their way, and their Writings are for the most part made up of Slander and Detraction. And to speak freely, some *Protestants* are guilty of this Disorder and Intemperance, and the best are sometimes apt to imitate their Adversaries in their invective Style.

But those certainly are the greatest Offenders who strike at Religion itself, reproach Men for the sake of that: And tho' it is said to be done Wittily, yet this doth not in the least diminish the Guilt; for Gall and Spite, and an abhorrence of what is Good and Virtuous, is the Root of this. To shut up this Head, *Reviling* is that sort of Lying which is hateful both to God and Man. To God, and accordingly to say *thou Fool* to our Brother, is awarded with *Hell-Fire*, Matt. 5. 22. And *Revilers* are particularly mentioned among those that *shall not Inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. 6. 10. To Men, and accordingly all have agreed to shew their dislike of this

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* τὸν λέγοντα κακῶς,
ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδείξῃ ὡς ἐστὶν
ἀληθὴ τὰ εἰρημύα, ζή-
μιος. Lys. Orat. contr.
Theo.

unjust and harmful Practise. It was an Old Law of *Solon*, * that he that speaks Evil of another, unless he can prove that to be true which he saith, shall be punished. And this is Universally concluded to be the condign Recompense of this Vice.

Sixthly, *Flattery* is another sort of *Lying*, tho' it be so opposite to *Slander* and *Reviling*. For here is a wilful and resolute uttering of what is false, and a design to abuse and delude; which are the two Things that go to the Composition of a Lye. Flatterers are deceitful and dangerous Persons: For

† ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ γλώτῃ
τὸ φιλεῖν ἔχοντες. Max.
Tyr. Diff. 36.

(as one of the Antients saith well) † Their Friendship lodges on their Tongues end only. Where they see any Virtues in those they have a mind to Sooth, they Magnify and Enhance them beyond Measure; and where they behold any Vices, they hide and palliate them, and it may

be, turn them into Accomplishments and Perfections. Especially they delight to deal with great Persons, and with them only, if they can, because here is like to be the greatest Advantage. At least, they apply themselves to those that are mounting to Greatness: Like the Statue that *Memnon* Erected, which spake only at the rising of the Sun. They are Sensible enough to make choice of those who love to be fawned upon, and with Pleasure listen to their Luscious Commendations. They insufferably extol such, and (as that learned Knight, Sir *W. Raleigh* saith) *make them believe, that all their Dusty Actions are Chrystalline.*

But if we weigh Things well, we must acknowledge that this is one of the worst sorts of *Lying*, and is of a very pernicious nature. It is probable this is the meaning of *Solomon's* Words, *Prov. 26. 23. Burning Lips, and a wicked Heart are like a potsherd covered with Silver Dross*: For by *Burning Lips* we are to understand *Flattering* Speeches, which seem to express great Favour and Affection, but these always prove Deceitful and Counterfeit, like an Earthen Vessel layed over with drossy Silver, which makes a Shew as if it were Good, Massy, and Rich Metal. And more plainly the same Inspired Writer acquaints us, that *a flattering Mouth worketh Ruin*, v. 28. Which great Truth might be Illustrated and Embellished by the abundant Testimony and Suffrage of all Ranks of Authors, of whatever Sect and Perswasion, who unanimously concur in this, that Parasites and Flatterers are a mischievous sort of Creatures, and destroy Thousands with their pleasing Lyes.

Seventhly, Even *Officious Lyes* (as they are usually called) are forbid. I know this is contradicted by more than one Rank of Persons: It is thought by them to be lawful to tell a downright Untruth, for their own Security and Safety, (in time of Danger) or for that of others: It is *lawful to Lye for the good of the Common-wealth*, saith *Socrates*, as he is quoted by his * Scholar; and some other Gentiles seem to be of this Opinion. The *Jews* hold that an *Officious Lye* is Venial, and they produce Examples out of the *Old Testament* to vouch and abet it. *The Scripture speaks sometimes the Language of a Lye*, say the *Hebrew* Masters. Thus *Abraham* said *Sarah* was his Sister, *Sarah* denied that she laughed; *Jacob* got the Blessing from *Esau* by Circumvention and a Lye. We read what the *Egyptian* Midwives said to save the *Israelitish* Infants alive: We read also how *Rahab* behaved herself towards the Spies, and 'tis reckoned as a Specimen of her Faith, in *Heb. 11. 31. Samuel* said, he came to Sacrifice, when he came about another thing. And from other Passages in the *Old Testament*, some would infer, that *Lying*, especially *Officious Lying*, was not esteemed a Sin in those Times: For they Argue from the Practise of Patriarchs and Prophets, and the most Pious Men in those Days.

† Volkel.
de. V. Re-
lig. cap.
19.

The *Papists* likewise hold, that *Officious Lying* is a Venial Sin, that is, 'tis lawful to say something which is contrary to what we think and know, when ours and our Neighbour's Safety cannot be procured without this. And *Socinus's* Followers are of the same Judgment; because, say they, *Officious Lyes* (as that of *Rahab*) hurt no body, but do a great deal of good. Yea, † one of these Writers avers, that this sort of Lyes is lawful, and ever was, because it was never forbidden either by *Moses* or by *Christ*, either in the *Old Testament* or in the *New*, and because it is injurious to none, but proves very profitable to some. And there is one of great Fame in our Church, who hath delivered this as his Opinion, viz. That the right of Speaking Truth ceases, when we have an opportunity to save the Life of a very dear Friend, or to preserve a very excellent and useful Person from perishing. But as plausible as this may seem to be, we have reason to maintain that all *Officious Lyes* are unlawful; which I shall prove, notwithstanding these

these two Pretences and Excuses that are made, namely, That they are legitimated by Scripture, and that they are not in themselves Hurtful, but rather Advantageous.

First, As to the *Examples in Scripture* before-mentioned, I answer, that some of them are Instances, not of *Officious Lying*, but either of *Ambiguity of Speaking*, as when *Abraham* said his Wife was his *Sister*; or of concealing some part of the Truth, as what the *Egyptian Midwives* said concerning the *Hebrew Women*, and *Samuel's* saying that he came to Sacrifice. But as for the *other* Instances, tho' some Writers endeavour to excuse and palliate them, and are loth to bring them within the Examples of Lying, yet I do not see how we can do otherwise, if we judge of the Matter without Prejudice and Partiality. It is recorded, that *Sarah* laughed at the Angel's Message, v. 12, 13. and 'tis as plainly recorded that *Sarah* denied, saying, *I laughed not*, v. 15. Her laughter was from the *Weakness of her Faith*, which made her think the Promise improbable: And it was from *Fear*, (for 'tis positively said, she was afraid, i. e. she was afraid she should be rebuked) that she denied what she did. This Denial was a plain *Untruth*, and it is in vain to excuse or mitigate it.

Jacob, tho' a pious Man, was unquestionably guilty of this Fault, when he deceived his Father, and supplanted his Brother of his Birth-right first, and then of his Blessing. I know there have been some, and of * great Note, who have laboured to exempt him from all Fault and Guilt: Yea, they plainly assert, that the Patriarch did not lye when he said he was the First-born, and when by Subtilty he got the Blessing from *Esau*. I confess, I cannot bring myself to this Apprehension, but do rather pronounce the good Man to be faulty as to this Matter; and I question not but he repented of this Sin. These, and many other Failings of the best Men are Registered in the *Old Testament*, and the like in the *New*; not that we should infer thence, that they are no Vices, but that the best may be sensible of their Weakness, and take care to avoid them.

So as to *Rahab's* Case, she did well in entertaining, concealing, and preserving of the Spies; here her Faith and Charity were both manifested: But she did ill in equivocating and falsifying, and denying she knew where the Spies were, or affirming that they were gone: Wherefore, tho' the Apostle commends her Faith; yet her Lye (tho' a very *Officious* one) is to be blamed.

And if we must needs bring in here (tho' I think there is no occasion for it, as I have before shewed) the Examples of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, denying *Sarah* and *Rebecca* to be their Wives (for some think they did so in saying they were their *Sisters*) we are not to believe that this is Recorded for our Imitation, but Caution. And we are to say the same, if the instance of the *Egyptian Midwives* be here brought in, (though, as I have said already, that is to be accounted for another way) if they dissembled and falsified, it was their Fault, and is not to be justified: And tho' their Act of Mercy was approved of, and rewarded by God, yet their Dissimulation was not. We see then, that the *Objection* taken from some of the *Examples* recorded in Scripture, is of no force.

Again, it is said that these which are called *Officious Lyes*, have not that propriety of a Lye which I mentioned, namely, to be designed to be *Hurtful*; nay, on the contrary, they are *Profitable*. I answer, That which I said before is to be remembered here, that the *design of hurting* in telling that which is false, is the *Aggravation* of a Lye, rather than of the *Essence* of it; for there may be downright lying without any intention of Harm: And as for the *Profit* that accrues, tho' it cannot be denied that there may be such a thing, (for as † Truth sometimes proves hurtful to the speaker, so sometimes Lying is advantageous both to speaker and hearer) yet this doth not render Lying lawful: For, suppose I may save a Man's Life, or do some other great act of Charity by speaking that which I know to be false, yet the Sin of Lying remains still the same, notwithstanding the good I do by it: For it is the Apostle's Doctrine, that *We are not to do Evil, that Good may come on it*, Rom. 3. 8. Lying is in itself Evil, therefore I must not commit this Evil, tho' I know it will be followed with great Gain and Advantage either to myself or others: For this Gain doth not take away the nature of the Sin.

* Augustin. contr. Mendac. cap. 9. & de Civ. Dei. lib. cap. 37. Theodoret. Quest. 80. in Genes.

† ἡδὴ καὶ τὸ εὖδὲν ὠνησεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὰ ληθῆς ἐβλάψεν. Max. Tyr. Diff. 3.

We may see this in other Cases, and particularly in that of *Stealing*. By breaking this Commandment, we may do others a great deal of Good, namely, by taking away some of the Goods and Possessions of one that is very Rich, and who can well spare them: I may do a great kindness to the Poor, by bestowing those Goods and Possessions on them: But who thinks that this is Lawful, tho' it be very Profitable? The same Judgment is to be made in the present Case: We cannot infer, that an *Officious Lye* is Lawful, because it is attended with Profit, and even with an apparent Charity. *Mercy and Truth* must go together: As I must not Steal to give Alms, so I must not tell a Lye to shew Kindness: As we must not speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him, Job. 13. 7. so we must not do the like for our Neighbours, or for our best Friend, or the best Man upon Earth; for Lying is a Sin, be it for God's sake, or for Mens: And then, whereas 'tis pleaded, that an *Officious Lye* is not hurtful to others, it is enough that it is hurtful to ourselves, and that is sufficient to deter us from it. He that lyeth injures himself, and harms his own Soul, and wounds his own Conscience, in that he utters those Things which are repugnant to his inward Sentiment and Persuasion: I conclude therefore, that all *Officious Lyes* are sinful and hurtful.

† Lib. de
Mendacio;
et contra
Mendaci-
um.

And if these be so, we may pronounce the same of *All*; which is the Subject of St. Augustine's † two Books against this Sin of Lying; where he contends and proves, that there can never be any cause or occasion for a Lye. It is not lawful on any account whatsoever to tell a Lye, whether it be a *Pernicious* or an *Offi-*

* Exceptis jocos, qui habent evidentissimam ex pronuntiatione atque ipso jocantis affectu significacionem animi nequaquam fallentis, etsi non vera Enunciantis. De Mend.

cious Lye; only he speaks favourably of those that some then called * *Jocose Lyes*, which he condemns not, because he saith, they are from a Mind that designs no Deceit, and from the very pronouncing of them it may be known, that there is no such Evil Intention. But yet here we must be cautious, and we are to know this, that so far as *Jests* are *Lyes*, they are Sinful and Vicious, and ought to be condemned; and for the same Reason that those which are called *Pernicious Lyes* are condemned. For why are these unlawful, but because

they are against the Law of Charity, and are hurtful to our Neighbours? In like manner a *Jocose Lye*, so far as it corrupts Men's Minds, or impairs our Neighbour's Credit and good Name, or any other way endamages him, is Unlawful: And whatever Pretences and Excuses are made to the contrary, are shallow and deceitful.

Hitherto I have spoken of that Injury which is done to our Neighbours by Words in our common Converse; now I proceed to speak of the Injury done by them in Public Courts of Judicature. For bearing False Witness is either Judicial, when a Man is called to speak the Truth publicly; or Extrajudicial between Man and Man in a more private manner. I have finished the latter of these; now I am to speak of the other, namely, Giving false Testimony against our Neighbours in Legal Proceedings and Courts of Justice; and this is a Principal Thing forbidden in this Commandment: And yet this hath been a common Fault in all Ages, and the Sacred Records take notice of some Instances of it: Sons of Belial *fasty accused Naboth* of Blaspheming God and the King, and so he was put to Death, and his Vinyard fell to *Ahab*, as confiscated by the Law of the Jews. David complained, that false Witnesses did rise up, and laid to his charge things that he knew not, Psal. 35. 11. The Jewish Priest's sought false Witnesses against Jesus to put him to Death, Matt. 26. 59. And at last came two false Witnesses, v. 60. And their particular Accusation is set down in the next Verse. We read, that the Jews set up false Witnesses against Stephen, who said, This Man ceases not to speak blasphemous Words against this holy place and the Law, Acts 6. 13. The Primitive Christians under the Ten Persecutions, had all manner of Villanies laid to their Charge; Murder, Incest, Treason, and the undoing of the World: And among the Pagans we find, that some of their best Men were Condemned thro' the Accusation of False Witnesses, as *Socrates*, who fell by the suborned Testimony of *Anytus* and *Melitus*.

This is a great Sin, and the rather because Witnesses in Judicial Courts are under the Obligation of an Oath to deliver the Truth; on which account they involve themselves in the Guilt of Perjury: For this Sin is committed not only in ordinary Discourse and Commerce, (under which Notion I considered it before) but in Judicial Assemblies, where it receives a great Aggravation, by being so solemn and public a Prophanation of God's Name. And indeed all false witnessing in

in Judgment (even abstracting from the Oath there taken) is a very heinous Crime, and a very destructive one. The Tongue that bears False Witness is called by the *Rabbins* * the *Triple Tongue*; for they say it kills *Three*, him that speaks, * שלרן תליתא
him that hears, and him that is spoken of: False Testimony in places of Judgment, is a public banishing of *Truth* and *Justice* at the same time, it is a wronging of the Innocent, and quitting the Guilty; and it confounds and destroys the Use and End of Judicatures, which were designed to help and right the Innocent; but this makes Tribunals Seats of Falsehood and Injustice, and Courts of Wrong and Oppression: Therefore, it was deservedly forbidden (with other Abuses of the Tongue) in the Sacred Laws of *Moses*.

And the *Christian* Institution, which gives Precepts concerning the bridling and governing of the Tongue, condemns this scandalous Miscarriage. Particularly we may observe, that our Saviour himself hath left a plain and direct Prohibition against *accusing any falsely*, Luk. 3. 14. that is, bringing any into the Courts on false Reports, and there witnessing against them: For the *Sycophancy*, which our Lord here forbids, hath reference to those who were called *συκοφανται* by the *Athenians*, that is, such as informed against those who exported Figs out of that City or Country, (for there was a Law at *Athens*, that none should carry Figs thence to any other Place) whence the Persons, that for the sake of a little Lucre informed against those that broke this Law, were called *Sycophants*: And thence the Word was commonly used in a larger Sense to signify a *False Witness*, one that unjustly informs against others, and falsely accuses them in public Judicatures. This is the Practice which our Saviour here forbids, and most deservedly, it being so Wicked and Profligate. This was it which *Zacheus*, when Converted, called to mind with Sorrow and Repentance, and offered to make Satisfaction for, *If I have Injured any* (saith he) *by false Accusation, I restore him fourfold*, Luk. 19. 8.

All Wise Nations and People have expressed their Detestation of this mischievous Vice; the *Mahometans* in particular have in the *Alcoran* Precepts and Laws against *False Witnesses*: And I have read, that among the *Turks* a Man cannot be a *Witness* in a Court of Judicature, unless he repeat the Commandments of *Mahomet*, to denote that he is a Man that hath some knowledge of Religion, and will not give Testimony in a bad Cause. Of some Affinity to this is that which is † reported of the People of *Fez*, that among them he is disabled from being a *Witness*, † Purchas a, Pilgr.
who Prays not six times a Day. So desirable and reasonable is it thought, that he that performs this Office should be a Religious and Good Man, and have a Sense of his Duty in this very Particular, that is, that he bear not False Witness against his Neighbour, that he speak not untrue Things in Judgment.

Not only *Witnesses*, but all that have Business in *Public Courts*, and appertain to the Law, are nearly concerned in this Commandment. I mentioned these Persons before, (under the foregoing Commandment) as they were obliged to do *Justice*, and help Men to their *Right* and *Due*; but now I am to consider them as concerned in giving Testimony to the Truth, and thereby being serviceable to others in controverted Cases in Law.

Judges may be said to bear false Testimony, if they pretend to deliver Matter of Law, and yet wilfully misrepresent it; or when they give Sentence in any Cause against their Knowledge and against the Truth. The Judge, or chief Justice among the *Egyptians* wore about his Neck a Jewel of Precious Stones, the Name of which Jewel was * *Truth*: An admirable Ornament, and which will well become * Αλήθεια
all the Judges of the Land. Diod. Sic.

Counsellors, *Advocates*, *Attornies*, are guilty of the Breach of this Commandment, by making false Representations of Things to the Judge and Jury, and by applying themselves to them in any way that may impair and eclipse the Truth. Whence in that famous Court of *Arcopagus*, the Pleaders were forbid to use any † Prefaces and Rhetorical Courtship, to move the Judges, and to conciliate Favour; and the Crier came presently and silenced them if they did so. I pay a great Respect to those of the Long Robe, but I cannot conceal my dislike of the common Practice of some of them, to whose charge may be truly laid what was falsely objected to *Socrates*, That he took pains * to make an ill Cause good. Lawyers * ἡ τῶν
should consider, that they are to answer for their Tongues, as well as Preachers: λόγον μέ-
These are obnoxious if they assert and vindicate such Doctrines as are False and ζῶνα ποι-
Pernicious; And so are the others, when they defend and maintain a bad Cause. εν. Ari-
† Lucian. stroph. in
Pollux. Nay, Nel.

Nay, they may offend by holding their Tongues, or speaking faintly in a good Cause, as one told that famous Pleader *Demosthenes* on the like occasion, That he was troubled with the *Silver-Quinsy*, which Malady hindred his speaking. But generally the Error is on the other hand, and their miscarriage is a zealous pleading for what is void both of Truth and Justice, and an obstinate insisting upon it, as if it were really True and Just: This they take to be part of their *Profession*, and therefore reckon it to be Lawful and Innocent.

* Bishop
Burnet's
Life of
Judge
Hale.

But all have not been of this perswasion, no, not the Men of Law themselves. The late Judge *Hale's* * Father gave over the Practise of the Law, because he thought the usual Pleadings in Court are no other than telling a Lye; for there they are wont to uphold the worst of Carfes with multiplyed Arguments, and to be as warm and zealous in defending what is False, as what is True, and thereby they frequently pervert Justice, and injure the Innocent. And even among the *Pagan Lawyers* this Promiscuous Pleading hath been disallowed of and condemned. Thus *Pericles*, the noted Orator of *Athens*, being requested by one to plead in an ill Cause for him, his Answer was, *I am your Friend, but not beyond the Altar*, i. e. he would do nothing in his Profession against Religion, he would not undertake to maintain an Unjust Thing. Yea, some, tho' they knew it would be dangerous to refuse pleading in such a Cause, yet would not be prevailed with to do it. Thus when *Caracalla* had made away his Brother *Geta*, after the first Year of their joynt Empire, he entreated *Papinian*, a famous Lawyer, to plead for him in his Excuse, who made this generous Reply, "It is easier to commit that Fratricide than to defend it: You may dispatch me as you have done your Brother, but you shall never make me plead such a Cause as yours": And accordingly this honest Lawyer submitted to Death rather than he would debauch his Conscience by excusing that Emperors Murdering of his Brother. We see then that those of the *Profession* itself decline to use their Tongues unconscionably, and to defend what is False and Vicious: And very good Reason there is for it; because by this means *Justice*, which is a thing real and solid, and was ordained for the great Advantage of the World, is turned into Mockery, and a mere Pageantry. That which is the Prop of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, gives colour to the *Basest Designs* and Artifices imaginable; and is made to foster needless Quirks and Cavils, and to embroyl Men in long and tedious Suits; and in a word, *Wrangling* is made an *Art or Science*.

And, as Lawyers and Pleaders, so those of the *Jury* are concerned in this Matter; they may be said to bear false Witness when they suffer themselves to be laboured with, to be packed and seduced, and when they give their Verdict unjustly and falsely: And so Judgment springeth up as Hemlock in the Furrows of the Field, Hof. 10. 4. that is, Justice is perverted and corrupted: And finally, all that go to Law, and have Business in Courts of Judicature, ought to be careful that they utter not, nor promote any Falities, and so become guilty of the Sin of bearing False Witness against their Neighbours.

Thus I have treated of the several Faults and Miscarriages of the Tongue, that are comprised under this Commandment: It remains now, that I offer the Reasons why we should regulate and redress these Disorders, and that I prescribe the Method how this may be effected.

Under the 1st. I will do these two Things, 1st. In general shew why we should redress the Abuses of the Tongue. 2dly. Why more particularly that Abuse of it which consists in Lying and Slandering. As to the former of these, the Reasonableness of it will appear from these ensuing Particulars.

First, On the Tongue hangs the greatest Good. What Man is he that desireth Life, and loveth many days, that he may see Good? Keep thy Tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking Guile, Psal. 34. 12, 13. which is said, with a little variation, by the Apostle St. Peter, He that will love Life and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his Lips that they speak no guile, 1 Pet. 3. 10. This he must do, if he would take the right way to a peaceable and comfortable Life. The Sense of which had been delivered before by the Wise Man, Prov. 12. 14. A Man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth, i. e. he shall reap all kinds of Advantages by it; yea, he that can restrain this Member, may govern all his Actions: Which is the meaning of what St. James saith, ch. 3. v. 2. If a Man offend not in word, the same is a perfect Man, and able also to bridle the whole Body.

He

He that can Rule his Tongue, is able to Rule all the other Members. Yea, the same Infallible Writer tells us, that all Religion depends upon this, and is to be Judged by it. *If any Man among you seem to be Religious, and bridlenth not his Tongue, but deceiveth his own Heart, this Man's Religion is vain.* If he thinks himself truly Religious without this, he *deceives his Heart*, that is, he imposes upon himself, and his Heart and Conscience will tell him that he is an Hypocrite. Let him pretend never so high, his Religion that he makes profession of is *Vain*: For that is *vain* which reaches not the End for which it was designed. Now, Religion was designed to exercise a Government and Discipline on the *Tongue*, as well as other Parts of the Body, and therefore if it hath not this effect, it comes short of one of its great Ends, which is to order our Words a-right. Wherefore those who have the true Evidence in their own Consciences that they are Religious to purpose, and would give signs of it to others, must check themselves as to their Words, and govern their Tongues. He that doth not the latter, which is the lesser, will not take care of the former, which is the greater. If the Tongue be not governed, the Heart and Life will be out of Order. If that be Untutoured and Extravagant, all the Members will be of a resembling Nature. Wherefore it is reasonable to take care of this Member, because so much Good depends upon it.

Secondly, because it is the Source of so many and so great Evils. This and the former Head are mentioned together in *Prov. 13. 2. A Man shall Eat good by the Fruit of his Mouth: But the Soul of the Transgressors (namely those that Transgress with their Tongues) shall eat Violence.* And the very same is said in other Words (which is usual with this Author) in the next Verse, *He that keepeth his Mouth keepeth his Life: But he that openeth wide his Lips shall have Destruction.* And both these effects of the Tongue are thus briefly comprised in *Prov. 18. 21. Death and Life are in the power of the Tongue.* Life in the Right and Lawful use of it, and Death in the abuse of it. Of the latter of these I am now to speak, and since nothing exceeds that short Description of the Evil of the Tongue which St. James gives in *chap. 3. ver. 6.* I will content my self with that. *The Tongue, saith he, is a Fire, an insatiable Mischief, a World of Iniquity, a general Heap and Mass of all Evil, and all sorts of Vices flow from it. It setteth on Fire the course of Nature, it is to the World, as Fire is to combustible Matter, it greedily seizes upon it, and leaps from one place to another, and makes all Things like itself. This is the true Phaeton that sets the World into a Conflagration, that fires *the Wheel of Nature,* + *ἡ δὲ γῆ* (so it is in the Greek) *sets the Axle-tree of the World into a Light Flame. And ἡ γῆ.* it is no Wonder; for the Tongue itself is set on Fire of Hell, i. e. of the Devil, and then spreads its Flames every where, and cannot be suppressed and extinguished. Whence it is said, that *no Man can tame it, and it is an Unruly Evil.* Yea, it is full of deadly Poyson (alluding to the Tongues of Asps and Serpents) it continually fills the Universe with Venom and Mischief. This is an account of that Member, when it is abused and corrupted. Wherefore we are concerned to regulate the abuses of it, seeing the greatest Evils (as well as the greatest Good) proceed from it.

Thirdly, We are to answer at the last Day for our Words as well as our Actions. This we are assured of from him who is to be our Judge at the last Tribunal. *I say unto you (saith he) that every idle Word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the Day of Judgment: For by thy Words (if they be Good) thou shalt be justified, and by thy Words (if they be Evil) thou shalt be condemned,* *Matt. 12. 36, 37.* Men talk now at their Soul's cost: They use their Tongues at their eternal Peril. The Rich Man in Hell complained most of his Tongue, of all his other Members. Perhaps he was punished most in that, because he had offended most in it. Let us think of it seriously, that we are accountable for our Words, and that for the abuses which we are Guilty of in speaking; unless we unfeignedly Repent of them, we shall not escape the Severity of God's Judgments.

In the next place, more particularly I am to give the Reasons why we should refrain from Lying and Slandering. I will speak distinctly of both. First, there are very great Reasons why we should abstain from telling of Lies; they are such as these,

1. We are to do it by Virtue of the Divine Precept, *keep thee from a false matter,* *Exod. 23. 7.* That is, be not any ways accessory or assisting in promoting of that which is false, but abstain from it, and shew thy dislike of it. *Ye shall not deal falsely,*

falsely, neither lie one to another, Lev. 19. 11. *Keep thy Lips from speaking Guile,* Psal. 34. 13. *Put away Lying,* Eph. 4. 25. *Lye not one to another,* Col. 3. 9. And in many other places of the *Old and New Testament* we are enjoined to shun this Vice. So that if we have any regard to the Will and Law of God, we must own the great Obligation we lie under to yield Obedience to this Law. And as for any Examples of the contrary Practise (some of which have been mentioned) we are to know that they are not in the least Obligatory: For the Positive Rule or Precept is to take place of all Examples.

2dly, It is Base and Ignoble to tell a Lye. *A Lye is a foul Blot in a Man,* saith the Wise Son of *Sirach*, Eccl. 20. 24. And again v. 26. *The Disposition of a Lier is Dishonourable, and his Shame is ever with him.* He defends Falshoods to preserve his Credit, as his pretence is: For *Shame* is more prevalent with him than *Truth*. But see how he is Recompensed; he loses and forfeits that Credit which he thought to false, and he gains a lasting Shame and Disgrace: For a Lier is always vile and contemptible. He is (as Sir *W. Raleigh* rightly deciphers him) a Coward, for he dares not avow *Truth*. He is Sneaking and Sordid, and degrades himself, and

* τὸ γὰρ ψεύδεται, δαλοπρεπές. Plut. περὶ πάσης ἀγωγῆς.

shews himself to be of a mean and abject Spirit. Whence it was truly said, * *Lying is a Servile thing, fit for Slaves rather than free Men.*

No generous Soul can be Guilty of it. A Lying Tongue is Unmanly, Base, and Unworthy, Shameful, and Reproachful. Wherefore

a Man upon the meer Principles of *Wisdom* and *Prudence* would refrain from this Disgraceful Vice. Whence this Reason is given in *Homer* why *Nestor* would not

Lye, viz. † because he was a very *Wise Man*.

† ψεύδῃ δ' ἐκ ἐρίαι, μάλα γὰρ πιπνυμένῃ ἐστίν.

3dly, Another Reason to dissuade us from this vile Practise is this, that it is clearly against the Use and Ends of Speech. The Use of Speaking is for Converse and Communion, for Traffick and Com-

merce, and to keep up Society among Mankind; and to that purpose it is implicitly agreed to by all Men to speak *Truth* to one another. But if Lying be indulged, how can Society and Conversation be promoted? How is it possible Men should trust one another, how should Commerce be maintained? How can Love and Friendship have any place in the World? Yea, how can Justice and Honesty be preserved? For, besides that Lying itself is plain Injustice, and a Violation of Men's Right and Property (Truth being a Debt we owe to those we Converse with) besides this, I say, it leads to all Injustice and Wrong, Violence and Rapine, which must needs follow upon Men's breaking their Words and Promises, and making no Conscience of performing their Contracts and Covenants. And then as to

* τὸ γὰρ δικαῖον λόγῳ τέλει ἐστὶ πρὶν ἐνεργάσασθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. Plut. περὶ ἀδολεχίας.

† Diog. Laert. in Aristot.

the proper * End of speaking, it is to beget Belief in the Hearers: But every one sees that this End is baffled and disappointed by speaking falsely: For (as it was long since observed by † *Aristotle*) a Lier gains this, that, when he speaks *Truth*, he shall not be believed. This is the just Reward of that Vice, and we learn from it that it is *Truth* and *Integrity* that must conciliate Belief, and consequently that it is against the true End and Design of Speech to utter false Things.

4thly, Lying is odious to the God of Truth, and he hath Solemnly declared, that he will punish it. A Lying Tongue is one of the Seven Things that are an Abomination to God, Prov. 6. 17. Again in chap. 12. ver. 22. *Lying Lips are Abomination to the Lord. A false Witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh Lies shall not escape, or (as it is in the 9th ver.) he shall Perish,* Prov. 19. 5. Thou shalt destroy them that speak Leasing, that is, a Lye, Psal. 5. 6. And a signal Instance we have of this in *Ananias* and *Sapphira* who were struck Dead for Lying, Acts 5. 3. &c. *Whosoever loveth and maketh a Lye is excluded from Happiness,* Rev. 22. 15. And more positively in Rev. 21. 8. *All Lyars shall have their part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone.*

5thly, To Lye and break our Faith is abominated by Men as well as God. There is no Man of a good and vertuous Disposition but detests a double Tongue. A righteous Man hateth Lying, Prov. 13. 5. *I hate and abhor Lying,* saith the Pious Psalmist, Psal. 119. 163. And accordingly he abhors the Sight of those Persons who are addicted to it. *He that telleth Lies shall not tarry in my Sight,* Psal. 101. 7. Yea, all Men have an Aversion to this Vice in others, even those who like it in themselves: For though they are willing to deceive others, yet they are displeased when they

they are imposed upon themselves. Thus Falshood and Treachery are Universally abhorred.

6thly and Lastly, Lying is the Work of the Devil, the Employment of that cursed Spirit of Hell. *When he speaketh a Lye, he speaketh of his own* (that is, from his own natural Inclination and Genius) *for he is a Liar, and the Father of it,* Joh. 8. 44. The first Lye was told by the Devil, Gen. 3. 4. *Ye shall not Die.* And ever since he and his Hellish Crew make it their continual Work to falsify and to deceive Mankind. Whence even one of the Heathen Writers, speaking of Evil Spirits and Wicked Dæmons, saith, (a) *It is proper for them to Lye.* God is the Father and Author of Truth, and Truth is his Image; but on the contrary we resemble the Devil in Lying, for this is his Property, and in whomsoever it is, it is a Diabolical Vice. (a) τὸ ψεῦδος τῶν δαιμόνων. Porphyr. de Abstinēt.

These are the strong Reasons which we are to make use of against the Commission of this Sin. And there are as cogent ones against Slandering, for they are the very same. We are to refrain from this wicked Practise by Virtue of the Divine Prohibition, and because it is a Base and Unmanly Vice, and because it is against the Use and Ends of speaking, and likewise because it is the Guise and Property of the Infernal Spirits. But besides these Reasons and Arguments which are in common with those against Lying, there is one peculiar to this exorbitant Sin of Slandering and Reviling, and that is this: By these we Rob our Neighbour of his choicest Treasure, his Good Name. To this purpose the Jews have this saying of one of their Rabbies, *The Crown of the Law, of Priesthood, of the Kingdom, are all of them Honourable; but the Crown of a Good Name ascends above them all, i. e. it is more Splendid and Honourable.* And at other times they tell us, that Fame and Credit are nearer to a Man than Riches; for they are Founded on his Virtue and real Worth, but these are not so. Wherefore a Good Name is to be esteemed as the greatest (b) Wealth and Riches. It is therefore a greater Fault to Hurt ones Fame, than to Rob One of his Worldly Goods: For the first respects his Worth, the other only his Estate. (b) Ego si bonam famam servāssō, sat ero dives. Plaut. in Mostel. And it is certain that the one cannot be so easily Repaired as the other. This makes Detraction a very heinous Offence: And there need be no other Reason given why we should carefully avoid it.

My next Task is to shew how and by what means we may restrain the Abuses of the Tongue, and consequently not offend in any of those particulars afore-mentioned. After we have called to Mind and considered the Reasons which I have before tendered, and well digested them, as becomes Rational Persons, it will be requisite to attend to these following Rules and Directions.

First, We must avoid too much Speaking, and use ourselves to Silence and Reservedness. Those that are Talkative and usurp a Liberty of saying much, do frequently say Things that are Evil and Blameable. *In the Multitude of Words there wants not Sin,* Prov. 10. 19. Therefore here we ought to restrain ourselves, and to utter Things with Deliberation. *The heart of the righteous studieth to answer,* saith the Wise-Man, whereas the *Mouth of the Wicked poureth forth* (rashly and precipitantly) *Evil Things,* Prov. 15. 28. Therefore it is Apostolical Advice, that we be *slow to speak,* Jam. 1. 19. And this hath gained a Respect and Commendation among all the Wise. The Learned Jews have such a Proverbial Saying as this, that it was one Proof of the worth of the Antient Patriarchs, that they were sparing in their Speech. It is said, that the great Pythagoras enjoined to all his Scholars that were admitted under him, a five Years Silence. The meaning of which was, that the first Thing to be learned was to govern their Tongues, and not to be lavish in their Words. The Lacedæmonians, a wise People, were famed for this: And thence Laconism is a short way of speaking, or saying much in few Words. It was an old Observation of Demosthenes, Nature hath given Men two Ears and one Tongue, to let them know, that they must hear more than they speak. And truly, if they would submit to hearken to others more, they would refrain from too much speaking themselves.

The contrary hath been cried out against by all the Masters of Reason and good Manners. This is that which Theophrastus describes in his Characters, and is called by him the (c) Intemperance or Drunkenness of Speech. And very rightly; for to Talk too much is as unbecoming as to Drink too much. But, as he saith, the (c) ἀνὰ σία τὸ λέγειν. Talkative γν.

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(d) ὡς ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐστὶν ἡ γλῶττα. Which by *Perfius* is well expressed — *In udo est. Sat. 1.* Talkative Man's Tongue is always (d) Wet-shod, and Over-liquored.

And conformably to this, in the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, the Tongue was Represented by a Pitcher. But when this Member it too moist and slippery, it ever becomes Faulty and Blameable, yea and Punishable. Thus the *Lacedemonians* Banished a Man because he boasted that he could Talk a whole Day upon any Subject. This kind of Men are Troublesome and Intolerable, and very Dangerous. You must (as *Theophrastus* takes the liberty to express it) run from them as fast as you can, if you have not a mind to be put into a Fever. This disorder of the Tongue is taken Notice of and Reflected on by *St. Luke*, when he saith, that the *Athenians* spent their Time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear (which was in order to telling) some new thing, *Acts 17. 21.* It was a great Vice in them that they were People of Unbridled and Prodigal Tongues, and delighted in Chatting and Prating. *Demosthenes* bears Witness to this, and blames the *Athenians*, his Citizens, for this Folly often. In several Places of his *Oration*s he makes this Complaint, and almost in the Words of *St. Luke*. *Seneca* and

(e) *Lib. Juvenal* lash the *Romans* for the same Vanity. And (e) *Horace* hath given a very lively Description of a Foolish Prater, and deservedly makes that sort of Men very Odious. But be he or any other never so Satyrical, this is certain, that no Tongue can abuse them more than their own doth.

This Loquacity and Lavishness of Tongue are frequently Disparaged and Condemned in the Holy Writings; and are Represented as a great Mark of Vanity and Folly: And the contrary is declared by the same Inspired Writings to be a Sign of Wisdom. The Mouth of Fools, saith *Solomon*, poureth out Folly, *Prov. 15. 2.* And in another Place he tells us, that in many Words there are divers Vanities, *Ecc. 5. 7.* The

(f) *fatuus*, (f) Word among the *Latines* that signifies a Fool, is borrowed from Speaking; that is, speaking rashly. And (g) another Word is used among them to denote a Vain,

(g) *futilis*, Light, and Foolish Person, and likewise one that is a Blab, and intemperate in his Tongue: For these two are never Separated; he that is a Babler, is a vain and foolish Person. He sounds too much to be full. The Echo is generally heard from *Hollow* Caverns. Unseasonable Multiplying of Words is a Sign of Emptiness. The excess of Talk generally argues Levity and Folly. He cannot be Wise that speaks much. But, on the other side, he that refraineth his Lips is Wise, *Prov. 10. 19.* And again, he that hath Knowledge, spareth his Words, *Prov. 17. 27.* He doth not rashly speak; he Talks not without Occasion and Consideration, but observes Time, and Place, and Persons, and knows when, and where, and before whom, to hold his Tongue.

This is a great and inestimable Accomplishment; but more especially the Virtue of it is seen in its being a Remedy against the Abuses and Miscarriages of the Tongue: And therefore on that account I commend it at present to all Men. That they may not offend in Speech, the best way is to favour their Tongues, and to use that paucity of Words which becomes Prudent Men and Christians. This is an easy Remedy; For (as (h) one truly saith) Less pains in the World a Man cannot take, than to hold his Tongue. Therefore let none decline this Direction which I offer; whilst others are forward to speak Profusely and Lavishly, let us (yea tho' we should be accounted dull and stupid) use reservedness of Speech; because this is the surest way to avoid all Errors and Faults in Speaking: For we find that a Man of Tongue (that is, one that is addicted to too much Speaking) and an Evil Speaker are Synonymous, *Psal. 140. 11.* This is the first Rule, and it being of so great Moment, and so frequently taken Notice of by all Writers, I could not but Represent it in its full Strength. But I will be more Brief and Contracted in the Particulars that follow.

Secondly, We are to look to our Hearts, and to keep them with all Diligence; for the Tongue follows the Motion of the Heart, and our Words are the Product of our inward Disposition. Observe therefore the Argumentation of our Saviour in his sharp Reproof of the *Pharisees*, in *Matt. 12. 34, 35.* O Generation of Vipers, how can ye, being Evil, speak Good Things? (Where, by the bye let me observe, that if that be true which hath been commonly received, that the Poyson of Vipers lies in their Mouths, then very fit and suitable is this compellation here, O Generation of Vipers, it being pertinent to the Matter of the Reproof, which blames them for their Evil and Corrupt speaking.) He goes on, for out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh. A good Man out of the good Treasure of his Heart bringeth forth good Things, and an evil Man out of the evil Treasure of his Heart bringeth forth evil Things. Our Saviour

(h) *Sir W. Raleigh's Advice to his Son.*

Saviour here argues from the Cause to the effect: Ye are Evil, saith he; your Hearts being so, therefore your Words and Speeches must needs be Evil: For these are according to the Inclinations and bent of your Hearts. This Truth our Saviour teaches us again in *Matth. 15. 18, 19. Those Things* (that is, those Evil Words) *which proceed out of the Mouth, come forth from the Heart, and they defile the Man. For out of the Heart proceed false Witnesses, Blasphemies; that is, Slandering and speaking Evil of others.* Therefore let us look to the inward Frame of our Minds, in order to the Correcting of our Words. If the Conscience be Purged, and Sin be Suppressed and Subdued within, the Tongue will shew it without: For the *Language* goes along with the *Conquest*. All the *Books* that *Tertullian* Wrote after he was turned *Montanist*, Reflect more or less upon the Church, and speak something in favour of *Montanus's Paraclete*, and other Whimsies of that Sect. And in some Hundreds of Instances it might be shewed, that the Words and Writings of Men are tinged with their inward Persuasions, even when they seem to avoid it. The Tongue is the true Index of the Heart, and therefore begin with this, if you would effectually reform that.

Thirdly, To cure most of the Maladies of the Tongue, be careful that you be not busy Bodies in other Men's Matters. *Plutarch* hath an Excellent Discourse on * this Subject, where he shews how the Desire to be acquainted with and act in other Men's Affairs, is Mischievous to Mankind; and particularly the Mischief of it is seen in making Men Talkative and over Lavish in their Words, in nourishing Slander and Back-biting. The *Hebrews* use the same † Verb to signify *Searching and Prying into*, and also *Detraacting and Calumniating*: For these generally are assilting to one another. Whence it is, that *Tatlers*, *speaking Things which they ought not*, and *busy Bodies* are joined together by the Apostle, *1 Tim. 5. 13.* Wherefore mingle not with the Society of these latter, if you would not be of the Number of the former.

* Περὶ
Πολυ-
πραγ-
μοσύνης.
† Ραγὰ.

Fourthly, Avoid *Excess in Drink*, and the Company of those that are addicted to that Vice. For such Persons generally have no Guard on their Tongues. The *Tavern-Dialect* is for the most part indigested Prattle, and after that Brawling and Contentions, which produce Reproach and Contumely, and all sort of ill Language. When the Wine inflames the Company, then this Wild-Fire flies about. Wherefore that you may not transgress in Words, abhor Ebriety.

Fifthly, Avoid *Passion*, the Drunkenness of the Mind. None offend more with their Tongues than the Angry and Cholerick. These are the Persons that indulge themselves in Lying and Slandering, and all manner of Evil-speaking. Wherefore the Remedy against the Evil of the Tongue prescribed by *St. James* is *meekness*, chap. 3. ver. 13. *Who is a Wise Man, and endued with Knowledge among you?* (who would attain to the Wisdom of Ruling the Tongue?) *Let him shew out of a good Conversation his Works with meekness of Wisdom; that is, let him act always with discreet Moderation and Meekness.* But, saith he, *if you have Bitter envyings and strifes*, it will be otherwise; for *where envying and strife is, (where Passion prevails, that is the Root and Cause of these) there is Confusion and every Evil Work*, and the Miscarriages of the Tongue which he had been speaking of. And he adds still, *The Wisdom that is from above* (that Divine skill particularly which teaches us to Govern our Tongues) *is Peaceable, Gentle, easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and Good Fruits*, it instructs Men to discard all Boisterous Passions, and to entertain and practise all Kindness and Humanity: And where these are, the Language will be calm and serene. *Let every Man be slow to Speak, slow to Wrath*, saith the same Apostle, *Jam. 1. 19.* He that Minds the latter, will be enabled to do the former: For it is the Wrathful Man that is observed to have the least command of his Tongue. Wherefore quell all Choler and Passion.

To all that hath been said, add *Resolution and Prayer*. Resolve with Holy *David*, to take heed unto your Ways, that you offend not with your Tongues, *Psal. 39. 1.* Pray with that devout King, to be enabled to set a Watch before your Mouths, and to keep the Door of your Lips, *Psal. 141. 3.* Beg of God that he would remove from you the way of Lying, *Psal. 119. 29.* And make you inoffensive as to all other Disorders of the Tongue. It is a very difficult Thing to Rule this Member, as *St. James* Represents it in his 3d chap. ver. 7, 8. It cannot be done without Supernatural Aid, and therefore there is a Necessity of imploring the Assistance of Heaven. These are the

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Rules

Rules and Directions which we are to observe, and let us do it with great Carefulness and Application.

Hitherto I have mentioned those Abuses of the Tongue which are *directly* forbid in this part of the Decalogue. Now I shall take Notice of that which may be *reduced* to it, and that is *Unlawful Censuring and Judging of our Neighbours*: For I go upon that Rule which I grounded on Christ's Exposition of the Commandments, namely, that the *inward Acts of the Mind*, which have reference to the external Acts of Sin forbid in these Commandments, are also here forbid. *Judging of our Neighbours* is a Disposition of Mind that prepares the way for *bearing false Witness* against them, for making use of our Tongues to their Hurt. Wherefore it is Remarkable, that *speaking Evil of our Brother, and Judging our Brother*, are coupled together, *Jam. 4. 11.* This latter then is at least reductively and implicitly Condemned in this Commandment, it being an inward *Witnessing* of the Mind, and so is a false Testimony born against our Brethren.

Here I will largely insist on this Head from our Saviour's Words, *Matt. 7. 1. Judge not, that ye be not Judged*, and shew what is the full extent of this Prohibition. We are not to think that *Publick Judgment* is forbid either in the *Civil Courts*, or in the *Church*: For I have shewed already that the former is allowed of by our Saviour and his Apostles, who have given full Commission to *Magistrates* to Execute their Office; part of which is to Judge Offenders. And the latter is approved of by our Saviour, when he bids us, after a more private Censuring and Admonishing Persons for a Fault, to *tell it unto the Church*; and we find in *St. Paul's Epistles*, that Ecclesiastical Censures are frequently Enjoyed and Practised.

Nor can we think that *Private Judgment* is here forbid; for it is part of our Christian Duty to *prove or try all Things*, *1 Thess. 5. 21.* And in order to that, to try the Persons that are concern'd in the Things. *Try the Spirits, whether they be of God*, *1 John 4. 1.* There is a *Judgment of Discretion* whereby we are to examine Men's Doctrines and Actions according to the Word of God. And 'tis certain that the Christian Offices of Reproving, Rebuking and Admonishing, are Founded on this. Besides, in all manifest apparent Actions, we may without difficulty Judge and give our Opinion, and we are obliged to Pronounce according to the Truth and Reality of Things, or otherwise we incur the Guilt of *putting Darkness for Light, and Light for Darkness*. In a Word, when our Saviour disallows of *Judging according to appearance*, he at the same time bids us *Judge Righteous Judgment*, *Joh. 7. 24.* He Authorizes a discreet and impartial Judging of others as we see occasion. Thus we see there is a *Lawful Judging*.

Now we come to enquire into that which is *Unlawful and Unchristian*, and is here forbid by Christ, and by the tenor of the Ninth Commandment. The Judging becomes Unlawful either in respect of the *Matter*, or the *Manner* of this Judging. As to the Matter or Objects,

First, it is Unlawful to Judge Peremptorily of our Neighbours from their former Actions, and what they themselves once were. For as the Apostle saith in the like Case, *Such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified*, &c. *1 Cor. 6. 11.* And this great Change he takes Notice of in the *Colossians*, chap. 1. ver. 21. *You that were sometimes alienated and Enemies in your Mind by wicked Works, yet now hath he reconciled.* And in *Ephes. 2. 11, 12, 13.* *Ye were in time past Gentiles in the Flesh, having no hope, and without God in the World; but now in Christ Jesus, ye, who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the Blood of Christ.* When it is thus, we are not to make a Judgment of our Brethren according to their former State and Behaviour: For this were to *bear false Witness against them*. It is unjust and uncharitable to check and upbraid any Persons, much more to Condemn them for the past Enormities of their Lives, when we see that the Divine Goodness hath wrought an alteration in them, and when we discern a visible Reformation and Amendment in their Manners.

Secondly, As we must not rashly Judge of Men from their Actions *before their Conversion*, so not altogether from those after it. For we are to remember, that the best Men are not free from their Frailties and Infirmities: Yea, sometimes Good Men are permitted to fall into very gross and scandalous Sins. In the greatest *Heroes* there hath been something of the *Man*. *Plato* one of the best Philosophers, and *Origen* one of the best Christian Fathers, were full of exorbitant Fancies, wild Conceits, and erroneous Notions. There are some very excellent Persons, that set the worst

Side

Side outwards. There are some Men, that are really better than they seem to be. Wherefore let us not be Cenforious and Rigid, but make allowances for Men's Failings and Disorders, especially of those in whom we have observed a great Sense of Religion and Goodness. For we see such do some very bad Actions, but let us not brand them as Hypocrites or Apostates, but consider, that the most Righteous Men have fallen, but by God's Grace rose again : As their Decay was visible, so likewise was their Recovery. Wherefore it will not become us to be Rash and Peremptory in our Determinations concerning them.

Thirdly, Judge not of the *Secret Thoughts* of Men. For this is a Prerogative that God only can Claim, who is the *Searcher of Hearts*. And yet we find it a common Practise among Men to Usurp this Power, and to Execute it with great Rigour. They pretend to dive into Men's Breasts, and see those Evils there, which their outward Actions do not discover. But here we should be very wary, because it is very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to acquaint ourselves with the inward tendencies of Men's Minds, and to Judge of them from what we behold in their outward Behaviour. Men's Hearts are sometimes better than their Lives, and therefore this should check us in our Judging of them.

Fourthly, Judge not Men for Things *Indifferent* : Not for any Opinion or Practise disagreeing from our's, in Matters of that Nature. The Apostle most admirably Discourses of this in the 14th chap. of his Epistle to the *Romans*, and saith enough to charm any Man into a Charitable Behaviour towards his Dissenting Brother in Things of this Kind. *One believes that he may eat all Things* (he holds he may without Sin eat any kind of Food, tho' prohibited by the Ceremonial Law.) *Another who is weak, eateth Herbs* : (which may be fed upon without any Offence) *But let not him that eateth any thing indifferently, despise him that eateth not that sort of Food which is forbidden by the Law : And let not him that eateth not, Judge him that eateth, censure him as a prophane Libertine, for eating what the Law hath bid him to abstain from. Who art thou that Judgest another Man's Servant, him, over whom thou hast no Power ? To his own Master he standeth or falleth ; for it belongs to the Master of the Family to take his Servants to task. Why then dost thou Judge thy Brother, or why dost thou set at nought and vilify thy Brother ? Every one of us shall give account of himself to God, of his own Behaviour, and not of the weakness of others, and consequently we ought to look to ourselves, and not to Censure our Neighbours for indifferent Matters, about which they profess their Consciences are satisfied, and about which perhaps we may have a good Opinion to Morrow : For in Things of this sort our Judgments vary, and our Persuasions are not always lasting. In the mean time it becomes us to be Wary and Modest, and not to Condemn the Side that we are not of, as is the usual Practise of many. They boldly and confidently prescribe to others in those very Things for which there is no necessity of our believing or practising them ; and if they see that we use any Suspense here, they presently derive our Pedigree by lineal Descent from Antichrist, and he is made the top of our Kindred.*

Fifthly, Judge not from common *Accidents* and *Events*, such as Worldly Losses and Crosses ; Poverty, Disgrace, Sicknes and Diseases ; a sudden or violent Death, or any thing of the like Nature : Judge not (I say) from these concerning the Guilt of any Person, tho' this be a very usual practise. Those whom God is pleas'd to afflict much, are suspected for Great and Notorious Sinners. This was the Fault of *Job's* Friends, they made his Afflictions an Argument of his Guilt, and to that purpose did often object the Grievousness of his Afflictions to him. We read, that those *Galileans* whose Blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices, were supposed to be Sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such Things. And so those *Eighteen* on whom the Tower of Siloam fell and slew them, were thought to be Sinners above all Men that dwelt in Jerusalem, Luke 13. 12. So when the Barbarians saw the Viper fasten on Paul's Hand, they concluded, that no doubt this man is a Murderer, some Great and Notorious Villain, whom Vengeance suffereth not to live, Acts 28. 4. Those are Judged to be the greatest Offenders, who are visited with the greatest outward Punishments.

But this is bearing false Judgment and Testimony against our Neighbours ; for 1. The Judgments of God are often Obscure and Dark, and not to be easily read and understood by us, and therefore we are not allowed to use Peremptory Censuring here. 2. God doth not always look at the Sins of those whom he afflicts, John 9. 3. Neither
hath

*hath this Man sinned, nor his Parents, that he was born Blind, i. e. their Sins were not the Cause of this particular Punishment, but that the Works of God should be manifest in him, that is, that the Almighty Power of God might be demonstrated in working a Miraculous Cure upon this Blind Man. If then in some Cases God hath not regard to Men's Sins, when he inflicts Calamities upon them, we have no Reason to Censure and Condemn the Afflicted. 3dly. It is unreasonable, because, (as the Wise Man hath assured us) no Man knoweth either Love or Hatred by all that is before them. All Things come alike to all; there is one event to the Righteous and to the Wicked, to the good, and to the clean, and to the unclean, to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not; as is the Good, so is the Sinner, and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an Oath, Eccl. 9. 1, 2. Good and Bad Men are oftentimes equal as to the usual Occurrences of the World, relating either to Prosperity or Adversity; but generally the Good and Pious have the least share of the World's Goods, and are exposed to Dangers, Violence, and Persecution: Wherefore as we ought not to Measure God's favour by outward Success and Prosperity; so we must not Judge of his Displeasure, and of Men's Sins and Guilt by the adverse Accidents that befall them. 4thly. God perhaps deals severely with them here, because he will exempt them from greater Miseries hereafter. These present afflictions may be all the Portion of Sorrow they shall have: They may be condemned here, to be Acquitted hereafter. We ought not therefore to Censure them, lest we be reserved for worse Judgments ourselves. I will conclude with the Determination of our Saviour, who was the best Judge in this Case (as in all others;) when some Censorious Persons came to him and told him of the Judgments that befel the Galileans and others before mentioned, and thence inferred, that they were the greatest of Sinners, he directly contradicted it, *I tell you nay*, saith he, you are under a Mistake, these Calamities which they suffered, were not Evidences of their Sin and Guilt above other Men. When therefore at any time we see our Brother suffer in very odd Circumstances, let us not Uncharitably reflect upon it, and conclude him the worst Man in the Neighbourhood. As we have little reason to think our own State good, because it is Prosperous, so we have as little to Censure and Condemn another's, because it is Calamitous.*

*Sixthly, Judge not of the future and Eternal State of any, nor of the Decrees of God concerning them; many are faulty as to this, and pretend to read the fatal Destiny of their Neighbour in the Eternal Registeries; yea, sometimes they will doom him for a Reprobate that is not of the same Opinion with themselves, tho' it be in an indifferent Matter; but especially, if they find him to be a Person of a very Vicious Life; they erect a Tribunal forthwith, and condemn him to everlasting Burnings: But this is a rash and heady Sentence; for there are many Sheep without, and many Wolves within the visible Flock: There are none so bad, but as bad have been reclaimed, and called into the Church; which is the meaning of Christ's Words, *The Publicans and Harlots go into the Kingdom of God*, yea, and before those who make a fair profession of Religion and Obedience, *Matt. 21. 31*. If we see any in the Gall of Bitterness, and in the Bond of Iniquity, we are not to despair of their Conversion and Amendment, because we read that some are called at the eleventh Hour: Instead of judging of their final State, we ought to Pray for them, and beg the Divine Mercy toward them, that, tho' at present they be dead in Sin, they may by the Almighty Power be raised unto newness of Life: This is our Duty, but by no means let us be prevailed with to shut up any finally under Damnation. Thus far as to the Matter or Object of our Judging.*

Next, as to the Manner, or Principle and Motive, it is unlawful in any Case to judge and censure our Neighbours on weak and insufficient Grounds: As first, on Surmises and Conjectures. It is a very easy thing to find fault with others, and to condemn them; for we see that nothing is more ordinary among some Men, than to ground the Condemnation of others on slight Jealousies and mere Presumptions. Eli observed Hannah's Lips to move in an unusual manner, and therefore he concluded she was Drunk. The Pharisees see Christ sitting and conversing with Sinners, therefore he must be a Friend to their Vices, a Companion with them in their Sins, and an Abettor and Patron of their Enormities. This was not right Judgement, because it had no other Foundation than Suspicion and Jealousy.

Secondly, All judging of others is Unlawful, that is grounded on bare Reports and flying Rumours. Common Fame hath been a Lyar, and therefore she must not be

trusted

trusted: We must first enquire into the Truth of those Things that are brought to us by Talk and Converse, before we pass a Judgment on the Persons that are concerned in them; otherwise we shall rashly and unjustly traduce those that are Innocent, and load them with false Accusations and Aspersions.

Thirdly, That Judging and Censuring is very blameable and sinful, that proceeds upon Prejudice and Prepossession. Could a Brother judge any one more bitterly than Eliab, David's Eldest Brother, did him, when he used such Language as this, *I know thy Pride, and the naughtiness of thy Heart*, 1 Sam. 17. 28? And yet it arose only from Evil Prejudice entertained against his Brother. *These Men are full of new Wine*, and that makes their Tongues run, said the Jews against their Countrymen the Apostles, who were miraculously enabled to speak diverse Languages, Acts 2. 13. nothing but gross and malicious Prejudice could have suggested such a false Judgment. And the like we may observe every where; Prepossession furnishes them with Charges and Inditements, and makes them Censure and Condemn all that are not of their Way and Sect.

And again, Judging of others is undue and unlawful, when the Person that exercises this Severity is guilty of the same Errors and Miscarriages which he condemns in them. When we read that Christ wrote on the Earth with his Finger, that is, he minded not what the Accusers of the Adulteress said, and that he dismissed them, and acquitted her; perhaps that which he intended to teach the Jews was this, that they should not be forward to accuse and condemn others, when they were too guilty themselves. And yet this is the frequent Practice of Mankind; they sit in the Seat of Judicature, they peremptorily Censure; yea, and sometimes Damn others for Miscarriages which they espy in them, and they think Hell is not hot enough for such Offenders: And yet when we come to examine the Matter impartially, we find that these furious Censors run headlong into the same Follies, and are guilty of the same Fact, or if not the same, yet what is equivalent, or it may be worse than what they Condemn in those others. Such Judgment as this we may conclude to be without Plea, without Excuse, as the Apostle saith, Rom. 2. 1. *Thou art inexcusable, O Man, whosoever thou art, that judgest: For wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself: For thou that judgest, dost the same things, or of the like nature and quality: This is an unaccountable Folly, and the Person that acts it, contradicts and baffles himself.*

Several other Particulars might be added, with relation to the manner of Judging, which I am now treating of, and whence the Unlawfulness of rash judging of others appears; as when 'tis done with Heat and Passion, when it commences from Pride and Ostentation, and a Haughty Spirit (for the Censorious are generally Proud, and think too well of themselves, and that makes them debase others) and especially when it flows from Hatred, and Malice, and Revenge; which stir them up to expose their Neighbours, and to gratify the World, (as they think) by shewing it their Nakedness.

I might now, in the prosecution of what our Saviour hath said, insist upon the Reason here assigned by him, why we must not rashly and uncharitably Judge our Brethren, namely, *That we be not judged*, that is, both by God and by our Brethren. By God, who is the Great and Supreme Judge, and will severely deal with us, and will return the Judgment on our own Heads; which is St. James's Argument against this Vice, in Jam. 3. 1. *My Brethren be not many Masters* (be not rigid and magisterial in your Censures, arrogate not to your selves a Licence to judge others, and to aggravate their Infirmities and Faults) *knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation*, we shall meet with a severe Judgment from God. By Men likewise we shall be judged, as our Saviour interprets it; *For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again*, that is, by Men, as he explains it, Luk. 6. 38. and as we find it verified by common Experience. For those that are uncharitable and indiscreet in their censuring of others, are usually recompensed in the same kind; they drink in the same Cup which they urge upon others, and that false Sentence which is pronounced by them against their Neighbours, is often awarded against themselves.

I will add this Reason also to inforce the Duty of not Judging; our own frail Nature directs us here, we being liable to many Failings, it is therefore fit we should deal candidly with others. This is the Reason given by St. James, why we should

should refrain from rash and arrogant Judging, for (saith he) in many things we offend all. We daily fall into one Miscarriage or other, and are never free from offending: Therefore we ought not to take upon us to be the rigid and rash Censurers of others.

I will mention another Argument to dissuade us from this Practise, and it is that of the great Apostle in Rom. 14. 10. For we shall all stand before the Judgment Seat of Christ. Judging of others is the Work of the last Day; therefore (as the same Apostle advises) let us judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, 1 Cor. 4. 5. It is not fit for us to anticipate that Judgment, and to usurp upon the Office of the Great Judge of that Day, and to invade his Prerogative.

Let us ponder these *Weighty Reasons*, and so betake ourselves to our Duty in this Affair. Let us not take liberty of judging others, and shewing ourselves rigid in that Employment: let us not delight in censuring and condemning our Neighbour's Actions, but let us amend our own. Thus much concerning that indispensable part of Christianity, *Not judging our Neighbours*; the contrary to which directly tends to *bearing False Witness*, and therefore is included in this Commandment that prohibits this Practise.

Hitherto of the *Negative Part* of this Commandment; now for the *Affirmative*. The Duties enjoined are these Five, 1. To use our Tongues. 2. To use them to good and useful Purposes. 3. More especially to speak Truth. 4. To maintain our Neighbour's Good Name. 5. To pass a favourable Judgment on all Men and their Actions.

First, This Commandment obliges us to use our Tongues, to bear Witness with them. It is not an indifferent Thing whether we speak or not: For Speech distinguishes us from Brutes and Dumb Animals; and therefore we act contrary to our Nature, if we imitate those mute Creatures, and affect to be Speechless: Which yet it seems was done by some Philosophers and conceited Pretenders to Wisdom in *Juveval's Time*,

* Sat. 2.

* *Rarus Sermo illis, & magna libido tacendi;*

Whom therefore he deservedly jeers, and imputes this Affectation of silence to their Hypocrisy and Dissimulation. And some Modern Historians tell us, that the People of *Nagracut*, in the *East-Indies*, place Religion in being Dumb; for they cut out their Tongues, and offer them to their God *Matta*. But this is gross Delusion, and is the effect of Idolatrous Bigotry. We know that Reason and Religion bid us employ that useful Member which God hath furnished us with, and they acquaint us that it is a Sin to do otherwise: As we are Men and Christians, we are obliged to avoid that foolish and undue sparing of our Tongues which may be prejudicial to our Neighbours. It is not a fit Posture for a Christian Man to stand like an Ideot with his Finger in his Mouth, when there is occasion for him to speak.

Secondly, It is required by this Commandment, that we make use of our Speech for good and useful Purposes. Tho' we differ from Brutes as to Speech, yet if we speak without Reason, the difference is but little between them and us. For barely to Speak is no Excellency of itself. The Serpent Spake in Paradise, and afterwards

† *Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 2.*

it was part of his Curse (as † the *Jewish Antiquary* thinks) that his Voice was taken from him, and Poyson put into his Tongue. *Balaam's Ass* spake, tho' he knew not what. And to form and pronounce certain Words is not denied to *Parrots* and some other Birds. Wherefore, there must be something else to commend the Gift of Speaking, and that is *Reason*. Accordingly it is observable, that the *Greeks* have but one Word for both Speech and Reason. And so in the Sacred Language *Dabar* signifies both: And the *Hebrews* call a Man *Hai Medabber*, which is both a Speaking and a Rational Creature: To let us know that Speech, the peculiar Gift of God to Man, is to be joyned with Reason, the greatest Prerogative of our Rational Natures. And by this latter we are taught to direct and regulate our Words, so that they shall not fall short of the two chief Ends of Speaking, which are the Glory of God, and the Welfare of Mankind.

The ultimate End of Speech respects him who gave us the Gift of Speaking, and therefore it is fit it should be made use of to set forth his Glory. This is the true Reason why the Tongue is called our Glory, *Psal. 57. 8. Psal. 30. 12. and Psal. 16. 9.*

16. 19. In which latter the *Hebrew Word* is rendred γλῶσσα the Tongue, by the *Septuagint*, because this Member was made to be the Instrument of Glorifying God, that is, declaring his Glory, extolling his Name and Excellencies, expressing his Honour and Praise. The other End of Speech respects our Neighbours, and so more directly and immediately comes under this *Commandment*, which bids us use our Tongues for the Good and Advantage of those we converse with. Thence the Apostle's Advice, *Eph. 4. 29. Let no corrupt Communication proceed out of your Mouth, but that which is good, to the use of edifying, that it may minister Grace unto the hearers.* And again, *Col. 4. 6. Let your Speech be always with Grace, season'd with Salt*, in opposition to that corrupt unfavoury Communication before mention'd, as well as to distinguish it from the insipid and vain Talk which is in the Mouths of most Men. By this *Edifying and Gracious* way of speaking we shall promote the Welfare of our Brethren, which is the more general *Injunction* imply'd in this *Commandment*.

Thirdly, It is more particularly enjoyned here, that we speak Truth, and thereby edify our Brethren. The Virtue opposite to Lying is Truth: The Duty that is opposed to bearing False Witness is bearing True Witness. We are to speak and maintain Truth among all Persons that we hold converse with. This is to utter Things as really they are in themselves and in their own Nature; for so one of the Antients hath well defined Truth: " * To speak Things (saith he) as they are, is Truth: and on the contrary to declare them otherwise than they are, is Falshood or Lying." And as 'tis requisite to Truth, that there be an Agreement between our Words and the Things spoken of, so there must be a Consent and Harmony between our Thoughts and Words, between our Hearts and Tongues. Then we speak Truth, when we speak according to our real Persuasion and Knowledge, when we verily believe what we say. This plain and open speaking without Dissimulation, without any Hypocritical Disguises, is requisite in whatever we Assert or Deny, in all our Oaths, our Promises, our Bargains, our Covenants and Contracts. We must inviolably keep Faith with all sorts of Persons, and stand to what we have engaged to do. As our Words are to agree with our Thoughts, so our Deeds are to be answerable to our Words. This is admirably enlarged upon in a whole *Dissertation* of *Maximus Tyrius*, where he makes it his Business to shew that † Speech and Action ought to go together.

But the Sacred Writings likewise (which are of greatest Authority) shew us the necessity of this Homiletical Virtue of speaking and maintaining Truth. It is part of the Character of a Pious Man, such as is fit to be a Member of the Church Militant, and shall after be admitted to the Church Triumphant; That he speaketh the Truth in his Heart, and backbiteth not with his Tongue, or takes up a Reproach against his Neighbour, which are inconsistent with Truth, *Psal. 15. 2, 3.* Yea, he is such a strict Votary of Truth, that if he hath sworn to his own hurt, he changeth it not, v. 4. The defect of this Duty is bewailed by the Prophet *Hosea*; and because there is no Truth in the Land, but instead of it are to be found Swearing falsely, and Lying; he denounces the severest Judgment of God against that People. On the other side the Prophet *Zachary* tells them, that if they would be freed from those Judgments, and be restored to their pristine State of Happiness, they must speak every Man the Truth to his Neighbour, and execute the Judgment of Truth in the Gates, and none must imagine Evil in their Hearts against their Neighbour, or love any false Oath, ch. 8. v. 16, 17. That is, All Lying and Falshood, whether in common Discourse with their Neighbours, or in Courts of Judgment; whether in plain Affirmations, or in solemn Oaths and Engagements, must be laid aside and abhorred.

That you may not think this is an *Old-Testament* Duty only, or had a Name and Credit among the *Heathens*, and doth not concern us under the *Gospel*: Read *Eph. 4. 25. Wherefore putting away Lying, speak every Man Truth with his Neighbour.* And the Reason which is annexed is this, *For we are Members one of another.* As if he had said, In the Natural Body it is monstrous for one Member to defraud or hurt another: So it is in the Church, for one Christian to Deceive and Lye to another: And so 'tis in a Civil Society or Community, for one Neighbour to withhold the Truth from another. For Truth is necessary for the maintaining of Commerce and Society, and consequently Speech being the Instrument of Converse

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* Τα ὄντα φάσκειν ὡς
ἔχει ἀψευδία, ὡς δ' ἔκ
ἔχει, ψευδῶς. Greg.
Naz. in Iamb.

† ὁμολο-
γίαν εἶναι
δὲ ἔργον
καὶ λόγον.
Diss. 15.

and Intercourse, it must be void of Untruth. It is observable, that the Apostle here infers this Duty of *speaking Truth to our Neighbours*, as a necessary consequent of *putting on the new Man*, which after God is created in *Righteousness and true Holiness*: Wherefore, saith he, You are obliged to do this, it is a Task required of you as you are Christians. Truth is part of the *New Man*, therefore, as we are desirous to have an Evidence of the Reality of our New Birth, we must be careful of our Words; and our Speeches and Actions must accord.

Herein we imitate our Saviour, in whose Mouth there was found no Guile, 1 Pet. 2. 22. Herein we follow the Example of the Apostle, who did not use *Lightness and Inconstancy*, when he had given his Word and Promise in any Matter: He could not endure that with him there should be *Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay*, (i. e. saying and unsaying) 2 Cor. 1. 17. Let us set before us such Patterns as these, and strive to emulate them. Let us in our whole Converse be careful to say and affirm what is really True, and to deny and disown what is False. Let us utter no Words but what flow from our Hearts. Let there be a perfect Harmony between our Minds, our Words, and the Things themselves. This is Truth; this is Veracity.

In Two Cases more especially we should be very careful of speaking what is True; First, In *Religious Matters*; Secondly, When we converse with *Children and Young People*. As to the former, we ought to be very Cautious and Wary that we Offend not with our Mouths. Here we must be sure to observe the Wise Man's Counsel, *Suffer not thy Mouth to cause thy Flesh* (i. e. thy self) *to Sin*, Eccl. 5. 6. Incur not Guilt, and the Divine Displeasure, by falsifying in Religion; but in all Things relating to it, be True and Sincere. The *Gnostics* blam'd the Primitive Christians, for the contrary Practice: And some of the Christians themselves afterwards, in the Time of Persecution, were guilty as to this, for they bought off their Sacrificing to Idols with a Sum of Money given to the Pagan Magistrates, whereupon they received from them a * Note or Certificate for their Security: And when they were question'd, they produced this Discharge under the Officers Hand, that they had offered Incense to Idols, whereas they had not. So when some of those Christians, for fear of Death, delivered up their Bibles to the Persecutors, it is likely that they said some Words which signified their Disliking, if not Condemning of those Sacred Writings: For bare delivering them up, when they were forced to it, was no Crime, and would not have been so severely Censured by the Church, as we read it was. Here was (as in the other Instance) Dissembling and Lying, and in plain Matters of Religion. One among ourselves tells us, That a *Profession with the Tongue is but an External Thing*, and therefore may be dispensed with, if we be required by the Magistrate to deny Christ, or the Christian Religion. A Man may lawfully do it, he saith, in obedience to his Sovereign, because it is not he that in this Case denies Christ before Men, but his Governor, and the Laws of his Countrey. This is Mr. Hobbes's Divinity in his *Leviathan*: But we cannot but see that it runs counter to the Design of Speech in general, which is to utter Truth, and that it makes all Religion an Indifferent Thing, and thereby introduces *Atheism and Prophaness*.

Again, We are to be singularly careful to *Speak Truth to Children*, and those that are of *younger Years*: For by this Means we breed them up to this Virtue, and establish them in it betimes; whereas by speaking Things that are false to them, we train them up to Lying, and hurt them, by an early infecting of their Minds.

An Instance of this we have in a late † Author, who, to bring on a young Child to his Book, takes this Method, (as he confesses himself) namely, *To Discourse in the Boy's hearing, how great a Favour it is to admit him, being a younger Brother, to Breeding, i. e. to Read, for this is more than comes to his share; for younger Brothers may be Ignorant Bumpkins and Clowns if they please*. And then he brags, that he wrought upon the Child by this Cheat or Lye, for it is no other: As if the younger Children of Gentlemen were not to be Taught to Read or Write; and as if the Parents might lawfully suffer them to be Clowns and Ignorant Creatures, by denying them Education. In * another Place, he would have the Parents make their Children believe, that such a Play is a Play of older People, that it is a Game belonging to those above them. And so he advises to nourish False Conceptions and Apprehensions in them betimes, and to Educate them in Lyes and Falshood. These Things certainly cannot be defended; or if he should have undertaken it, he would have made it worse; for we plainly see, and have daily Experience of it, that

* Li-
bellum,
whence
they were
called Li-
bellatici.

† Mr.
Lock, of
Education,
p. 271.

* p. 274.

that Children are prone of themselves to Lye. They do by Nature speak contrary to what they know, and seem to delight in it. Wherefore it is bad in any one (but especially in him that undertook the *Education* of Children) to teach them to Dissemble and Lye, and to bear a part with them in it. He should rather have remembred, that one of the Three Things the *Persians* taught their Children, and brought them up to, was to * *Speak Truth*.

* Αληθί-
ζεις. He-
rodot. l. i.
cap. 136.

Fourthly, This Commandment requires us to preserve and maintain, as much as in us lies, the *Good Name* of our Neighbours. This doth not imply, that we should take no notice of the Faults that are in them, or that we should praise the Bad, and commend those whom we know to be such, and so make no Distinction between Light and Darknes, Good and Evil: But the Duty is, that we seek not out for occasion to speak Ill of others: that as we observe what is Faulty in them, and Reprove them for it; so we take notice of what is really Commendable, and Applaud it. In every Party there is generally something of Good to be learned; wherefore, we should not be backward to commend it. In stead of blasting the Reputation of others, we should consult their Credit, and take off Blemishes from their Names. Instead of attending to Slanders and Detractions, we should endeavour to remove them; instead of spreading False Rumours concerning them, we should strive to clear their Reputation, and to acknowledge the good Esteem they have deservedly purchased among those that know them. And particularly this Commandment requires, that in *Public Judicatures* (if we are called to appear there) we defend our Neighbours Credit, and assert his Just Cause, and wipe off false Accusations and Calumnies. As we are to give Testimony to Truth on all Occasions, so especially when called to it by Lawful Authority: Then we are obliged to bear *Witness* publickly to our Neighbour's Innocence, and to speak of him as the Truth requires.

Fifthly, by Virtue of this Commandment, we are to practise the Duty of not Judging and Censuring of others. We should be willing and ready to think that our Neighbours have some good Qualities and Endowments; and we ought always to Interpret their Words and Actions favourably, and for the best. That we may do this, and not be guilty of rash Censuring and Judging of others, we should be careful to busie ourselves at Home. † We should (as an Excellent Moralist suggests) turn our Curiosity inwards, and there we have Work enough: For we may see plenty of Faults in our own Hearts and Lives. Let us pry into them, and censure our own Ways, and judge ourselves, and then we shall judge others less. If we busy ourselves within Doors, there will be no need of gadding Abroad; this will stop our *Pragmatical Inquisitiveness*. And another effectual way to do it, is to put on Charity; for this covers a Multitude of Sins, by helping us to make the best construction of Men's Actions.

† Μετάστροφον εἶσω
* πολυπραγμοσύνην—
ἔχεις οἶκοι πολλὰν δια-
τειρήν.—πλήθος ἐν-
σὺς ἀμαρτημάτων ἐν τῷ
εἶω. Plutarch περὶ Πο-
λυπραγμοσύνης.

And now I had concluded, if I had not called to Mind, that this Commandment (as well as the foregoing) hath respect to *ourselves*, as well as to others: Because our Dealing with *ourselves*, is the Foundation and Rule of our Behaviour toward others: Therefore, here also is a *Negative* and *Affirmative* Part. It is included and supposed then in this Commandment, that we hurt not *Ourselves* by our Tongues, as is common with unwary Persons: For we oft see *Solomon's* Words verified, *The Lips of a Fool will swallow up himself*, Eccl. 10. 12. It is required that we belye not ourselves, that we be not guilty of Self-Flattery; and on the contrary, that we do not Defame and Reproach ourselves, that in Public Judicatures we wrong not our Name, and make ourselves Guilty, by Self-Accusations, and bearing False Witness against ourselves; that we do not rashly Judge and Censure ourselves, and uncharitably determine concerning our State.

Then *positively*, it is contained in this Commandment, that we procure Good to ourselves by our Words and Speeches, that we deal Truly, Sincerely, and Impartially with ourselves, that we consult not our own Credit and Fame, that we assert and preserve our Good Name, that we vindicate our Reputation when there is occasion, and particularly that in Courts of Judicature we clear and purge ourselves from what is unjustly laid to our Charge: And lastly, That we use due Candor and Charity towards ourselves, when we undertake to examine our Lives, and to pass Sentence on our Actions; for here also we are to bear true Witness toward ourselves.

THE Tenth COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's House, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's Wife, nor his Man-Servant, nor his Maid-Servant, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is thy Neighbour's.

It is Peculiar to this Commandment, to take expresse Notice of our Inward Thoughts, Desires, Inclinations, and Affections, and to regulate them.

HERE, as in all the other Commandments, I am to consider what is *forbidden*, and what is *positively enjoined*. That which is forbidden, is the Evil coveting or desiring of those Things which are particularly specified, namely, another's *House* or Habitation, *his Wife*, his *Servants*, whether Men or Maids, his *Ox*, his *Ass*. But because these, as most necessary, comprehend all other Goods and Possessions, therefore under these Terms *all evil Coveting* is forbid by Virtue of this Commandment. However, to render the Prohibition more plain and expresse, 'tis added, that we must not covet *any thing* that is our Neighbour's. Nothing, be it never so mean, is to be coveted which belongs to another, if it be to his Loss and Detriment. Wherefore 'tis observable that this Commandment is thus briefly expressed by Saviour, *Matth. 10. 19.* * *Defraud not*, take not away, Damnify not: Whence we learn the nature of this Commandment, and what is forbid, *to wit*, a desire to Wrong our Neighbours of what is theirs, and to Enrich ourselves with that which belongs to others. Christ himself made this alteration of the Word in the last Commandment, and knew best the meaning of it: He makes *Coveting* and *Defrauding* the same, because he that Inordinately desires that which is another's, doth it to his Hurt and Wrong.

* μη ἀπο-
στελέσας.

But that which I am chiefly to observe here is this, that this Part of the Decalogue forbids all *Inward Motions* and *Affections* that tend to Sin and Vice. After all the foregoing Prohibitions this is added, *Thou shalt not covet &c.* Thou shalt not Desire and Lust after those Things which belong to thy Neighbour. The Law forbids not only Actual Sin, but the inward Inclinations to it, the desiring and wishing for that which is Unlawful. From the Apstles arguing it appears, that the very Law held this forth, *Rom. 7. 7.* *I had not known Lust*, (saith the Apostle) I had not known it to be so great a Sin as it is, *except the Law had said, Thou shalt not covet*, except I had been convinced from this Commandment that all *Lust* is forbidden, and consequently is Sinful. The true intent of the Moral Law is, that the inward Desires and Inclinations toward that which is Vitious should be restrained. To Wish and Design any thing Hurtful to others is Unlawful, tho' we never outwardly Act what we Wish and Design. *He that deviseth to do Evil, shall be called a Mischievous Person*, *Prov. 24. 8.* He merits that Denomination on the account of those purposes of Mischief which are in his Heart. And as the *Decalogue*, so the *Gospel* declares this Truth. Our Saviour interprets Lascivious Desires to be Lascivious Deeds, *Matth. 5. 28.* And St. John Pronounces *hating of our Brother* to be *Murdering of him*, *1 John 3. 15.* This is the Christian Law, that the inward Fault is to be accounted for; the *Will* alone makes us obnoxious, tho' we proceed no further.

Yea,

Yea, the Wiser sort of Moralists among the *Gentiles* had a clear Sense of this. Not only a Vitious Life, but a *Design* to do Vitious Actions was reckoned Sinful by them. (a) "A Robber is to be reputed Guilty before he pollutes his Hand with Murder and Theft; for he is prepared and armed for that Purpose, and hath a Will and Desire to spoil and kill. His Wickedness is discovered and actually exerted by his outward Exploits, but it doth not begin then." So said *Cleanthes* an Antient Philosopher, as he is quoted by *Seneca*. And *Seneca* himself saith the like in the same Place, (b) A Man (saith he) may be Nocent, tho' he doth not actually hurt any one. All Wickednesses may be said to be perfected and accomplished even before they are, if we have respect to the inward Guilt and Fault. Which is backed by the Great *Roman Pleader*, who tells us, that (c) "As it is a Sin to betray our Country, to abuse our Parents, to rob Temples, which consist in doing something; so it is likewise a Sin to be over-timorous, to give way to immoderate Mourning, to be Lustful, tho' these consist not in doing any thing. And another tells us, that (d) "the bare will to Sin is justly Punished, and that the inward tacit Contrivance of any mischievous and wicked Deed, carries the Fault of the Fact itself with it, and is looked upon as the open Acting of it." Thus there is a General Agreement in this Proposition, that the very Desire or Intention of committing a Vice is Immoral and Vitious; and that the Evil Desires of the Mind render a Man Guilty, tho' he never bring them to Act.

I have spoken of this before, under the *First Commandment*, but then it was under another Consideration and Aspect, that is, chiefly with respect to the Precepts of the *First Table*, which relate to our Duty towards God more immediately. But now it was necessary in the close of the Precepts of the *Second Table*, which regard the Offices that are due from us to our Neighbours, expressly to forbid all inward and mental Desires that tend towards, or any ways promote the commission of those Sins which the foregoing Parts of this *Second Table* disallow of. Here then we see the occasion of this last Commandment: We may discern the Reason why this is added to all the rest of the *Second Table*, namely, because we may be hence assured that undue Appetites, Desires and Intentions relating to our Neighbours, are Unlawful, as well as the outward Acts and perpetration of what is so desired and intended.

Moreover, not only undue Purposes, Intentions, and Desires are Unlawful, and forbidden by this Commandment, but likewise all Evil Thoughts and Imaginations, and the *First Stirrings* and motions of Lust in the Heart, even those that are not accompanied with Assent: Even those are here forbid. For something is forbid here which is not expressly forbid in the other Commandments, but in the Prohibitions in the foregoing Commandments not only the outward Acts, but the vitious Desires and Affections were included, as we gather from Christ's Exposition of them. Therefore this *Tenth Commandment* must contain something more, viz. the inordinate Motions which are without the Actual consent of the Will. Which is further proved from this particular Consideration, that the *Seventh Commandment* forbade Lusting after a Woman, Matth. 5. 28. Or coveting our Neighbour's Wife, therefore this Lusting or Coveting mentioned in the *Last Commandment* must be of another sort; else the Commandments are not sufficiently distinguished one from another. Whence I infer, that the sort of Coveting here meant is not merely the explicit purposing and designing of Evil, and therefore we are to understand by it the Thoughts, Motions and Sallies of the Mind which are without full consent of the Will: These are forbidden here. Which shews yet further the Perfection of the Moral Law, and the Extent of the Prohibitions contained in it. The very inward Propensions and Motions of the Heart are to be accounted for. We Read that the Old degenerate World before the Flood was charged with this, that every imaginativ of the Thoughts of their Hearts was only Evil, and that continually, Gen. 6. 5. This Caveat was given to the Israelites, Beware that there be not a Thought

(a) *Latro est etiam antequam manus inquinat, quia ad occidendum jam armatus est, & habet spoliandi atque interficiendi — voluntatem. Exeretur & aperitur opere nequitia, non incipit. Sen. lib. 5. De Benef. cap. 14.*

(b) *Potest aliquis nocens fieri, quamvis non nocuerit. Omnia scelera etiam ante effectum Operis, quantum Culpa satis est, perfecta sunt.*

(c) *Ut peccatum est patriam prodere, parentes violare, fana depulcrari, quae sunt in effectu: Sic timere, morere, in libidine esse, peccatum est sine effectu. Cic. l. 3. de Finib.*

(d) *Has patitur penas peccandi sola voluntas: Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum, Facti crimen habet. Juv. Sat. 13.*

Thought in thy Wicked Heart, saying, &c. Deut. 15. 9. Solomon tells us, that an Heart that deviseth Wicked imaginations is one of the seven Things that the Lord hates, Prov. 6. 18. And again, the Thoughts of the Wicked are an Abomination to the Lord, Prov. 15. 26. And in another Place he avers, that the Thought of Foolishness is Sin, Prov. 24. 9. And perhaps from this Propensity of the Thoughts to that which is Evil; the Hebrew Words, which signify Thinking, signify also Malice and Wickedness. It is no Wonder then that the Evangelical Writings, which present us with the most exact account of Religion, take Notice of the Evil

* In ipsa cogitatione scilicet inest. Cic. de Officiis l. 3.

+ Zimmah, Mezimah.

of the Thoughts and inward Imaginations. Out of the Heart proceed Evil Thoughts, Matth. 15. 19. And these, with what proceeds from them, are the Things that defile the Man, v. 20. The Apostle St. Peter advises Simon the Sorcerer to Pray God if the Thought of his Heart may be forgiven him, Acts 8. 22. And another Apostle acquaints us, That true Believers (by Virtue of the Weapons which they use in their Christian Warfare) are enabled to cast down imaginations, and bring into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Christ, 2 Cor. 10. 5. Thus we see that there is the Sinfulness and Defilement of the Thoughts, and these we must endeavour to Suppress, with all Lustful Motions, and the first risings of Sin in our Souls, before they are consented to. So that hence we see what are the peculiar Things which this last Commandment Condemns, to wit, the Injuring of our Neighbours in Desire and Imagination. We are forbid not only to entertain any Intentions and Wishes, but any Imaginations and Thoughts tending to the Hurt of others.

Secondly, I come to speak of the Affirmative Part, or the Duties enjoined in this Commandment. Here then we are bid to Act out of an inward Principle of Holiness. All our outward Performances must spring from this, otherwise we are professors but of a Mechanical and Handicraft Religion, if I may so call it: Which at the best is but Material and Artificial, and hath nothing at all within to inform and actuate it. This last Commandment is added to the former, to shew the Perfection of the Moral Law; and at the same time to inform us concerning the extent of our Duty. Tho' the Spiritual and Internal purity of the Heart be implied in all the former Commandments about our Neighbours, yet here it is particularly expressed and set down; that there may be no Dispute or Question about it. The Law doth not only exact of us external Obedience, but internal Sanctity and Purity. And the Gospel doth this much more, it enjoins us not only to Cleanse our Hands, but to Purify our Hearts, Jam. 4. 8. As we must take care of our Lives, so we must expel all vitious Appetites, Lusts, and Desires out of our Minds. We must regulate our Intentions and Purposes, and rectify our Thoughts and Imaginations.

This likewise is required of us in the Affirmative Part of this Commandment, that we desire and wish in our Hearts all Good to our Neighbours; that we be so far from envying their Condition, and coveting what is theirs, that we continually design and aim at their Welfare, and employ our Thoughts and Studies in promoting it, and helping them (according to our Power) to preserve and keep entire to themselves what is their just Right and Possession.

Besides, this is another Part of the Positive Precept, that we be content with what is our own. We are bid here to acquiesce in God's Providence, and to rest satisfied with the Condition he hath placed us in. It is true, Contentedness with our own State may partly be referred to the Eighth Commandment; but it comes in here as the most proper Theme and Duty; and it Originally and Primarily belongs to this Close of the Decalogue. In short then, if we would have the General Summ of both the Negative and Affirmative Part of this Commandment, it is thus comprized in the Apostle's Words, Heb. 13. 5. Let your Conversation be without Covetousness, and be content with such things as ye have. Here is forbidden an Inordinate coveting of what we have not, and a being discontented with what we have: And here we are commanded to covet nothing that is another's, but to rest satisfied with our own Condition. So that I think I shall accomplish the design of this Commandment by treating distinctly of these two, Covetousness and Contentment.

I begin with the former of these. But I am to premise this first, that there is a *Lawful coveting* or *desiring* of the Things of this Life; we may Wish and Pray for such Worldly Goods and Possessions as we stand in need of, and will be serviceable to the great Ends of Charity as well as Necessity. We may with Moderation, and with Submission to the Divine Will, seek after these Things. Every desire therefore of this World's Riches and Wealth is not that *Covetousness* which is here forbidden. And indeed we are not to neglect and refuse the Lawful Means and Opportunities of increasing our Incomes and Estates, because hereby we may do a great deal of Good in the World, and make use of those Gifts of God for the Advancing of his own Honour. On which Account we may without Fault or Blame *desire* these Things.

But there is *another desire* of them which is absolutely Unlawful and Vitious, and that is it which I design now to Discourse of, and is peculiarly known by the Name of *Covetousness*, and is by the Apostle St. John called the *Lust of the Eye*, 1 Ep. 2. 16. Where he reduceth the principal and capital Sins to three Heads, viz. As they respect different Objects, as 1. *Pleasures*, and those he calls the *Lust of the Flesh*. 2. *Wealth* and Riches, and those he calls the *Lust of the Eyes*. 3. *Honour*, and that he styles the *Pride of Life*. That Vice then which by St. John is particularly distinguished from all others by that expression the *Lust of the Eyes* (because the Object of it is Riches and Worldly Possessions, which being seen by the Eyes, are coveted and sought after, and Men chiefly delight themselves in beholding them) that particular Vice I am now to speak of, and I will *First*, shew the Nature of it; *Secondly*, I will discover the *Evil* and *Mischief* of it. *Thirdly*, I will propound the *Remedies* against it.

First, as to the *Nature* of it, it is an *Excessive* and an *Inordinate desire* after those Worldly Goods which we have not, and which it is not fitting we should have.

First, I say, it is an *Excessive desire* after those Things: And this is one main Thing that constitutes the Sin of *Covetousness*, as we may gather from the Description of it in the Sacred Writings. Those that are addicted to it, are said to be *greedy of Gain*, Prov. 1. 19. And *Covetousness* itself is set forth by that *greedy Creature* the *Horse-Leach* with its two Daughters, i. e. its double-forked Tongue where-with it continually sucks Blood, Prov. 30. 15. This Comparison is used to express the *Insatiableness* of those Persons Desires who are given to Avarice. They are eager in their pursuit of Worldly Gain and Profit, and undertake any thing rather than they will fall short of their Temporal Designs. Their Immoderation discovers itself in this, that they stick not at any unlawful and unjust Means to Enrich themselves. *The Instruments of the Churl* (that is, the Covetous) *are evil*, Isaiah 32. 7. All the Ways and Methods he uses are subservient to this Vice. Nothing comes amiss to him; nothing is counted Sordid, nothing Base and Vitious to an Avaritious Mind. Which shews, that his desire of encreasing his Substance is without Measure and Limits.

And again, the Excess of such Men's Desires discovers itself by this, that they are infinitely Sollicitous and Anxious, and even afflict and distract themselves about Worldly Things. So that it may be said of them as of him whom *Valerius Maximus* mentions, * These Men do not possess Riches, but are possessed by them. And lastly, the *Immoderation* which attends the Desires of the Covetous is seen in this, that their Minds are so fixed on their secular Profit, that they neglect their Duty towards God and their Neighbours, and have no leisure to be Religious and mind the Affairs of their Souls, and the indispensable Concerns of another World. *Ever bow thou down their Backs* is God's Curse upon them. They are ever stooping to the Earth, their Souls are bent with Covetousness, and they have no Power to rectify themselves, and to look upwards. This Excessive and Immoderate craving is an inseparable Ingredient of Covetousness, and renders it Sinful and Vitious.

Secondly, As Covetousness is an *Immoderate*, so it is an *Inordinate* and *Irregular desire* of Worldly Goods. For,

1. It is a desire of them as they are *our Neighbours*. That is particularly taken Notice of in the Commandment. And thereby is intimated to us that the Covetous have an evil Eye, and grudge at the Good of others. They are angry that they have not a Monopoly of Worldly Riches, and it grieves them that any one hath a share of them besides themselves. They would be Sole Proprietors and Possessors; by their good

* *Proculdubio hic non possidet divitias, sed à divitiis possessus est.* 1. 9. c. 4.

good Will, their Neighbours should be deprived of the common Elements ; and the Sun should not shine upon them if they could help it. This must needs be very *Irregular*, because it is repugnant to and inconsistent with that Love which they owe to their Brethren. Besides that in Covetousness, not only Self-Love and Envy, but Self-Conceit and Pride are the usual Ingredients. Many of those that are addicted to this Vice, think they deserve more than they have, yea, that they deserve all, and thence it is, that their Desires are so extravagant.

2. The *Inordinacy* of this Avaricious desire of the Things of this World consists in this, that it is a longing after them as the *chief Good*. Riches are desired by the Covetous for themselves wholly, and are reckoned as the greatest Happiness. The having and enjoying the Things of this World are their principal Interest and Concern. They come not short of *Caligula*, who would wallow with his whole Body on Heaps of Gold. *Take thine ease*, said the Rich Hoarder to his Soul, *Luke 12. 19.* He was wholly taken up with his Goods and Possessions, and he could never rise to a higher Pitch than his *Barns and Store-Houses*. And thousands there are that have arrived no further ; they count it their main Felicity to have Plenty of Worldly Goods, and they rest in them. Their Joy and Grief wholly depend on their thriving and growing Rich : So that they are Overwhelmed with Joy when they Prosper, and on the other Side are as much dejected, if they go down the Wind, or if all Things happen not to them according to their Wish. These are the Men that have made the Things of this present Life their chief Good and Happiness, yea, their God, and therefore it is no Wonder that *Covetousness* is Stiled *Idolatry* by the Apostle, *Col. 3. 5.*

3. The *Extravagancy* and *Irregularity* of this Covetous Appetite is plainly seen in the *End* and *Design* which these Persons commonly propound to themselves. They desire Riches and are greedy of Gain, in order to some evil and vicious Purposes. Such a one (in the Prophet *Habbakuk's* Language, *Hab. 2. 9.*) *coveteth an evil Covetousness to his House, that he may set his Nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil, i. e.* That he may make his Riches Administer to Pride, and Oppression and Tyranny. Or, as the Great Apostle speaks, *he makes Provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof, Rom. 13. 14.* Or as another Apostle hath expressed it, *he Lusts, he Desires, he Asks, that he may consume it upon his Lusts, Jam. 4. 3.* That he may make his Worldly incomes Administer to Sin and Wickedness. This, I think, gives us a sufficient account of the *Irregularity* of this Desire. And so I have finished the first Thing I undertook, which was to shew the *Nature* and *Quality* of Covetousness.

In the second Place, I am to display the *Evil* and *Mischief* of this Sin. And this I will do in these two Particulars, by shewing, 1. That Covetousness is the Source of most Sins. 2. That it is the cause of the greatest Punishments and Judgments.

First, Covetousness and the Love of the World are the Source of most Sins in Men's Lives. *They that will be Rich, they that greedily pursue this World's Gain, fall into Temptation and a Snare, and into many foolish and hurtful Lusts, 1 Tim. 6. 9.* There is no kind of Sin almost that you can mention, but it springs from this Root. Covetous Persons break *all the Commandments*. They Sin against the first Commandment by Irreligion and Impiety : For it is plain that Covetousness hinders Men from coming to Religion, as we see in the Story of the young Man in the Gospel : He had been a Profelyte to Christianity, but that *he had much Riches* ; his Love of the World obstructed his embracing the Christian, Faith. And this makes others leave and abandon it : As *St. Paul* tells us of some who out of Covetousness *erred from the Faith, 1 Tim. 6. 10.* And afterwards he gives a particular Instance of this, *2 Epist. 4. 10, Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present World.* There is a sort of Men, who will bid Religion adieu if it be not Advantageous, and they will not entertain a Deity, unless like *Jupiter* he descends upon them in a shower of Gold. How many great *Lights* in the Christian Firmament (that have a great while shone very bright) have been quite Eclipsed by the *interposition* of this *Earth* ? Such a proffer as that which the Devil made, *All these Things will I give thee*, hath utterly Debauched their Minds, and they have not been able to persevere in their Religion, but have most scandalously Apostatized from the Profession of it.

These Men Sin likewise against the *Second Commandment*, by revolting to a *false* and *Idolatrous Worship*, by making their Gold their God, by making their Money and Mammon a Deity, by trusting, relying, and only confiding in their Coyn, and
Worshipping

Worshipping the *Image* and *Superscription* of it. And thus they break both the first Commandments at once.

The inordinate desire of Gain makes Men Sin against the *Third* by *Perjury*, for nothing is more common now among some, than to Swear and Forswear, for the sake of a little Lucre, and thereby to take the *Name of the Lord in vain*, tho' they think 'tis not *in vain*, because they get by it.

The Fourth Commandment is broken by the Covetous; for common Experience testifies that their Secular Affairs hinder them from observing those Times which are set apart for Solemn Devotion, and the public Service of God; or at least they so disturb and distract their Thoughts, that they are not able to offer up a reasonable and acceptable Service unto God. These Persons are such as the Apostle speaks of, who suppose that *Gain is Godliness*, and they resolve to *espouse* no other Religion but what brings a *good Dowry* with it. In short, they turn all Devotion into Interest, and know no Commandment but a Revenue.

Again, Covetousness breaks the whole *Second Table*, as it is an Enemy to Charity and Brotherly Love, which is the Summ and Substance of that Table. More particularly it renders Men guilty of the Violation of the Fifth Commandment, by making Subjects False and Treacherous to their King and Country, Servants Unfaithful to their Masters, Children Undutiful to their Parents, and moving them to enquire into their Age, and reckon their Years, that they may have the greater Hopes of enjoying their Patrimony soon. And sometimes this is the Cause why Princes and Magistrates discharge not their Office aright, but (as the Prophet complains) are *Companions of Thieves*, every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards: they regard not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widow come before them; or if it doth, they can easily put it by, and shift it off. Hence it is that Masters and Parents are neglectful of the Duty which they owe to their Children and Servants, and withhold from them that necessary Maintenance and Provision which is requisite.

To proceed to the next Commandment, how many Murders hath Covetousness produced? Which is thus taken notice of and Condemned by the Wise Man, who speaking of Thieves, makes this a part of their Character, That they lay wait for Blood, and that they make hast to shed Blood, rather than they will lose their Prey, Prov. 1. 11. 15. And he resolves this Cruel and Bloody Spirit into this, that they are greedy of Gain, v. 19. Thus the Covetousness of Ahab occasioned the shedding of Naboth's Blood: And this vile Principle put Judas upon that Treachery, which in the immediate Consequence of it, was Bloody and Fatal. What will you give me (saith this perfidious Wretch to the Jewish Consistory, the Council of the Chief Priests) and I will betray him? Matt. 26. 15. It was Money, and that no very considerable Summ neither, that drew him aside; it was his greediness after this, that prompted him to contrive the Death of his Master: And the same Cause hath had the same dismal effect in innumerable other Instances. To mention but one, The Cruelty of the Spaniards to the poor Indians may be referred to this Head: Tho' they pretended Love to their Souls, and designed their Conversion, yet it is evident that they aimed at their Rich Mines, and that made them Cruel and Savage to them. They took away their Lives, that they might take from them their Gold. They served their Avarice, whilst they pretended to Convert them.

To pass to the Seventh Commandment, How many Adulterous and Unclean Persons are there, who make a Trade of their Sin, and their Lust is their Livelyhood? Whence Fornication, and Uncleanness, and Evil Concupiscence, and Covetousness, are joyned together, Col. 3. 5.

And then, as for the Eighth Commandment, Theft, Stealing, and Couzenage, deceitful Measures, False Weights and Balances, these are the most Genuine Brood of Covetousness: Whence, not unfitly, Thieves and Covetous are coupled together, 1 Cor. 6. 10. And who sees not that Injustice and Oppression which are forbid by this Commandment, are the Fruits of Covetousness? Golden Dust is thrown in the Eyes of Justice, and so she is Blind: Her Sword is countermanded by another Metal: Her Balance is perverted by the Golden Weights that are cast in.

That the Ninth Commandment is violated after the like manner, is most manifest; for we see that Truth is corrupted by Lucre, and False Witnesses are purchased with Money. And then the Last Commandment is broken in the very Letter of it, Thou shalt not Covet, &c.

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Thus

Thus in brief I have shewed, that *Covetousness* is the Original of all Evil; there is scarce any Villany in the World, which doth not commence here first of all. This St. Paul had long since observed, 1 Tim. 6. 10. *The love of Money is the root of all Evil.* There is no Sin, but it will thrive upon such a Root; there is no Vice but this will supply Nourishment to it. But a Good Conscience cannot grow upon it, and nothing that is Virtuous can prosper. *There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous Man; for such a one setteth his own Soul to sale,* Eccl. 10. 9. His Eyes are dazled with the glittering Shew of this World, so that he cannot discern his True Happiness, and he is not able to fix his Eyes on a Better World. This is the pernicious Influence of Avarice, it commonly renders Men insensible of all Goodness, and finally it is the forerunner of Punishment both here and hereafter.

And so I proceed to the *Second Particular*, which will give us a farther Account of the Evil and Mischief of Covetousness, namely, That it is the Source of Punishment (as well as of Sin and Vice). And here I will shew *First*, that this Vice is it's own Punishment. The same Judgment befalls the Covetous that befell *Corah* and his Company, they are *swallowed up of the Earth*; and they cannot recover themselves, and extricate themselves out of this Misery. *The Cares of this World, and the Deceitfulness of Riches* are those * *Thorns* (as our Saviour hath well expressed them) which rend and hurt them without redress. With which agrees that of the Apostle concerning the greedy pursuers of Riches, 1 Tim. 6. 9. *They pierce themselves through with many Sorrows.* They *Pierce themselves on all Sides* (as † the Greek Word imports); they are environed round about with those *Thorns*; every Object administers some Discontent or Sorrow to them. They are oppressed with their *thick Clay*, they are beset with Fears, Cares and Vexations, and they are their own Persecutors and Tormentors. It must needs be so, for whatever their In-

* Non qui parum habet, sed qui plura cupit, pauper est. Sen.

(b) Πενίαν δὲ ἡγή-
τεον ἢ τὸ ἔσθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλάτ-
τω ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔ-
πιπλησίαν πλεῖον. Clem.
Alex. Strom. lib. 2.

(c) ὁ τῆς πένιας δου-
συχέστατος! τί γὰρ ἀν-
ὲν πένεσσει ἀνδρὲς ἐ-
πιθυμῶν δόλωκα. Max. Tyr. Diff. 34.

(d) τὸ φιλαργυ-
ρίας ἴδιον. ἐπιθυμία γὰρ
ἐστὶ μαχομένη πρὸς τὴν ἀν-
τὶς πληρωσιν, &c. Plut.
περὶ φιλοπλησίας.

(e) 2 Cor. 6. 10.

(f) Nec habendi fructu
felix, & cupiditate quaren-
di miserrimus. Val. Max.
1. 9. c. 4.

comes be, they have no Enjoyment of them, and they still labour under an Insatiable Desire of having more. * Not he that hath but little, but he that still craves more, is the Poor Man, saith the Pithy Moralist. Which was *Plato's* Notion before, as we learn from one of the Antient Writers of the Christian Church, who quotes that Philosopher speaking to this purpose, (b) *Poverty is to be thought this, not to have Little, but to be Insatiable.* Whence we hear an Excellent Person uttering this Exclamation, (c) "O, the deplorable Poverty of such a Man! for what can be poorer than that Man who never ceases to desire?" To which I will adjoyn the Suffrage of another admirable Moralist, (d) "This is peculiar (saith he) to the Love of Riches, that this Love is an Enemy to its own Satisfaction: Where- as all other Desires tend to the satisfying of the Persons who desire the Things: As he that desires Meat or Drink, desires it to eat and drink it; but the Covetous Man abstains from his Riches, and makes no use of them: This is a mad and miserable Affection".

This Person is the Reverse of a (e) Good Christian, for *having all Things he possesseth nothing*: Because he hoards up his Treasures, and makes them as useless as in the Mines. As he takes care that his Riches shall do others no good, so he is as careful that they shall do himself none. The Reason is, because (f) he hath no Satisfaction in what he hath, and he is wretched in craving more. This greedy Appetite never suffers him to say, It is enough; *But in the fulness of his sufficiency he is in Straits*, Job. 20. 22. And we are told by another Wise Man, That *He that loveth Silver, shall not be satisfied with Silver, nor he that loveth Abundance with Increase*, Eccl. 5. 10. This is the genuine effect of Covetousness, and this impossibility of being satisfied, is a continual Torment.

Again, These Persons, as they torment themselves, so they are judicially punished by God. Sometimes the Hand of God blasts them immediately, as *Gehazi* was smitten with Leprosy. We read how *Ahab*, for coveting *Naboth's* Vineyard, and his Wife, for accomplishing his covetous Desire, were animadverted on by the Divine Vengeance. We read in the *New-Testament*, what was the Fate of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. Sometimes they are found out by the Magistrate, and made Sacrifices to Justice, as *Achan* with his Golden Wedge. And sometimes thro' the just Judgment of God, Men of Rapine and Violence are permitted to sieze upon them, and spoil them of what they have so fordidly raked together. At other times

times we see that they are abruptly cut off in the career of their covetous Pursuits, and that of the Prophet *Jeremiah* is verified, *ch. 17. v. 11. As the Partridge sitteth on Eggs, and hatcheth them not, so he that getteth Riches and not by Right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a Fool.* Sometimes they are their own Executioners, as the covetous *Judas* was. History tells us of some of these Wretches that dispatched themselves for fear they should Die in Beggary. So that what *Solomon* saith in *Prov. 1. 19. The greediness of Gain takes away the Life of the owners thereof,* is fulfilled in them. And that is found to be true which was said by the Great Master of *Ethics*, * "No Covetousness is without Punishment, altho' itself is Punishment sufficient."

* *Nulla avaritia sine pœnâ est, quamvis satis sit ipsa pœnarum.* Sen.

I may add that their *Heirs* and *Posterity* share in the Punishment. It was *Ge-hazi's* Reward for his Covetousness, that *the Leprosy* should cleave to him, and unto his Seed for ever, *2 Kings 5. 27.* The Manna gathered, and laid up against God's Command, Putrified. In a resembling manner God blasts that Estate which is laid up by diffidence of God's Providence, and by excessive Care and Worldliness.

Lastly, The Covetous are punished in another World: *How hardly shall they that have Riches* (saith our Saviour, which he Interprets presently after of those that trust in them, and over-love them) *enter into the Kingdom of God? It is easier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man* (thus disposed) *to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,* *Mark 10. 23, 25.* Our Saviour makes use here of a Proverb which was frequent (it is likely) in that Country, and in the neighbouring ones, where Camels were much in use, and were very common. When they would express a difficult Thing, they did it by mentioning a Camels going through the Eye of a Needle. Accordingly, saith Christ, a Rich Man, who trusts in his Riches, and loves them immoderately, shall as hardly be saved as you can imagine that lusty Animal, with its bunched Back, may be drawn thro' the narrow Eye of a Needle. As this cannot be done, so there is an utter Impossibility, that those who excessively love the World, should enter into the Kingdom of Glory, and Eternal Happiness. *Pluto* was not unfitly said, by the Antient Gentiles, to be the God of Riches and of Hell: For as Riches are too often gained by Hellish and Wicked Practises, so those that gain them find their Recompense in that place of Torment: And therefore the Rich Man is represented to us in those infernal Flames. To which *St. James* refers, when he tells the Rich and Covetous Men of his Time, that their Riches, their Gold and Silver shall bear witness against them at the last Day, and shall eat their Flesh as it were Fire, *Jam. 5. 3.* That is, they shall produce in them such stinging Thoughts and Reflections, as shall be as great a Torment to them as the everlasting Fire they are cast into. This is the dreadful Issue and Consequence of this vile Sin; and thus we see the Apostle's Words are made good, which he spake concerning those who mind Earthly Things, namely, That their End is Destruction, *Phil. 3. 19.* Which is the same he delivers in another place, where he assures us, That they that will be rich, fall into those Temptations and Lusts which drown Men in Destruction and Perdition, even everlasting Perdition, *1 Tim. 6. 9.* This surely is enough to deter us from this Vice: Wherefore it remains, that we seriously think of this, and forthwith abandon so base an Affection, and so unworthy a Practise, and so Dangerous and Mischievous. It is time therefore now to proceed to

The Third and last Thing I undertook, which was to offer proper Remedies against this Malady, this Excessive and Inordinate desiring of the Things of this World. The general expedient is, That we must study to moderate our Appetites and Affections: We must take pains with ourselves to bring our Souls into a right Temper; for † it is the Mind that causes all the Disturbance in us; wherefore, if this be not duly disposed and qualified, no Condition will please us, and we shall be perpetually craving, and uneasy. There are some Philosophers that tell us of the Soul's Self-contraction, that it hath such a Power that it is able to take up itself, and shrink into less room when it pleases. We are sure that Christianity teaches the Soul to contract itself, i. e. its Desires and Appetites, and tells us how it may be done. Now, he that doth this, he that knows how to correct his Desires, and keep them within Bounds, hath found out the true way to suppress this Sin: For it is not the possessing of much, but the desiring of a little which makes a Man Rich and Happy. Take this for a General Rule, that you ought not to Favour and Indulge any Extravagant Wishes and Wild Desires: And remember that

† *Non in rebus vitium, sed in animo ipso est.* Sen.

* τὰ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα
μᾶλλον χρεία τῆς ψυχῆς
παρελαμβάνειν. Τὸ δὲ
πρὸς δόξαν, ἢ τρυφήν
ἅπαν πειράζεται. Εἰς αὐτὸν.

wholesome Admonition of the Famous Moralist, * [Things serviceable to the Body, as Meat, Drink, Apparel, &c. are so far to be desired as they are useful to the Soul; but we must hanker after nothing that is for Ostentation, or for Luxury; nothing that is Superfluous and Gay.] If the *Masts* be standing, and there be *Sail* and *Tackling* enough to carry us to the Port, it is no matter for *Streamers* and *Top-Gallants*.

The more particular Rules are these.

1. Know and remember this, that Riches and Abundance are commonly indulged to the worst of Men, to the vilest Race of Mortals; and hence you may conclude they are of no great Worth. We may persuade ourselves of this, that *Dogs* should not have the *Children's Bread* given to them. If they were *true Pearls* of great Value, you may be sure they would not be cast to *Swine*. Christ chose Poverty, and left it as a Portion to his Disciples: And the holiest and best Men have been denied the Riches of this World. Let us meditate on this, in order to the disengaging of our Souls from the Love of the World, and a covetous Desire after Wealth and Abundance.

2. Observe the Design of God's afflicting Hand. Remember this, That he sends outward *Crosses* and *Calamities* on purpose to diminish and take away our immoderate longing after these Things. When Persons have drunk the World's *Philtrum*, and are fallen in Love with it, and are pleased with nothing but the full Enjoyment of it, then it seems good to Divine Wisdom to subtract from them the Comforts and Enjoyments of this Life, and to give them a *Bitter Cup* to drink, to cure their excessive Affection to all Worldly Things, and to let them see that there is a Vanity in all Mundane Enjoyments, and it is impossible that our Happiness should consist in them, because they are of so empty and fading a Nature. Love not the World; for God is pleased purposely to wean his Servants from it, by the Imbitterments of this Life.

3. Divert your Worldly Designs by those that are Spiritual. God hath proposed to us in this World better Things than Riches and Worldly Possessions. Mind these Things which are of the highest Nature: *Covet earnestly the best Gifts*: Labour to be *rich towards God*. Be always earnestly seeking and highly valuing the Graces of God's Spirit, Communion with him, and his Love and Favour. Thus cure your Malady by Revulsion. For indeed such is the disposition of the Soul, that it will thirst after something: Wherefore let this Holy Thirst prevent or exclude those other sorts of Thirst which are incident to the Soul, and prove very destructive to it. Where the *hungering* and *thirsting* after *Righteousness* take place, none of these *Unlawful* Appetites and Desires can prevail. So that you see it is necessary for regulating and well ordering of the Life of a Christian, and more particularly for the banishing of Worldly Desires, that he fix his Mind on Divine and Spiritual Objects. And we shall experimentally find, that the desire of the Soul will leave its old Chancel, when it hath a passage made for it another way.

4thly, and lastly, Always carry in your Eye the other World, and then you will be cured of your immoderate Longings after this. Look up to Heaven and contemplate that, and then the Earth will seem to be but a poor shrivelled Point. Often cast your Eyes upwards, and take notice what *There* is, and then you will be ashamed to set your Affection on Things *Below*. View the bright Glories of another Life, and then you will easily wink this dark World into nothing. When *Joseph* sent for *Jacob* into *Egypt*, he desired him to come forthwith, and to neglect the Furniture and Household Stuff he had. *Regard not your stuff, for the good of all the Land of Egypt is yours*, Gen. 45. 20. May not this be applied in a higher Sense? Another Country you are designed for, and travelling to; why do you mind the Stuff here? Why do you immoderately regard it? Leave it rather than it should impede you in your Journey to that Place. You are going to Heavenly Riches, those unspeakable Riches in Reversion. Live then in meditation of that future Life, and prepare for it. *Provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the Heavens, where no Thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth*, Luke 12. 33.

Thus I have propounded the proper Remedies, which you may successfully make use of for the extirpating of Covetousness, and the immoderate Love of the World. And because you can do nothing of this without the Divine Aid and Assistance, forget not to be frequent in Prayer and devout Supplications, making your ardent

Addreses

Addressed to Heaven, in the Language of the Holy Psalmist, *Incline our Hearts to thy Testimonies, and not unto Covetousness*, Psal. 119. 36.

I might offer other Rules and Directions to you, but I defer them till I come to direct you into the way of *Contentment*: For (as it will abundantly appear there) those Considerations and Helps which are serviceable to work up our Minds to *Contentment*, are also very proper and useful for the expelling of all *Covetous* and *Greedy Desires*.

I come then now to that which is the sum of the *Positive Part* of this Commandment, namely, *Contentedness*: And here I am to shew, 1st. The true Nature of it. 2^{dly}. The *Excellency* and *Benefit* of it. 3^{dly}. The Means of attaining it.

First, I will give an account of the true Nature of *Contentedness*. And this we may learn from what hath been said concerning *Covetousness*; for true *Contentment* is opposite to *Covetousness*, and therefore is rightly defined a Cessation of all *Covetous Desires*, and an acquiescing in what we have. *Contentment* therefore denotes these two Things, First, That the desire of what is *absent* is taken off; Secondly, That there is a Satisfaction in what is *present*. For this is certain, that our Ease and Comfort consist in *having* what we desire, and in being *pleased* with what we have. Now then, if a Man *desires* something, and yet *wants* it, or *hath* something, and is not *pleased* with it, he cannot possibly be *Contented*.

Here then is the noble Art of Christianity to take off the Edge of our Appetites, to qualify or to quench our Thirst: And also to make us in love with the present, to bring our Minds to an acquiescence in the Condition that God places us in. This latter is the main and chief thing in *Contentment*, and indeed comprehends the other; for if we quietly and contentedly enjoy the *present*, we shall not enlarge our Desires to Things that are *absent*. This is enjoined us by the Apostle, in *Heb. 13. 5. Be content with such things as ye have, or,*

(a) *with the present things*, for so it should be Translated. Care not for what you cannot have, but peaceably acquiesce in the Portion allotted you by God's Providence: (b) *Be willing that Things should be as they are*. This excellent frame of Mind is called by the Greeks (c)

(a) τοῖς παρῶσιν.
(b) Θέλε γίνεσθαι μόνον
τὰ γιγνόμενα. Epictet.
(c) αὐτάρεκα.
(d) 2 Cor. 9. 8. Phil.
4. 1. 1 Tim. 6. 6.

Self-sufficiency, and the (d) Sacred Writings refuse not the Expression. For tho', it is true, God only in the strict and most proper Sense, is *Self-sufficient*, because he wants nothing, and is in himself infinitely happy; yet in a qualified Sense this may be attributed to every Good Man, because his *Contentment* is not a thing that is without him, but within him, it is not to be found in the World, but in himself, and in his own Conscience. Here he hath *Sufficiency*; he can say, he hath enough, and he need not range abroad and look for more.

This is the Abstract Nature of *Contentedness*; but then we must know, that this (as some others) is not a single Virtue, not a single Grace, but a complicate one; it contains several others in it. Thus *Humility* is an Ingredient of this Grace. He that sits quiet under his present Condition, hath a sight of his own Unworthiness and Sinfulness. The Soul being humbled in its own Thoughts, is brought to an acquiescence in the Divine Management and Providence. But *Pride* makes Men discontented, and causes them to take any thing ill. Must I be served thus? Must I undergo these Obloquies and Reproaches? Must I be reduced to Poverty, and be Mean and Low, whilst others are Exalted. This is the usual Language of Men in such Circumstances, and the Reason is, because they nourish a *Haughty Spirit*. It is their *Pride* that fosters Discontent. But *Humility* produces a contrary Temper, and makes Men willing to stoop and accommodate their Spirits to the present Condition. Thus I have reason to assert, that *Humility* is a part of *Contentedness*, and is an inseparable Ingredient of it.

Again, *Brotherly Love*, *Goodwill* and *Charity*, are the constant Attendants of this Heavenly Grace: For as *Covetousness* includes *Envy*, so *Contentment* implies the contrary; that is, those who are inspired with it, are so far from envying the Enjoyments of others, that they are pleased and delighted with them.

Farther, It were easy to prove, that *Self-Denial* and *Patience* are comprehended in this complex Virtue: For this is the great Mystery of *Contentment*, to renounce our own Wills, and to submit and resign to that of the Almighty. And this fits us to bear any Cross, to undergo any Calamity whatsoever, to blame ourselves and our own Demerits, and not to be displeased with Heaven, and discontented with its Allotments.

Trusting

Trusting in God is also contained in that Contentment which I am speaking of, for it is a signal Act and Exertment of *Faith* to rely on the Providence of God, it is the Work of *Faith* to make us rest satisfied with his Disposal. *This is the Victory that overcomes the World*, this effectually enables us to conquer the Crosses and Troubles of this Life, and so directly leads us to Contentment. Which it likewise doth, as it is the *Evidence of Things not seen*, as it assures us of the invisible Glories above, which we shall in a short time be possessors of.

Moreover, *Chearfulness* and *Thankfulness* are comprehended in this compound Grace. The contented Mind is thankful for the meanest Favours, and comfortably enjoys them. It following the Apostle's Rule, is *careful for nothing*, Phil. 1. 6. But *casts all its Care upon God*. 1 Pet. 5. 7. This is the careless way of Living which a contented Man inures himself to; *he rejoiceth as if he rejoiced not, and he weeps as if he wept not, he buys as if he possessed not, and uses this World as not abusing it*. This is the even Temper; this is the Serenity and composedness of Mind which Contentment blesses a Man with. Hereby he enjoys himself, whatever he wants, and he thanks God, how little soever he hath.

Lastly, Contentment enables us to behave ourselves aright in all States and Conditions whatsoever. What was said of an Antient Philosopher, is most true of a contented Christian,

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res.

He is never out of Humour; all Things become him; in every Condition he knows how to Act his Part. The Apostle hath given us the true Character of him, and exemplified it in himself, Phil. 4. 11, 12. *I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; every where and in all Things I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.* Where we see that Contentment reaches both to Adversity and Prosperity, it teaches us to deport ourselves in a becoming manner in both these Conditions;

* ὡς ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπο-
λαύειν. Antonin.
† παρόντων καὶ ἀπέναν-
των δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι.

which according to the Royal Moralist is * *to abstain and to enjoy*, or, as he otherwise expresses it, † *to enjoy the Things present, and not to want those that are absent*, to know how to make use of Abundance and Plenty, and how to carry it well and laudably in the contrary State; in a Word, in all the Changes of Life, to be Unchangeable and the same.

Thus I have displayed the *Nature* of this Divine Grace, and given you the true Character of it. Which was requisite, because there are so many Mistakes about it. There is a Contentment, such as it is, of the Ignorant, of Fools and Children: There is a Contentment of the Sottish and Stupid, who lay nothing to Heart. There is a Sheepish Contentment, whereby some suffer Injuries and Affronts, and sit down tamely under them, without any Resentments at all. But not to be concerned for what happens, is not the Virtue I speak of. Such a Contentment may arise from a sluggish and narrow Soul. Some are seen to rest satisfied with what they have, and will not put themselves out, and be at Pains to mind their Condition: But this argues a degenerate and low Spirit. There is a *Cynical* Contentment, whereby heretofore some shunned all Pleasures and Riches, and were Enemies to all Worldly Conformities, and hardened their Minds, and Bodies too, against all Hardships, and begg'd of Statues, and inured themselves to Disappointments and Crosses: But this was Affectation and Singularity rather than Contentment. The *Stoics*, not being able to cure the changeableness of Earthly Things, placed their Happiness in contempt of them, and slighted all External Accidents; but this was *Insensibleness* rather than true Contentedness of Mind. The true Christian Contentment is another thing, it proceeds not from Ignorance and Weakness, not from Stupidity and Obstinacy, not from Affectation and Pride, not from Pussillanimity and Dejectedness of Mind; but it is the genuine Product of the Sense we have of our Duty to God and Men, and to ourselves. By Virtue of this, a Christian Man is enabled to behave himself aright in all Circumstances, so that no Estate of Life shall be prejudicial to him, but whatever happens to him shall be entertained without grudging and regret, and his Mind is so framed that he rests satisfied with every thing that God doth.

Secondly, the *Excellency* and *Benefit* of Contentment are to be treated of. This hath been partly done already, for the very Nature and Definition of it, shew it to be Excellent. But I will further make this good from these following Particulars.

First,

First, This must needs be a very Excellent Grace, because it argues a *Brave and Generous Spirit*. * This is a great Mind indeed, that gives itself up to God: But on the contrary, that is a very poor and degenerate one that makes any resistance against him, and thinks ill of his ordering and managing the World, and would rather correct the Divine Providence than himself. This the *Discontented* doth, and therefore he is of a Poor and Base Mind. They are Children, and Sick People that are most Querulous and Craving, and desire and hanker after

all they see, and long for every new Thing; it is a great sign of an Effeminate, Childish and Sickly Soul, to be immoderate and inordinate in its Affections, to be insatiable in its Desires of the Things of this World. But that is a Manly and Hale Temper of Mind that can restrain these Excessive Appetites; that is a generous and noble Frame of Spirit, that can be satisfied with its present Allotment, and is pleased with whatever God doth. This is that Disposition of Soul, which is truly Creditable and Honourable.

Secondly, The excellent Nature of Contentment appears in this, that it is attended with *Pleasure*, as well as Honour. For this, and this only, procures ease of Mind, and renders the Life Pleasant and Delightful. *Solomon* acquaints us, *Prov. 15. 15.* That *all the days of the Afflicted* (that is, the *Discontented*, as is clear from the following Verse) *are evil*, that is, they are sad and doleful: *But he that is of a merry Heart hath a continual Feast*, that is, a Contented Man is as Chearful as if he fared Deliciously every Day. For he hath that in him that turns all sad Occurrences into Joy, and makes the bitterest Things sweet. He hath that which carries him through all rough ways, and makes them smooth and even. He bears that in his Breast which makes it fair Weather always. But the *Discontented* are not so, but continually molest and disturb themselves, and are their own Tormentors. For Pride, Impatience, Unthankfulness, and distrust of God, breed Disquietude in their Minds: And it is impossible they should be quiet as long as they affront their Maker, and fight against Heaven, and quarrel with Providence, and find fault with the Order and Make of the World. This must needs create a very uneasy and unpleasant Life.

Thirdly, The great advantage and Benefit of this contrary Grace is, that it is not only Pleasurable, but Profitable. *Godliness with Contentment* (that is, Godliness, which makes the Mind contented in all Conditions) *is great Gain*, 1 Tim. 6. 6. He that is contented, is Rich, yea, even in the midst of (a) Poverty. *I know thy Works*, saith Christ to the Church of Smyrna, Rev. 2. 9. *And Tribulation and Poverty: But thou art Rich*. That is, thou art contented, which is all Riches. Or if you can think of any thing else besides Honour, Pleasures and Riches, it is entailed upon the Contented Mind. *All things are yours*, saith the Apostle, 1 Cor. 3. 21. To which was conformable the

of Old, (b) *All things are a Wise Man's*. Which cannot be otherwise, because Contentment is *All* to a Wise and Good Man. They tell us of the *Indian Nut-tree*, which affords almost all Necessaries belonging to Man's Life. It supplies the Inhabitants of the Country with Food, Drink, Raiment, and with Materials for building their Houses, and there is scarce any thing useful in the Life of Man, but it some way or other helps them to. *Contentment* is this, and much more: Contentment is this, and whatever else you please. Contentment doth all, suffers all, commands all. There is no Necessity, but it supplies; there is no Evil but it teaches us to evade; there is no Good, but it is Serviceable to put us into the Possession of, or however into the Fruition and Enjoyment of it, which is better than Possession. But even this *Enjoyment* is reckoned to be *Possession* by the foresaid Inspired Writer, 2 Cor. 6. 10. *As having nothing, yet possessing all things*. This is a strange Mystery, an amazing Riddle, a seeming Contradiction. When God's Servants are deprived of all Things, yet still they are in Possession of them. When they have nothing, they have all, that is, by Virtue of this Divine Art of Contentment. And this way of *Possession* is the surest of all, because it cannot be indamaged. A contented Mind is impregnable. We are Rich with a Treasure, that none but ourselves can Rob us of.

Fourthly and Lastly, To sum up all in a Word, Contentment makes us *Happy*. For, that a Man may be Happy, it is absolutely requisite that Things be conformed to his Will, or his Will to the Things. Now, he that hath arrived to the Art of Contentment must needs be *Happy*, because his Will and the Things he Converfes with exactly suit with one another. He Wills and Desires that which he hath; he Wills not,

* *Hic est magnus animus qui se Deo tradit. at contra ille pusillus ac degener, qui obliuiscitur, & de ordine mundi malè existimat, & emendare mavult Deos quàm se. Sen. Ep. 108.*

(a) *Cui cum paupertate bene convenit, dives est. Sen.*

All things are Stoics Maxim

(b) *ἅψ σοφῶν πάντα ἔχει. Laert. in Zenone.*

not, he Desires not, that which he hath not. This makes him Happy, because he is perfectly at ease, when he hath all that he *would have*, and he would not have any thing that he *hath not*: Whereas the discontented Man is Miserable, because he hath not what he would, and longs after something that he hath not. To conclude, the High-flown Chymists and Rosy-crucians talk of a *Caelum Terra*, which is of an admirable Virtue, and cures all Diseases. I question not, but that which I have been speaking of is the greater Reality, and is indeed the *Heaven* of this *Earth*, because it is that which makes us truly *Happy*. And this, by the way, we may be assured of, that a Contented Man hath *two Heavens*, one here in his own *Breast*, the other in *Abraham's Bosom*.

The *Third* thing (which is the main, and on which I shall most enlarge) is to shew what are the *Proper Means* of attaining this excellent Grace of *Contentedness*. Here I will propound these following Directions.

First, In order to Contentment it is necessary that we understand aright the true Nature and Disposition of the Things of this World, that we form right Conceptions concerning them. Indeed, this very thing, namely, the ordering and rectifying the Apprehensions, was the chief Thing which the most improved Masters of Morality of Old employed themselves in: For they used to say, what we think Things to be, such they prove to us. We apprehend such and such Things to be evil and hurtful, and so they are in effect to us: Our Troubles generally commence upon false Apprehensions. Therefore here they laid the Foundation of all true Learning, and made it their Work to Represent Men with right Ideas of Things; and to Correct the Thoughts and Sentiments of the World. Here also we must begin in the *Christian Institution*, in the Religion of Christ Jesus: we must be careful to inform our selves aright, to stock ourselves with true Principles and Notions, and particularly concerning the Things of this World, as Riches, Honour, &c. This being the leading Direction, and of such vast Influence, I will insist the longer upon it. Indeed it is such, that if it was thoroughly practised, this alone would root up all our greedy Desires and Longings after the World, and Plant in their stead, a lasting Contentment. We must, I say, study the *Nature* and *Quality* of these Things which are so much coveted and desired by Worldly Men.

In the first Place, we must know, that they are in their own Nature indifferent. For there are these three Classes or Ranks of Things, (a) Some are really *Good*, as Virtue and Holiness, and the Things pertaining to them: Others are really *Evil*, as all Sin and Vice, and what belongs to them. But there is a third sort of Things that are *indifferent*, as Riches, Possessions, Honours, Worldly Pleasures, and all the Things appertaining to this Sensual Life. Now, when we come to ponder this, that these Things are not simply Good or Evil in themselves, that they are of an indifferent Nature, we also shall be indifferent towards them, we shall not covet them when they are absent, and we shall not doat upon them when we have them, for there is no-

thing but what is really *Good* or *Evil* that excites in Rational Persons an *Appetition* or *Aversion*. Acquaint thy self then with this great and useful Truth, and so (as

an excellent Writer incomparably speaks) (b) "Thou shalt be contented when thou comest to know what is really Good and what is Evil. Thou shalt live Splendidly, and almost Riot in Poverty, and thou shalt be a Prince in Penury. Thou shalt take as much Pleasure in a private Life, as in Empire and Magistracy. By the help of this Philosophy, thou shalt never live Unpleasantly; but thou shalt have the Skill to live Delightfully every where, and in every State of Life." Wealth and Riches are but of the Number of those Things that are indifferent: They are not really Good, and so not the proper Objects of our Desires and Choice. Consider this, and be Content.

There is another *Distinction* of Things which some of the Antient Philosophers used to make, namely, That (c) *some of them are in our Power, and others are not*. Of the former sort are Virtue and Good-

ness, the Motions of the Soul, Understanding, Will, and Affections: These are said to be in our Power, because we receive them not from others, nor can they be taken from us by others; and because they are within us, and are the free Acts of our Mind, and cannot be forced. Of the former sort are our Bodies and the Things that

(a) τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν εἰσὶν ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ' ἀδιάφορα. Ἀγαθὰ μὲν εἰν αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα αὐτῶν. Κακά δὲ κακίαι καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα κακίας. Ἀδιάφορα δὲ, τὰ μετὰ τῶν τετῶν, πλῆθος, υἱότητα, ζῶν, θάνατος, ἡδονή, πό- νος. Arr. in Epictet.

(b) Ἀυτάρκης ἔστι ἐὰν μάθῃς τί τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἴη. τρυφήσεις ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ βασιλεύσεις, καὶ ἡ πρᾶγμα εἶον καὶ ἰδιώτην ἐδὲν ἡττον ἀγαπήσεις ἢ ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ. καὶ βίωσιν φιλοσοφῶντας ἀνδρῶς, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ζῆν ἡδέως μαθήσῃ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων. Plut. de Virt. & Vitio.

(c) τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Epictet.

that belong to them, as Health, Riches, Honour, and the like. These are said to be *not in our Power*, because they are wholly external, and not properly ours, or under the Sway and Government of our Minds, but they depend upon what is without us, upon Persons and Things that are not in our Power. Now, if we well mind this Distinction, we shall be able to bring our Minds to a quiet and sedate State in all Conditions of Life. For whatsoever is *not in our Power*, ought not to cause Grief and Trouble in us. If it be placed beyond our reach, it is no Fault of ours that we have it not: And if it be no Fault, it is no Matter of Grief and Trouble, and consequently we ought not to be Discontented. And as for the other Things which are *in our Power*, that is, are wholly within us, and are our free Acts, none can deprive us of them, none can hinder us in the exerting of them, we may be Good and Virtuous, and Holy in spite of all the World; and consequently it is impossible we should be Miserable, and therefore here is no Ground for Discontentment. Let us then understand the *true Nature of Things*, and make the limits of our Power the bounds of our Wills: Let us *Crave* nothing but what is within the verge of our Power to attain, and be *Averse* to nothing but what is in our Power to avoid, and so we shall never be frustrated in our Desires: Which is the direct way to Contentment.

Again, let us consider, that by the Appointment of Heaven it is so ordered and disposed that *every Condition of Life* hath some Inconvenience attending it, some troublesome Circumstances and Appendages. There is always one thing or other that *quashes* our Hopes of an entire and undisturbed Enjoyment. Sicknes and Pain are known to be very unwelcome Companions, but it is as true that Health and Ease betray Men to Luxury and too great indulgencies, and these introduce those other unacceptable Guests. Poverty is a grievous Malady, but Wealth abused is a more unsufferable one. Deformity is reckoned a great Evil, but to be a Beauty is a double one; for this is a Temptation to the possessor of it to be Proud, and to the Spectator to be Unchaste.

I might observe, that there is no *Place* that is Privileged from uneasy Circumstances. If we stay at Home, we lose the benefit of Foreign Conversation; if we Travel, we make ourselves obnoxious both to the Dangers and Vices that are abroad. If we make the City our Station, we shut up ourselves in a great Prison, and when we would sometimes give ourselves Liberty, the Noisome Suburbs, as we go out and come in, make that Diversion unpleasant. But if we betake ourselves wholly to the Country, then we are followed with greater Inconveniences, the Winter's clogging Dirt, and the Summer's flying Dust. Our Prospect is hindred as well as blemished by Thatched and Ragged Tenements, and our Sleep is disturbed by the too officious Barkings of the over-wakeful Animals. In the Country we complain of too wide and rambling Fields, in the City of too narrow Streets and Lanes. In the former the Air is too bleak, and the Winds blow too freely; in the latter they are both pent up too close. In the one there is too little Civility and Manners, in the other there is too much Dissembling and Flattery. That hath too much Clownishness, and this hath too many Complements. There they are troubled too much with Beasts, and here with too great a Crowd of Brutish Men. Thus every thing hath its appendant Trouble. And (which is most to be deplored) the Trouble far exceeds the Ease. If we could have but an *Equinox*, we should think our Climate happy; but Alas, our Nights are far longer than our Days, our dark Part surmounts our light one. This is the common Lottery of this World, that for one Prize there are above a hundred Blanks. Let us consider, that it cannot be otherwise, for the *state and posture of Things in the World* will not bear it: Wherefore we ought to be contented with our present State.

In pursuance of this Head, we may particularly inform ourselves concerning the *uncertainty of these Things* which Men so eagerly desire. *Wilt thou set thine Eye upon that which is not? For Riches certainly make themselves Wings, they fly away as an Eagle toward Heaven, Prov. 23. 5.* The Things of this Life are like wandring Birds, which light on the Bough of a Tree, and there Chirp and make us Musick, but soon take the Wing and are gone. A great devouring Fire, an unusual Storm and Tempest, a great Mortality or Pestilence, a foreign Foe, or a Domestick and Civil War, have reduced Thousands and ten Thousands to Penury, who were before Rich and Wealthy, and enjoyed the World at Will. This may give us a short hint of the *Uncertainty* of this World, and of the Truth of what Zophar long since delivered,

H h h h

that

that *Men's Goods shall flow away in the day of God's Wrath*, Job. 20. 28. We are Tenants at the Will of our great Landlord, we may be dis-lodged, we may be ejected when he pleases. We are Pilgrims and Strangers here, we are upon our Journey to another World, which is our true Home and Habitation. Wherefore let us think how great a folly it is For Strangers and Travellers to be much in Love with the Furniture and Accommodations which they meet with on the Road, and which they must presently leave. Let us think of this, and never more be discontented.

Nay, we are to know and consider, that these Things which we so much desire, may be our *Bane*. The *Israelites* died with Manna in their Mouths; Thousands perish every day whilst they enjoy all Worldly Delights and Possessions. Their Prosperity ruins them. Too large a Sail sinks their Vessel. They labour with nothing more than their own Greatness and Felicity. In the Sense of this the Wise-Man declares, that it is better to go to the House of Mourning, than to the House of Feasting, Eccl. 7. 2. For we are more prone to be Corrupted by Prosperity than Adversity, and oftentimes we stand in greater need of Want than Supplies. Hence those have been pronounced

* Nihil mihi videtur eo infelicius, cui nihil unquam evenit adversi. Sen.

† Μέτερον τι τέτοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλάττωμα. Plutarch.

Unhappy and Wretched, who have met with no allays of ill Accidents. It is a known Passage, that when Philip King of Macedonia received three joyful Messages at one time, he cried out for some dash of Misfortune; † *Compensate these Things*, saith he, with some moderate Damage. And we may observe, that good Men have been sometimes afraid that they have been indulged with too great a Share of the Things of this World. They are loth to be of the Number of those who have their Portion in this Life. Luther complained, when the E-

lector gave him a New Gown, that he was made too much of. And he began to put in his Protestation to Heaven, that he would not be put off so. It is some greater Thing that every Pious Soul breaths after, and in the Enjoyment of which, it can well want all Things besides; especially when it considers, that these Things are too often instrumental to Vice, and prove the greatest Evils. Our Wealth may administer to Oppression and Covetousness; our Pleasures to Riot and a dissolute Life; our Honours to Pride and a disdain of Afflicted Virtue: And all of them may hinder us (too often they do) from sober and retired Thoughts; from Zeal for God and his Church, and from a serious Consideration of Death and Judgment.

Thus learn to frame true Notions of Things, and then be Discontented if you can. Sit down Seriously, and reflect on the Nature of Things, but do not go about to change the Nature of them; rather change those false Opinions which you formerly had of them: For they were these that raised in you Perturbation of Mind, and caused you to be dissatisfied with your Condition. Your * Unskilfulness and Ignorance, your being unacquainted with the Nature of those

* ἡ ψυχὴν τὰ λυπεύουσα καὶ ταπεινὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐστίν, ἀπειρία πραγμάτων, ἀλογισία, ἡ μὴ δυνάμει μὴ ἐπίστασι χρεῶν τοῖς παρῆσιν ὀρθῶς. Plut. de Anim. Tranq.

Things I have been speaking of, was that (as the Greek Moralist observes) which harrassed your Minds, and nourished Discontent there. Therefore this is the first Thing I offer by way of Remedy against this Evil, that we strive to form true Ideas of the Things of this World.

Secondly, Let us consider how little will suffice us, and how unnecessary the Abundance of the Things of this World is. We desire many Things merely because they are forbid us, not because we want them.

We make a great many Needs to ourselves by our own wanton Appetites. Cardan hath a pretty Passage to this purpose (in his fifth Book of Consolation) viz. That there was a Citizen of Milan who had arrived to threescore Years of Age, and yet all that time had never so much as stirred out of the City. When the Prince had Notice of it, he ordered this Person, who kept up so long within the Walls, never to set his Foot beyond them for the future. All the while he was not forbidden to go abroad, he kept within the City out of Choice, and never found an Inclination to move out; but being once forbidden, the Man was impatient of gadding; and (if you will believe my Author) he even Died of Grief and Discontent, that he was under that Prohibition and Restraint. And in other ways we make Needs to ourselves, namely, by an Ungovernable Fancy, by Ambition, and Vain-Glory, by Luxury, and Voluptuousness. But the way to suppress these needless Desires, is not to gratify them: For if we be Exorbitant and Excessive in our Desires, and continue so, a Discovery and Possession of a Third Indies will not satisfy us, and fix a Non Ultra to our Desires. But the most compendious and the surest Course is to substract and lessen the Fuel of these extravagant Appetites. As in a Violent Fever, the Thirst

Thirst is not taken away by giving *Drink*, but by letting *Blood*, which fomented the Thirst, but Drink increases the Man's Thirst, because it increases the *Fever*: So the way to quell our Inordinate Desires is, not to grant them the *Objects* which we as it were thirst after, but the Cure must be wrought by *Subtracting* them.

And this may be done with ease: For if we consult the Laws and Orders of Nature, we shall find, that we want but a few Things, and that a little will suffice us. This was our Saviour's Doctrine, as we learn from that admirable Aphorism, *Luke 12. 15. A Man's Life consists not in the Abundance of the Things which he Possesseth.* Neither the continuance of Life, nor the ease and comfort of it depends upon having more than we need, or more than we use, and that is but a little. Accordingly observe the narrow Bounds of that Holy Patriarch's Desire, *Gen. 28. 20. Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on.* And this Request was not Peremptory and Absolute, but with Submission to the good Will and Pleasure of God, *if God will.* This was the Excellent Philosophy of the Apostles and Primitive Saints, as one of the chief of them tells us; There is a sort of Men (saith he) who are of corrupt Minds and destitute of the Truth, these suppose that Gain is Godliness, (that Worldly Profit is the only Religion they should look after :) from such withdraw thy self (saith he;) but know this, that Godliness with Contentment is great Gain. For we brought nothing into this World, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. Therefore having Food and Raiment, let us be therewith content, *1 Tim. 6. 5, &c.* That is, the competent Means of Living, the Necessaries and Conveniences of this Temporal Life, which are but few (Summed up here in Food and Raiment) may suffice us, and we may very well be content with them.

Which Divine Doctrine was embraced by all the Wise and Understanding Part of the World, even among the Pagans. They give their Suffrage to this, that (a) Nature desires but little, tho' Fancy and Opinion are extravagant in their Sallyings forth. And that Rule of Hippocrates is true in Morals as well as Physics; (b) Nothing is good which exceeds Nature: And that other, (c) What is Immoderate and Excessive, is an Enemy to Nature. So we see how easily Happy a Good Man is, who is contented with a few Things and Cheap. His Wealth bears a Moderate Rate, it is well Proportioned, and doth not take up too much room. Whence we are told, that Socrates, at a great Shew where there was a vast deal of Gold and Silver exposed, cried, What abundance of Things are here, which I do not stand in need of! Yea, he that Writ his Life acquaints us that this was a Saying of his, (d) He is nearest a-kin to the Divine Being, who wants the fewest Things. Let us consider this, and then our greedy Appetites will be abated. Let us bring ourselves to this, to believe and be satisfied, that we do not stand in need of such and such Things. For, as (e) Arrianus rightly saith, If we have this Apprehension that we want not Riches, we have more than the Richest Man. With whom concurs one of the Learnedst Writers of the Christian Church, (f) Not to have Riches, saith he, but not to want them, is the greatest Riches. Wherefore a Man should never greedily crave that which he can live without, but be pleased with a Moderate Allowance, for this will suffice a Wise Man.

Thirdly, Another effectual Way to procure Contentment is, to make a Balance, and indifferently to poize both your Crosses and your Blessings. If you will take the Pains to lay the latter in one Scale, as well as the former in another, you will make them even, tho' one seemed to you to be weightier than the other. We see in Natural Things, that where there is a Defect, there is also at the same time a Compensation. The Mountains are generally barren, but yet they yield the Richest Mines. Tho' they abound not with Plants and Fruit, they bring forth that which is better. Egypt hath few Clouds, and consequently very little Rain, as in other Countries: But Nile supplies that Defect. The Inhabitants need not complain of the want of Showers, as long as that River fails them not. (g) Men are not Armed as Beasts are, with sharp Teeth and Fangs, with hurtful Nails and Claws, but God hath made them Reasonable and Sociable Creatures, and these two Qualities are as Serviceable and Effectual, as if they had been Born with all sorts of Weapons. Here, we see, is a Compensation, here one thing makes amends for another.

dumque facerent, scilicet, Rationem & Societatem. Sen. l. 4. de Benef. c. 18.

H h h h 2

V O L. II.

Have

(a) *Exiguum desiderat natura, immensum opinio. Sen. Ep. 16.*

(b) *Οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἔστι, τὸ ἄν μᾶλλον ἢ φύσει ἦ. Aph. l. 2.*

(c) *Πᾶν τὸ πολὺ τῇ φύσει πολέμιον. Ibid.*

(d) *ἐλαχίστων δεόμενος, ἔγχεα εἶναι θεῶν. Laert. in Socr.*

(e) *In Epist. cap. 9.*

(f) *ὃ ἂν πλεονέχων ἔχων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δεῖν πλεονέχων εἶναι μέγιστον. Idor. Pelus. Ep. l. 5.*

(g) *Hominem non unguit vis, nec dentium, terribilem ceteris fecit; nudum & infirmum bona Societas munit. Duas enim res dedit ei Deus, quae ceteris obnoxium vali-*

Have you never heard, that the Wind and Tempest which battered the Vessel and tore its Sails, drove it at last to the desired Haven? *Valerius Maximus* tells us of one in a *Tyrian Ship*, who was struck into the Sea by a Wave on one side, and presently another Wave on the other side of the Ship hoisted him up into it. So with respect to those Things which we are now speaking of, there is an Allowance, a Recompense, an abundant Requital. Whenever there is any Loss or Adverse Event, there is constantly some Compensation goes along with it: At least, if we rightly and skillfully improve the Adverse Accident, for thereby we may turn Blanks into Prizes. We are told, that when *Zeno* had suffered Ship-wrack and lost all, he took a fair occasion thence to leave his Adventures of a Merchant, and to turn Student, and to tack about to Philosophy; and he became a very Eminent Man in that way, and hath left a great Name behind him. There is the like happy Issue of such Occurrences to all Persons that endeavour to make improvement of them. There is always an *Equivalent* granted in such Cases. There is never any thing taken from us, but we may find, that there is some supply made for it; or else there is something yet left behind that may make us forget our Loss.

Wherefore under this Head let me advise you, instead of reckoning up what you *have not*, to consider what you have; and this will lead you to Contentment. You can never sufficiently thank God for letting you enjoy the Use of your Hands, your Feet, your Eyes, your Tongue; for these are much greater Things than any you can name, that you are destitute of. Consider, that you have your Liberty, which is an unspeakable Blessing; that you are Provided for daily with a sufficient Portion of Meat and Drink; that you have not only necessary Food, but Raiment; that you have an Habitation to shelter you from the Injury of the Weather. Consider likewise, that if we labour under some particular Grievance, yet God generally continues to us some Blessing which makes amends for it. Thus perhaps you are pinched with Poverty and Scarcity, but at the same time you may be upheld under this Affliction, by the consideration of these good Things which you have still the Fruition of, namely, the enjoyment of that little which God hath left you, with Peace and Quietness; likewise the Love and Indearments of your near Relations, together with a Sound and Healthful Body, which is the greatest outward Temporal Blessing that God can bestow, or you receive. When we are in Health, we seldom reckon it to be so; but when we lie under Bodily Pains and Languors, we are of another Persuasion. Set then your *Health* against your *Poverty*, and know, that some Wealthy Persons would purchase the former, tho' they had the latter into the Bargain. Or perhaps you are Afflicted with an Unhealthful State of Body, with frequent Languishments and Sickness, with Pain and Torture: But then you may be supported under this Grievance, by reflecting on those considerable Mercies which God hath not deprived you of, as a competent Allowance of the other Good Things of this Life, the help of Physicians, many obliging Friends and Relations, a Good Name, &c. Thus it seems good to the Divine Providence to bestow on Persons some outward Enjoyment and Benefit; the Possession of which doth in some Measure Compensate their present Sorrows and Troubles.

Again, consider *how many Evils befall others*, which you Labour not under, but are Mercifully freed from. Think of the Sick and Diseased, who live in continual Pain and Dolour, and fill all Ears with Groans and Lamentations. Think of those who are shut up in Prison, and are under duance and restraint. Think of those poor Creatures who are pined with Hunger and Thirst. Some are Blind, and live in uncomfortable Darkness. Others are Deformed and Maimed, or have not the Use of their Limbs. Some have the Use of their Reason taken from them, and Rave and are Distracted. How many are Unhappy in their Ungodly and Lewd Children, and how many are bereaved of their Good and Dutiful ones? I speak this to those that Labour under none of these Evils, and I call upon them to be Contented and Thankful, tho' they have not escaped all other Afflictions. Let them consider how many Good Things they enjoy, which Thousands want, and beg with all Earnestness and Passion. Thus let them compare their State with that of others, and thence learn to be satisfied with their own. They ought to rejoyce, and thank God, that so many Blessings are remaining, and not to Murmur and Repine that some are taken away. I will conclude this Head with that Excellent decision of the Greek

* Μανικόν γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἀντι- Moralist * "It is a mad thing to be troubled and discontented for what is lost, and not to be glad and comforted for what is left us. αἶψα, μὴ χαίρειν δὲ σωζομένοις. Plut. de animi tranquill.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, In order to Contentedness it is requisite that we be not solicitous about the future. Our present Ease depends much on our Behaviour as to the future. Therefore here we are to regulate ourselves; and to take care that we be not inquisitive and anxious about the Events that are to come. *Better is the sight of the Eyes, than the wandring of the Desire*, saith Solomon, Eccl. 6. 9. 'Tis better to enjoy the good Things that are present, and before our Eyes, than to follow after future and uncertain Objects with vain Enquiries and Wishes: For *this walking of the Soul*, (as the Hebrew in this Text elegantly hath it) this ranging of our Minds, will certainly create us Trouble and Dissatisfaction. Wherefore let us confine ourselves to the present, and thankfully enjoy that, and not trouble our Thoughts with what shall befall us hereafter. This is our Saviour's Advice, and often repeated, *Take no thought for your Life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or what ye shall put on*, Matt. 6. 25. And so again, v. 31. *Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or wherewithall shall we be clothed?* And again, v. 34. *Take no thought for the morrow, to which he adjoins this double Reason, first, For the morrow shall take care for the things of itself, that is, when the future comes, it will bring its Necessaries along with it, as well as the time past and present have already done. Secondly, Sufficient unto the day is the Evil thereof; that is, the present time is sufficiently clogged with Care and Trouble, and you need not load it with what belongs to the Time to come.*

This very Doctrine, which our Lord so inculcates, is found among the Hebrew Masters, and (a) Proverbially delivered by them in the very same manner; and thence they advance their Exhortations to Contentedness of Mind. And the Greek Moralists are very copious on this Theme, and advise us in order to our Quiet and Satisfaction of Mind, (b) not to embarrass our Thoughts with too much Business, and especially (c) not to trouble our Heads about future Events. And one of the Latins most bravely utters his Mind thus, (d) "He is the most Happy Man, and safely possesses and enjoys himself, who, without Anxiety and immoderate Care, expects what is to come".

(a) *לענין נפש*
 סוף. *Sufficit diei Vexatio sua. Berachot.*
 (b) *ὀλίγα πρῆσσε εἰ μέλλεις εὐθυμῆσαι.* M. Antonin.
 (c) *Τὰ μέλλοντα μὴ ταράσσειν.* Arrian.
 (d) *Ille beatissimus est, & securus sui possessor, qui castinum sine sollicitudine expectat.* Senec.

On the contrary, that Man makes himself very Unhappy and Miserable, who is continually representing to himself all the Evils and cross Accidents that may befall him: For after this rate we shall never have done, but shall be always tormenting ourselves, if we look abroad for sad Objects, and Love to entertain ourselves with Evil Occurrences that are at a distance from us; for these may be innumerable for ought we know. It will be Work enough to Grieve and Trouble ourselves about them when they are come; but let us not do this before the Time: Nay, perhaps those Evils that we think we foresee, may never come; and then we put ourselves to a great deal of Trouble and Torment to no purpose, and without any occasion. Wherefore, 'tis reasonable to lay aside all unnecessary Care and Trouble about futurity, and to acquiesce in the Condition we are in, and to think (e) that which is present is ever best.

Virgil makes Aeneas stop his Journey, and take another to the Shades below, to be acquainted with his future State, and the Success of his Family in After-Ages. But in my Mind the Poet (who could have made his Hero do what he pleased) had better have kept him still on his Journey, and employ'd him in brave and worthy Actions, and not have biassed his Virtue, by giving him a prospect of his future Fortunes: Besides that, the prying into the Events of Posterity favours too much of Fondness and Curiosity, Sollicitude and Dissatisfaction, which are no Qualities that can be thought to be commendable in a Brave Person. But certainly the Christian Man will not trouble and distract himself with the Future: He will not Torture his Mind with Anxious Thoughts of to Morrow; because he knows that this is inconsistent with a contented Disposition of Mind.

Fifthly, To cherish and preserve in him this Excellent Frame of Spirit, he strives to learn the Art and Skill of making the best of all that happens to him. This is a very useful and necessary Art, and we cannot well live without it.

(f) When the Thing that happens is not as we would have it, yet we must make it some way Good and Advantageous to us. To which purpose we are to know, that every thing hath two Handles, one by which you may hold it well, another by which you cannot.

(e) *τὸ δὲ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀρεῖον αἰεὶ χεῖμα πᾶν.* Pind. Isthm. od. 8.
 (f) *Si illud quod maxime opus est, jactu non cadit, Illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.* Terent.

Now,

Now, our Care must be to take every thing by the right Handle, or to make the Handle right by Art and Industry. This is something hard to do, especially at first; therefore there must be great Application and Care; and if we seriously give our Minds to it, we shall be able one way or other to divert the greatest Crosses, and handsomely to qualify, if not to evade the worst of Evils that come to be our Portion. *Suetonius* relating *Julius Caesar's* Expedition into *Africa*, tells us, That when he was coming out of the Ship, he fell down, which he turned into a lucky Accident, and said, *I lay hold on thee Africa*. It is said of *William*, surnamed the Conqueror, that when he Landed in *England*, his Foot slipt, and he came to the Ground: But he took it for a good and happy Presage, saying, *He had now taken Livery and Seisin of English Ground*. So the Valiant King *Edward* the Third going with an Army against *France*, had a Fall at his coming on Shore, which he turned into a happy Omen, telling the standers by, That *it was a Sign the Land desired to have him*. Some such way we should use to correct the ill Opinion we are apt to have of the Accidents and Occurrences which befall us. We must put off Events with a good Grace, and not construe Things always alike. As it is observed by *Oneirocritics*, that sometimes Dreams are not to be Interpreted according to what they seem to point at, but in a quite contrary way.

We have several Instances in Pagan Story, of those that knew how to alleviate their adverse Circumstances by a kind of Witty Sophistry. One told that great Captain *Pelopidas*, (upon coming in view of the Enemy) *We are fallen into the Enemy's Hands*: He replied, *And they are fallen into ours*. *Antisthenes* the Philosopher made the best of a Box on the Ear; for when one did him that Injury, he got his Name and wore it on his Fore-head, and so made the Man infamous by that Mark. *Diogenes* had a good knack of putting Things off neatly, as when his Servant ran away from him, *If my Man*, (saith he) *can live without me, it were a shame if I could not live without my Man*. Tho' he was Poor and Contemptible, and had nothing of the Attendance and Equipage of Great Men, yet, said he, *I have my Parasites, I have those who wait at my Table to fill their Bellies*, meaning the officious nibbling Mice. And he made a feint of Greatness, when he compared his passing from *Athens* to *Corinth*, and from *Corinth* to *Thebes*, to the King of *Persia's* changing his Places of Residence, who tarried at *Susa* in the Spring, at *Babylon* in the Winter, and in *Media* in the Summer. *Cato* the Elder was very good at putting by the dint of a Disgrace or Repulse, as when he was ask'd why he had no Statue erected, as other Romans, to his Honour; his Reply was, *He had rather it should be asked and wondered at why he had none, than why he had*. And this

* *Si verè aestimare volumus, non Catoni pratura, sed praturæ Cato negatus est.* Val. Max. l. 8. c. 5.

handsome come-off was made by one for him, when he missed of being Prator, * The plain Truth of the Matter is this, saith he, that the Pratorship was not denied to Cato, but Cato was denied to that; that is, the Office was not honour'd by his being in it. And many other such Examples might be produced, to shew how dexterously

Disappointments and Crosses may be diverted, and how they may be turned into Satisfaction and Honour.

Further, This is a good and laudable Expedient to be made use of, namely, To consider that Greatness is but a Comparative Thing. It was long since determined by the chief of Philosophers, † That nothing can be said to be Great or Little in itself, but as it hath reference to something else; and this is true of Persons, as well as Things. He that is thought Great and Rich in respect of his Inferiours, is but a poor Man in respect of those that are above him. He may well be reckon'd a Wealthy Man, whose Incomes are Three or Four Thousand a Year; but in respect of another whose Revenues are five times as much, he is but one of a mean Figure. Yea, we are told what *Crassus* was used to say, to wit, "That a Man was not Rich, unless he could maintain an Army at his own Charges. And if he can do this, yet there are others that can maintain greater Armies, and consequently these are Greater and Richer than he, and so he is but Poor if compar'd with them. And even the Greatest Princes are Royal Servants, and their excessive Cares and Troubles depress them below their meanest Subjects. Shall I tell it for a Truth, (and most certainly it is one) that most Crowned Heads are inferiour to many of their Subjects in Riches? They are not able to live on what is strictly their own, which the others can; but they are beholding to their Subjects for their Maintenance. In plain Terms, some of them live upon Charity all their Days,

and

and when they Die, they cannot leave all they have possessed, to whom they please, which is a Privilege that the others have. This is a great Diminution of Sovereigns, and shews that when we come to *Compare* Things, their Greatness proves not so considerable as it seemed to be. If we entertain such Thoughts as these in our Minds, if we come to be persuaded of this, that to be Great, and Wealthy, and Powerful, are only Things *in Comparison*, we shall not doat upon them, yea, we shall easily digest any Condition, tho' mean and low. We may reckon ourselves to be as Great by our Fall, as we were before it, or as we were like to have been, if we had stood: For it is *Comparison* only that makes Greatness.

Yea, I might add, that it is *Fancy* that generally constitutes Greatness and Worldly Happiness. Which appears from hence, that the most Understanding and Judicious Persons are not taken with these Things, but have a very mean Opinion of them: Whereas those that are Giddy and Fantastic, and are led by *Imagination* more than Judgment, are extremely tickled and pleased with them, and place their Felicity in them. Besides, we may be convinced that *Fancy* hath the ascendant here, because we see that the Affections and Passions which are raised about these Things, are according to the particular Genius and Humour of the Persons that are affected, and not according to the Things themselves: Thus the same Cause, namely, The Vanity of the World, which made one Philosopher *Laugh*, made another melt into *Tears*. And that *Imagination* works very powerfully here, may be gather'd from this, that we very profusely lament a present Loss, but, after it is over a while, we count it ridiculous to Weep and Grieve; and yet the Loss is not the less real and true, by Age and Time. Which shews that it depends on *Fancy* and Prepossession more than on Reality; otherwise we could not wear it off, or not so soon.

Farther yet, that you may *make the best* of the Evils that befall you, deport yourselves after this manner. Urge this upon your Minds, that the *Troubles* and *Afflictions of this Life are unavoidable*. They that were before you underwent them, and so shall they that follow you. It is * the common Lot of Mankind, and therefore why should you expect or desire to be exempted from it? Bless the Almighty, that he continued to you the outward Blessings so long, before he deprived you of them. Rejoyce, that you had any thing to part with, whereby you might give Evidence of your Submission and Resignation to Heaven.

* *Levat dolorem communis quasi legis, & humane conditionis recordatio.* Cic. Epist.

Let the Inflictions you lie under, remind you of your *Sins*, and let these cause you to cease your Complaints. *Wherefore doth a living Man complain, a Man for the punishment of his Sins?* Lam. 3. 39.

Tho' you have but a little of this World's Goods, yet remember that you have more than you brought into it, and you have more than you deserve; nay, you have more than Christ and his Disciples, and the Primitive Christians had.

Be sure to fix this on your Minds, that your present Condition ought to teach you your Duty, and that from your low and mean State you are to learn Humility.

The removal of Worldly advantages should make you set your Affections on Things above, which are unchangeable and unmoveable. Look up thither, and cheer yourselves with Hopes of better Things afterwards. Inure yourselves to live on Reversion.

And *Lastly*, Be not dejected and discouraged by what the *Men of the World*, who have their Portion in this Life, are wont to suggest to you. Know, that you are Happy, tho' those who understand not the Nature of Happiness think you not to be so. Be not so foolish as to reckon yourselves Unhappy, because you are not Happy in their Opinion, who think none Happy but the Rich and Prosperous. These are the Arguments you are to use, whereby you may be able to *make the best* of whatever befalls you, and this is the Divine and Holy Logick, whereby you may Reason your selves into *Contentment*, and answer all the Arguments that are brought against it.

Sixthly, Be thoroughly convinced of the Divine Providence which Rules the World, and takes care of us; and firmly depend and rely upon this, and then it is impossible you should be Discontented. Seeing infinite Wisdom governs the World, and manages all Things to the best Ends and Purposes, we may fully persuade ourselves, that *all Things shall work together for our Good*. He that bids us pray for our *daily Bread*, will provide it for us, and give it to us, and therefore we ought to banish all Distrust and Discontent,

Discontent, and to acquiesce in Gods Goodness and Providence for our future Subsistence. It proceeds from a contrary Principle, *i. e.* a Disbelief or Distrust of Providence, that Men are dejected and displeased with their Condition. Of which we have a remarkable Instance in that Great Man *Tully*, who, notwithstanding all his Pretences to Philosophy, could not bear up against the Adverse Accidents of his Life, as we see in one of his *Epistles*, where he shews himself heartily Angry both

(a) *Quando neque Dii
neque homines nobis gra-
tiam retulerunt. Ep. 4.
Lib. 14.*

with (a) God and Men, because they have done Things not agreeable to his Wishes, and (as he thinks) to his Deserts. Hereupon he is very Mutinous, and is weary of his Life: And in short, the whole Epistle is unworthy of that Great Man; it is Low and Desponding, and almost Despairing. And this is not to be Wondered at, when we find Men of higher Principles, *Joab, David, Ezekiel, and Jonas* in the like Indisposition of Mind for a time, because they were oppressed with outward Crosses. The Source of which evil Temper was this, that they did not apply themselves to the Serious Contemplation of the Divine Providence, which governs the World, and orders all Events, and Wisely disposes of every Thing, and over-rules all the Actions of Men. It is this which makes Men dissatisfied with what Heaven doth, and prompts them to resist the Almighty, and to rebell against him.

Whereas on the other Hand, if Men press this Effectually upon their Thoughts, that every Event is by Divine Conduct and Disposal, that there is no such thing as Chance or Fortune, that whatever befalls us is by the Providence of God, that *the very Hairs of our Head are all Numbered*, that the least and lightest Circumstances of our Lives are weighed out to us: If Men, I say, press this on their Minds with that Earnestness and Vigour which they ought, there is no possibility of their being Male-contented, and of Mutinying against Heaven. They will see that it is unreasonable to be Angry with what God doth. They will be Calm and Quiet on this Consideration, that their Portion is allotted them by God, and that he hath set

(b) *δοθέν υποκειμένης
πρόσωπον. Epictet.*

(c) *μέρος τῆ βίης. Ar-
rian. l. 3. c. 10.*

(d) *καλῶς πύρεσεν.
Ibid.*

(e) *μη θεὸν μέμψασθαι,
&c.*

them their particular Part to Act, and that it is their Duty and Business to (b) represent and act well that Person which is assigned them. This or that Condition, this or that Disease, as suppose a *Fever*, is to be reckoned as (c) part of our Life, as one Expresses it, and we are to take care, that we (d) Act it well, that is, that (e) we do not blame God nor Man, that we be not troubled and dissatisfied, but that we prepare for Death.

This will be the Natural result of this Persuasion, that Providence is concerned in every Part of Life, and engaged in every Event. We must needs be satisfied and contented when we steadily believe that there is an All-seeing Eye, and an Almighty Hand that guides and directs us, and that it is not without Gods Wife disposal that we are in this or that Condition: When we believe that our Heavenly Father's Love is not diminished by our Afflictions, but increased: When we believe, that he that hath all Creatures at his Beck and Command, will not be Defective in supporting and sustaining us in our lowest Condition, and in relieving and rescuing us: When we believe, that the greater our Combate is, the greater will be our Victory, and that the Issue of all our Troubles will be Rest and Happiness. In short, if we believe that God is with us in every Condition, and that we are in that Condition through his peculiar Disposal and Providence, we shall think well of it, and be quiet and submissive, we shall be contented with what God hath appointed us, for that is always most eligible.

Seventhly, If you would be Contented, get something that will fully satisfy you. For the Soul of Man is Pregnant with Desires, and looks after something to satisfy it, and therefore will never arrive to Contentment till there be this Satisfaction. You must have something that you can Delight and Rejoyce in, and entertain yourselves with, even in the absence of Worldly Riches and Temporal Advantages. There is singular Weight in that Passage of *Arrianus*, * *When you see, saith he, another a-*

* Cap. 9.

bound with Riches, look what you have instead of those Riches: For if you have nothing in lieu of them, you are miserable. Therefore in lieu of these let us take care that we procure a good Conscience, the Favour of God, and a Title to the Promises of the Gospel.

First, Herein exercise your self, to have always a Conscience void of offence towards God, and towards all Men. Mind not what others think or say: Despise popular Opinion and Esteem: Strive to satisfy yourselves, not others. Act as you ought, and

and then reckon not contempt or obloquy as any Fault of yours, or any Evil and Calamity. If your Intentions and Actions be Good and Innocent, you need not attend to Rumours abroad. Serve God in the Station he hath placed you in: Be Faithful and Industrious and make it your greatest Care to do what God requires of you, and then you are in the direct way to Contentment. For we are assured, that *a little that a Righteous Man hath, is better than the Riches of many Wicked*, Ps. 37. 16. And Solomon is of his Royal Father's Opinion, Prov. 15. 16, 17. *Better is little with the Fear of the Lord, than great Treasures and Trouble* (arising from an Evil Conscience) *therewith*. And again, *Better is a little with Righteousness, than great Revenues without right*, Prov. 16. 8. In the midst of all his Wants and Straits, all his Dangers and Distresses, the Apostle declares, that *his Rejoycing was this, the Testimony of his Conscience, that in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity he had had his Conversation in the World*, 2 Cor. 1. 12. All Earthly Joys and Comforts are virtually and eminently contained in this Joy that is Divine and Spiritual; and therefore little of the World will serve him who hath enough of this. Tully, who had spoken so meanly and unworthily at another time (as I before observed) speaks very excellently to this Purpose in the *Sixth Book* of his *Epistles*, where he professeth, that (a) a good Conscience is the greatest Solace in an Adverse State, and that there is no considerable Evil but being Faulty and Vicious. And in another Place he calls this (b) *the great Consolation*, and he labours to comfort and cheer his Friend with the remembrance of it. It is a good Conscience, it is a Godly Life, that sweetens all, even the most bitter State of Life.

(a) *Conscientiam rectæ voluntatis maximam consolationem esse rerum incommodarum, nec esse ullum magnum malum præter culpam.* Ep. lib. 16. Ep. 4.

(b) *Magna consolatio est cum recordere, etiam si seculi acciderit, te tamen rectè verèque sensit.*

Secondly, Be careful to obtain the Favour of God, and that will infallibly bring Contentment and Satisfaction with it. *There be many* (yea, they are the most) *that say, who will shew us any Good, any Temporal and Worldly Good?* But saith the Psalmist, *Lord, lift thou up the Light of thy Countenance upon us*, Psal. 4. 6. And now see what Refreshment and Contentment this Light darts into the Soul. *Thou hast put gladness in my Heart, more than in the time that their Corn and their Wine increased*, ver. 7. As much as to say, the Joy and Gladness which the most Voluptuous Persons experience, is not to be compared with that Joy and Satisfaction which are caused by the Light of God's Countenance. And (as the result of this) it follows in the next Verse, *I will lay me down in Peace, and Sleep: For thou Lord only makest me dwell in safety*. Whilst thy Favour and the Light of thy Countenance are extended towards me, the Night cannot be dismal and uncomfortable. Whilst thou art mine, I am at ease: Nothing can discompose me; for * *so thou givest thy beloved Sleep*, thou givest Rest and Ease to those that are in thy Favour, and so thou givest it them, that is, without evil Sollicitude and immoderate Care. Labour then for the Divine Acceptance, for the Remission of your Sins, and Reconciliation with Heaven. Make God your Portion, chuse Christ for your only Friend, and for his sake solicit Pardon and Forgiveness: On the Consideration of his Meritorious Undertakings, beg the assurance of the Divine Love and Favour, and then Contentment is yours. This is such a Good as will make us Happy tho' we are deprived of all others. This will support us under the Loss of all Temporal Conveniences. The true sense of this will alleviate our Afflictions, and reconcile us to the greatest Hardships. We have no Reason to Complain, so long as the Gracious Eye of our Heavenly Father is upon us. Nothing can befall us to our Hurt as long as we are not under the Divine Displeasure. Nothing can come amiss to us if we are at Peace with God: No Condition can be unwelcome, if we be in Christ Jesus. Thus we see what Ground there is for Contentment.

* Psal. 127. 2.

Thirdly, and Lastly, There is the same Ground for it in the Promises of the Gospel: We may observe therefore, that after that Exhortation of the Apostle in Heb. 13. 5. *Be content with such Things as you have*, he immediately adds, *for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee*. Where we see, that the Promise made to Joshua and the Israelites, is become an Evangelical Promise, and is made the Foundation of Contentment. Our Saviour assures us, that *if we seek first the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, all Things that are necessary for the support of this Life shall be added unto us*, Matth. 6. 33. We shall certainly enjoy them, if they be for our Good; and if they be not, there is no Reason we should desire them. Nei-

ther

ther hath *Godliness the Promise of this Life only, but of that which is to come.* For Christ hath brought Life and Immortality to Light by the Gospel. In the Writings of the *New Testament* we have an assurance of an Inheritance in a better Life: And having this, we may be contented with any Condition here. Being acquainted with the Covenant of Grace and the precious Promises contained in it, our Faith must needs be set on Work, and then we shall despise this World, and all the troublesome and unnecessary Pelf of it, and Condemn all our former Longings after it, as Childish and Ridiculous.

Thus we see in the several Particulars that I have named, what *Helps and Means* for the effectual cherishing of *Contentment*, and rooting out of *Covetousness*, are afforded us from Humane and Divine Laws, from Reason and Revelation; from the Law of Nature and Revealed Religion; from Philosophy and Christianity; from the Gentile and Evangelical Institution. But these latter have the Preheminence by far; for there are no such Things to be found in the Writings of the most exalted Moralists among the Gentiles, as we meet with in the Holy Scriptures. It is true, the Heathen Philosophers have very pretty and plausible Arguments, and some of them talk Sentences and Aphorisms very Grave and Wise. *Sunt verba & voces*—There are fine Sayings and Maxims among them, wherewith they endeavour to assuage the Sorrows and Discontents that Men labour under. There are several useful Consolations in Moralists to this purpose, most of which I have mentioned; but there are none like those which the *Inspired Volume* furnishes us with. None are so solid and substantial as these; yea, the other are poor frigid Comforts and Remedies in Comparison of these. The best relief for Discontented Minds is in the Word of God. When the Psalmist thought to know and find out the best way of Redress and Ease in his Troubles, it was too painful for him, until he went into the Sanctuary of God, Psal. 73. 16, 17. that is, until he heard God's Word, and Meditated upon that. And the Book of *Psalms* itself is an Excellent Collection of choice Remedies in Affliction, and is replenished every where with singular Topics of Consolation. The Book of *Ecclesiastes* is an admirable Antidote against the Vanity of the World, and the Discontent and Melancholy that go along with it. The Books of *Job*, of the *Lamentation*, and of the *Prophets*, have most weighty Reasons and Arguments against Immoderate Grief and Dejection of Mind in the time of Distress and Tribulation. But the *New Testament* affords us the best Cordials at such a Season. Who can sufficiently admire the incomparable Principles, Maxims and Precepts given by Christ and the Apostles on this account, which I have particularly recited and urged? Our Saviour far exceeds *Epicetus* and *Seneca*: There is more solid Comfort in one Saying of St. Paul, than in all *Boetius* and *Lipsius*.

And as the Sayings and Precepts, so the Examples which the Book of God presents us with, do far outvie those that the Gentile Writers offer to us. They tell us, that *Anacharsis* the Scythian Philosopher despised Gold. The Man's Name is known, who in a Philosophical Bravado threw his Gold into the Sea, saying, *A Philosopher needs no Money.* *Diogenes* was fam'd for his morose and humourous slighting of the World, and the Cynic's Viaticum was only his Scrip. But braver Things, and from a braver Spirit are recorded of the Holy Patriarchs and Inspired Heroes. *Abraham* left his Native Country, and turned Pilgrim, and thereby made himself obnoxious to all Perils and Hazards; and when he was bid to Sacrifice *Isaac*, he meekly submitted, and regarded not the Life of that his only Son, the Son of his Age, and the Son of his Love, the Son of his Hopes and Expectations. So that he may truly be called, *The Father of the Contented*, as well as of the Faithful. *Jacob* was well pleased with what he had, and envied not his Wealthy and Potent Brother *Esau*: *I have enough*, said he, Gen. 33. 11. Yea, *I have all* (for so it should be rendred according to the Original.) This is the true Maxim of the Contented Man, he hath enough, and having that, he hath all. *Moses* chose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, that is, the Delights of *Pharaoh's* Court, esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt. He chose rather to be a Shepherd than a Courtier, and to live in the Deserts of *Midian*, than in *Pharaoh's* Palaces. *David*, in many signal Instances of his Life, was a great Pattern of Submission and Contentment. *Agur* had attained to this Excellency of Spirit, to desire neither Poverty nor Riches, neither Beggary

Beggary nor Superfluity; but only to be supplied with *Food convenient*. St. Paul had learned in *whatever State he was, to be content*, and we read, that he frequently practised this Lesson. So did the rest of the Holy Apostles, and the Primitive Christians: Of whom St. Jerom saith, that (a) *Food and Raiment were their Riches*.

(a) *Vitus & vestitus divitiæ Christianorum sunt.*
Ep. ad Paulim.

But the greatest and brightest Example of this Grace was our Blessed Lord and Master, who lived a poor and mean Life on Earth, and underwent the severest of Sufferings, and yet was Calm and Sedate in his Mind, and shewed both in his Words and Behaviour, that he took all things well at the Hand of his Heavenly Father, and that he perfectly resigned himself to the Divine Will. Let us daily view those other brave Patterns of Contentment, but *This* more especially, and be excited thence to resign ourselves entirely to the Will of God in whatever Condition we are. (b) It conduces much (saith *Plutarch*) to Tranquillity of Mind, to consider the Excellent Persons who have bore the same Things that we do. Especially it will be very Advantageous to us to consider and set before us such Transcendent Examples as I have propounded. These certainly (with what I have suggested before) cannot but produce in us Evenness and Quietness of Mind, and effectually help us to practise the Excellent *Art of Contentment*.

(b) *Τὸ τοῦ περὶ εὐθυμίας μέγα, τὸ τὴν ἐνδόξον ἀποθεῶν, εἰ μὴ δὲν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πεπόνθασιν. Plut. περὶ εὐθυμίας.*

To these Treatises on the Ten Commandments are to be annexed, Discourses on those Graces and Duties which are not particularly mentioned in the Decalogue, or are purely Evangelical, and above the Pitch of the Moral Law. But these, with Discourses on the Helps and Inducements to perform those Graces and Duties, cannot be brought within the compass of these two Volumes.

FINIS.

ERRATA in the First Volume.

PAGE 9. Line 5. for *and* read *which*. page 19. line 3. after *Souls* insert *of*. page 21. line 20. r. *Effluviu*. line 34, 35. make a full Stop before *from*, and take away the full Stop before *here*. page 24. line 15, and 34. for *Fairies* read *Furies*. line 48. read *Judice*. l. 57. for *what I granted before*, read *I grant*. page 34. line 12. from the bottom, read *Judicially*. page 38. line 32. for *pursue*, r. *peruse*. l. 6. from the bottom, r. *Arguments*. p. 68. l. the last, after *some* insert *seeming*. p. 75. l. 25. f. *you*, r. *them*. p. 88. l. 5. from the bottom, after *one* insert *of*. p. 99. l. 3. f. *strong*, r. *strange*. l. 5. from the bottom, for *said*, r. *second*. p. 102. l. 2. from the bottom, after *so*, for *they*, r. *we*. p. 106. l. 19. blot out the second *they*. p. 118. l. 29. f. *his*, r. *their*. p. 129. l. 16. from the bottom, r. *Martyrdom*. p. 130. l. 14. f. *them*, r. *you*. p. 140. l. the last, r. *effect*. p. 143. l. 3. f. *perswasion*, r. *preservation*. p. 148. l. 5. f. *Province*, r. *Providence*. p. 150. l. 32. f. *Apostles*, r. *Angels*. p. 158. l. 4. from the bottom, blot out *not*. p. 161. l. 6. f. *see*, r. *so*. p. 166. l. 10. from the bottom, blot out *that*. p. 167. l. 7. from the bottom, r. *Zanchy*. p. 168. l. 34. f. *strong*, r. *strange*. l. 12. from the bottom, r. *effected*. l. 8. from the bottom, r. *Statues*. p. 169. l. 28. f. *were*, r. *where*. p. 171. l. 15. from the bottom, r. *Affatus*. p. 187. l. 24. from the bottom, f. *were*, r. *where*. p. 206. l. 13. from the bottom, r. *World*. p. 237. l. the last, after *make*, insert *them*. p. 261. l. 26. r. *Soothsayers*. p. 294. l. 8. from the bottom, f. 14, r. 24. p. 297. l. 16. from the bottom, before *God*, insert *our*, and after *and* blot out *our*. p. 336. l. 10. from the bottom, f. *Epistle*, r. *Epihet*. p. 343. l. 17. from the bottom, f. *Son*, r. *Sun*. p. 346. l. 16. f. *but*, r. *by*. p. 349. l. 13. f. *too*, r. *took*. p. 351. l. 24. from the bottom, before *might*, insert *there*. p. 356. l. 11. after *what*, insert *this*. p. 358. l. 7. f. *Paraphrase*, r. *Phrase*. p. 370. l. 27. f. *Obligations*, r. *Observations*. p. 378. l. 19. r. *undergo*. l. 23. f. *they*, r. *he*. p. 380. l. 8. from the bottom, r. *effected*. p. 387. l. 18. after *Christ*, insert *Suffer'd*. p. 404. l. 16. from the bottom, f. *would*, r. *should*. p. 412. l. 4. from the bottom, r. *premises*. p. 417. l. 3. r. *Centry*. p. 423. l. 20. f. *Mat*. r. *Mark*. p. 429. l. 30. f. *Philippians*, r. *Colossians*. p. 437. l. 22. f. *gives*, r. *give*. p. 438. l. the last. blot out the first *that*. p. 446. l. 19. f. *Princely*, r. *Priestly*. p. 462. Marg. blot out *Math*. 5. l. 28. blot out *last*. p. 468. l. 23. r. *reckoning*. p. 511. l. 19. from the bottom, f. *must*, r. *may*. p. 528. l. 7. blot out *than*. l. 19. f. *Excuse*, r. *Exercise*. p. 538. l. 23. from the bottom, f. *to be*, r. *were*. p. 541. l. 24. from the bottom, blot out *in*. p. 543. l. the last, f. *but this*, r. *which*. p. 547. l. 5. f. *Body*, r. *Badge*. p. 551. l. 28. f. *Flour*, r. *Floor*. p. 544. l. 14. from the bottom, f. *two or three Hundred*, r. *three or four Hundred*. p. 566. l. 8. from the bottom, before *where*, insert *except one*. p. 575. l. 1. f. *is*, r. *it*. 576. l. 33. before *unto*, insert *us*. p. 585. l. 4. r. *Artistry*. l. 2. from the bottom, r. *Fruit*. p. 589. l. 23. f. *calls*, r. *call*. p. 650. l. 6. before *these*, insert *from*. l. 19. f. *argues*, r. *assures us*. p. 735. l. 11. from the bottom, blot out *and*. p. 751. l. 16. from the bottom, f. *variety*, r. *vanity*. p. 761. l. 20. f. *expects*, r. *explains*. p. 773. l. 25. f. *being*, r. *bearing*. For the first Discourse on the second Article of the Creed, r. *A Discourse &c*. So for the first Discourse on the Third Article, r. *A Discourse &c*. For the first Discourse on the fifth Article, r. *A Discourse &c*.

ERRATA in the Second Volume.

PAGE 19. line 32. for *as*, read *according to*. line 34. for *where*, read *whence*. page 74. line 17. from the bottom, for *refer'd*, read *reserv'd*. page 98. l. 21. for *proper*, read *chiefly belonging*. page 123. line 11. from the bottom, f. *Christian*, r. *Popish*. p. 133. l. 18. from the bottom, f. *reproach*, r. *approach*. p. 135. l. 23. before *that*, insert *objected*. p. 136. l. 29. f. *useful*, r. *usual*. p. 149. l. 17. f. *be*, r. *this*. p. 159. l. 20. from the bottom, r. *Melech*. p. 165. l. 7. f. *eternal*, r. *external*. p. 168. l. 26. f. *Workmanship*, r. *Counsel*. p. 170. l. 3. from the bottom, f. *Band*, r. *Beard*. p. 180. l. 9. from the bottom, f. *disteance*, r. *difference*. p. 184. l. 21. from the bottom, f. *Love*, r. *Law*. p. 194. l. 9. f. *for*, r. *from*. p. 198. l. 7. f. *conceal*, r. *cancel*. p. 230. l. 3. f. *in*, r. *who is*. p. 233. l. 5. from the bottom, f. *vanity*, r. *variety*. l. 10. from the bottom, r. *insert*. p. 236. l. 2. from the bottom, f. *with*, r. *without*. p. 239. l. 7. from the bottom, f. *they*, r. *it*. p. 271. l. 20. f. *disperseth*, r. *disposeth*. l. 4. from the bottom, blot out 37, and f. *in which latter Verse*, r. *where*. p. 278. l. 17. f. *Men*, r. *Man*. p. 315. l. 31. f. *godly*, r. *goodly*. p. 363. l. 37. f. *brought*, r. *bought*. p. 415. Marg. r. *Ars Critic*. p. 530. l. 24. f. *too* r. *two*. p. 537. l. 11. from the bottom, blot out *that*, before *it*. p. 538. l. 24. from the bottom, f. *Ministers*, r. *Masters*. p. 540. l. 18. from the bottom, f. *and*, r. *as*. p. 543. l. 3. from the bottom, after *themselves*, add, *But this is said with perfect submission to the Judgement of those who see further into this Matter, than I do at present*. p. 544. l. 11. from the bottom, r. *Sub conditionibus*. p. 554. l. 24. r. *extended*. p. 572. l. 27. from the bottom, f. *so that she was Abraham's Niece*, r. *Some (as Grotius) say she was Abraham's Niece*. p. 595. l. 7. from the bottom, blot out *not*. p. 606. l. 19. f. *mind*, r. *mend*. The Learned are desired to correct the Errata in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Words, which have escap'd the Prefs. The Faults of *Comma's*, *Stops*, and other *Pointing*, will (it is hoped) be pardon'd of Course.

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